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THE ROYAL COMMISSION: IS INDIA PARTNER
OR PETITIONER.

052

H.R.

By SIR ALI IMAM, K.C.S.I.

(Ex-Law Member, Government of India).

31898

NOT A MATTER OF SENTIMENT.

You have to-day before you here in your
at an Indian of very great repute, Sir Tej
adur Sapru, a man whose statesmanship has
demonstrated before the country on all
sions of moment. Every body knows how
it is the position he holds among the leaders
India. His high personal attainments are
well-known to you. A scholar of great erudi-
tion, and when in Government service, an
exemplar of high repute and efficiency, Sir Tej
Bahadur's has always been a commanding figure.
Now that he is free once more, in him we have
not a leader who is a tower of political strength
and who is in every way fitted to lead his
people. I will, in the course of the proceed-
ings to-day, with your leave, invite Sir Tej
Bahadur to favour us with his views on the
question that is to be debated in this large
and representative meeting. So the task of
expounding views will fall in abler hands. I
myself have never been, in the field of politics,
of any note like him. I claim not to be a re-
presentative man. But once amongst you, I
feel that I ought to place before you the views
that I have come to entertain upon the critical
situation that has arisen in this country as a
result of the appointment of the Statutory Com-
mission by the British Government.

Most of you have read the speeches that
have been delivered by the members of the
Cabinet, by the leaders in both Houses of Parlia-
ment, by the ex-Viceroy of India, about the
personnel of the Commission. You are, there-
fore, fully acquainted with what the position is.
The question of questions is this—in the whole
of this scheme what place have our masters
assigned to us, Indians? Some have said, this
aspect of the question is merely a sentimental
one. With great respect, I differ from that
view. If it were purely a sentimental matter,
I should not have ventured to come to address
you. Sentiments have their place and value in
human conduct and if it had only rested there,
there would not have been possibly much ado
about it. But I am not convinced—and I have
very carefully considered all that has been said
in the Parliament.—I am not at all convinced
that this is a matter of mere sentiment. This
is a matter of the greatest possible moment,
one that vitally affects our country. This is a
matter of principle and how does it affect the
interests of India? There is, first of all, the
composition of the Commission. Have we been
given any place in the Commission? No, there
is no place in the Commission for the children
of India. It may be said: what does it matter,
what difference would it make if a few innocent
Indian members had been taken on on the

*Presidential address at a representative meeting of
the people of the province of Behar and Orissa held
at Patna.

forth and it could no longer be revoked. It is impossible to believe that an all-wise and far-seeing Government could not or would not anticipate the repercussions of such a policy on Indian mind. No doubt it reconciled itself to its decision in the hope and belief that the outburst of indignation and discontent in India would be a short-lived one, that the Swarajists were more interested in nursing grievances than in having them removed and that therefore they could easily be disposed of as the irreconcilables in Indian politics; that the Liberals would be amenable to *ipso facto* reasoning and persuasion; that in any case they were not a serious factor in Indian politics; that the cleavage between the Hindus and the Mohamedans was so wide that even under the pressure of a common grievance they could not join hands and, lastly, there were the depressed classes who were bound to raise their piteous cry for protection against the evil designs of the more powerful upper classes and that it was clearly the duty of government to firmly refuse to listen to the demand for Indian representation and to do their duty by the weak and the oppressed. It was apparently in such circumstances and under the influence of such ideas that this Commission was conceived. Small wonder then if the announcement of the appointment of this Commission has instead of giving rise to a spirit of hopefulness and confidence aroused the strongest feelings on such a large scale and in such different quarters.

WHY THE COMMISSION HAS BEEN ANTICIPATED.

It is interesting to note the reasons for the appointment of this Commission at this particular time. "So long as the unwise counsels of political non-co-operation prevailed," thus runs the statement in His Excellency's announcement of November 8th, "it was evident that the conditions required for calm appraisal of the complicated constitutional problem were lacking, and that an earlier enquiry would have been likely only to crystallize in opposition two points of view, between which it must be the aim and the duty of statesmanship to effect a reconciliation. But there have been signs latterly that while those who have been foremost in advancing the claims of India to full self-government have in no way abandoned the principles they have felt it their duty to assert, yet there is in many quarters a greater

disposition to deal with the actual facts of the situation and to appreciate what I believe to be most indubitably true, namely, that the differences which exist on these matters are differences of method or pace and not differences of principle or disagreements as to the goal which we all alike desire to reach." I desire to speak of His Excellency with the utmost possible respect, but I venture to think that the differences of method or pace are apt at times to be not less important than differences of principle and that if a calm appraisal of a complicated constitutional problem could not be made so long as the unwise counsels of political non-co-operation prevailed there seems to be scarcely any justification for the hope that this task could be achieved by petalizing co-operation, for I maintain that non-co-operators who have co-operated during the last few years and co-operators who have always co-operated cannot legitimately feel proud of a situation which compels them to realize that in a conflict that may arise between the European view of method and pace and the Indian view of method and pace the former must necessarily prevail and the latter can only claim to be sane and reasonable if it is prepared to accept the former. Another reason assigned for the anticipation of the date of the Commission is that the Legislative Assembly has passed five resolutions calling for the appointment of a Commission. Lord Winterton was repeatedly challenged in the House of Commons to produce those resolutions but he simply fenced with the challenge. The fact is that the Assembly has never asked for such a Commission though it has repeatedly urged its views on the question of advance. Not only Col. Wedgwood but several other members of the Labour Party have correctly expressed our view that the appointment of such a Commission at a time when public opinion in England about India has been poisoned by the publication of *Mother India* was to say the least not playing the game. There is need for some more convincing reason for this sudden fit of responsiveness on the part of government.

REASONS FOR THE EXCLUSION OF INDIANS EXAMINED.

I shall now examine carefully the reasons for the exclusion of Indians from this Commission and the nature of the palliatives that have been adopted in the shape of committees. One

reason which has been assigned for the appointment of a purely Parliamentary Commission is "that the framers of the original and determining Act, when they spoke of the Commission, contemplated a Parliamentary Commission. It is true that they did not so state in terms but I (that is to say Lord Birkenhead) draw the inference that they did not so state it because they thought it so obvious." He then appealed to Lord Chelmsford and the latter observed: "He was deeply committed to the belief that the enquiry should be through the medium of a Parliamentary Commission." Now no one doubts that the machinery provided by section 84(a) is a Commission. Section 84(a) runs as follows:—"At the expiration of ten years after the passing of the Government of India Act of 1919, the Secretary of State with the concurrence of both Houses of Parliament shall submit for the approval of His Majesty the names of persons to act as a commission for the purposes of this section."

The point scarcely requires any further labouring. The Secretary of State, speaking as a constitutional lawyer, has conceded that the framers of the Act did not in terms state that the Commission to be appointed under this section was to be a purely Parliamentary Commission, that is to say, a Commission consisting of members of Parliament only, but he has drawn the inference that they did not state so because it was so obvious. The difficulty of any lawyer controverting an interpretation like this by a lawyer of the eminence of Lord Birkenhead who has occupied the highest judicial position in the Empire would be at any time very great. But still I make bold to say that an interpretation of an Act, founded upon the belief as to the intention of its framers, on the floor of a political body is not the same as its interpretation in a court of law. Now, without in the slightest degree challenging Lord Chelmsford's belief it may be asked whether there is anything in the language of the section quoted above to warrant the conclusion upon a dispassionate examination of it that Parliament intended in 1919 that the Commission to be appointed under that section shall consist wholly and entirely of its members. It was only fair to India that this intention which was so obvious to the framers of the Act should have been made equally obvious at that time to Indians also. At any rate so far as this constitutional argument is concerned no one

ever heard of it until Lord Birkenhead put it forward with all the authority attaching to his name. We Indians are entitled to take our stand upon the plain words of the statute. We were no parties to the beliefs which might have been entertained as to the intentions of the framers of the Act in high quarters and I venture to think that if this view had been put forward bluntly in the year 1919 many of us would have had even at that time to revise our attitude. On the one hand there are those amongst us who have always quarrelled with the preamble of the Government of India Act which provides that the time and manner of each advance can be determined only by Parliament. On the other, there are those who have maintained that the sovereignty of Parliament, having regard to the British constitution, is beyond challenge but that it should by no means be impossible to reconcile the provisions of that preamble with the fairness of the Indian demand that Indians should be allowed an effective share in the shaping of their own constitution. The credit for giving a rude shock to the political faith of us Liberals must undoubtedly belong to Lord Birkenhead.

POLITICAL REASONS.

I shall now leave the constitutional reasons and advert to the political reasons. Lord Birkenhead took shelter behind the speech of Mr. T. C. Goswami in which he is reported to have said that there was no organization which could speak in the name of the Hindu community. Now, I do not know what Mr. Goswami really meant by it. But I cannot understand that an all-knowing Secretary of State and a vigilant India Office can be unaware of the existence of a Hindu organization which has not been particularly inarticulate or inactive during the last few years. I believe there are scores of Hindus who without being members of the Hindu-Mahasabha could have adequately protected Hindu interests but I cannot understand how Government would have sacrificed the Hindu cause by selecting a representative of the Hindus from among the leaders of the Hindu Mahasabha nor can I understand that the task of selecting a non-Brahman Hindu or a Sikh was equally impossible. As regards the depressed classes whose condition Lord Birkenhead describes to be

"terrible and poignant", was it wholly impossible to select some one to represent them? And here let me point out that the portion in which he deals with the depressed classes scarcely reads like the speech of a statesman bent on the high purpose of unifying a distracted India, of elevating those who deserved to be uplifted from their fallen condition. It reads like a sensational paragraph from a certain class of newspapers in India or in England or a page from a book of a cold weather tourist. It is not my purpose to deny the existence of the problem in certain parts of India, but I must enter a protest against mischievous statements which are at times made by statesmen, journalists and tourists alike, the effect of which can only be to represent to the outside world that the problem is an all-pervasive one and that no attempts have been made by the educated classes anywhere to tackle it or to reduce the proportions of its evils. It may suit the purposes of our critics to exploit the misfortunes or the degraded condition of the 'depressed' classes in relation to a definite political issue, but they cannot feel proud of their record of work in the amelioration of the condition of these classes until the commencement of the reforms. If the Secretary of State was solicitous of the depressed classes and the aborigines he was equally solicitous of the Indian Civil Service which "has a deep-rooted interest in India" and he argued that "if you admitted other than Parliamentary representatives you could not exclude members of the Indian Civil Service." Well, assuming that the Civil Service has deep-rooted interest in India of a personal or impersonal character and that like other castes this governing caste should also have been represented on the Commission in defiance of the well-established constitutional principle that permanent services ought not to have anything to do with the determination of policy, could not Government find a distinguished member of that service to be on that Commission? The answer, however, given by the Secretary of State is that if Parliament had proceeded on those lines they should have found themselves with a Commission of 18 or 20 people and the result might have been chaotic. Now it might be that a Commission of 18 or 20 people would be very unwieldy but one cannot understand why a Commission of 12 could not be fairly representative of all sections of the people and why it

could not be trusted to deal with the problem in a spirit of reasonableness.

WANTED: AN UNANIMOUS REPORT!

It is said that an unwieldy Commission of 18 or 20 and *a fortiori* of 12 could not have produced an unanimous report. "There may not be an unanimous report now" said Lord Birkenhead, "but at any rate we shall have a report which proceeds upon the same general point of view and principle." He was afraid that there would be a very strong partizan Hindu report, a very strong Muslim report, and 3 or 4 other dissenting reports from various sections deeply interested in the decisions which are taken and that Parliament could not be assisted by a disclosure of dissenting views of this kind. For arguments like these I say in all humility that there is only one word—they are the arguments of an advocate, not the arguments of a statesman. The one immediate effect of arguments of this character must be to give an impetus to class consciousness and to stimulate those differences which it should be the object of the statesman to allay, and, if possible, to eradicate. Now I am not one of those who would like to deny or even to minimise the gravity of the communal strife that has sprung up unfortunately in this country during the last few years. I have publicly raised my voice against it and as one who is not in the slightest degree identified with any communal cause I venture to think that the picture painted of the Hindu and the Mohamadan politicians writing separate strong partizan reports and the representatives of the depressed classes writing equally partizan reports oblivious of all considerations of the future and forgetful of their responsibility on a supreme occasion of that character may be pleasing to the self-complacence of those who have already made up their mind that Indians being possessed of a double dose of the original sin can on no occasion act with sanity, wisdom or patriotism but it is a picture which is very far from being true. I shall assume however that if 2 or 3 communalists had been appointed to the Commission they would have submitted dissenting reports; but on what question? Taking the worst view of the matter on what questions could they have dissented from each other? They could have dissented only on the question of communal representation in public

bodies or the public services of the country. If they had, would Parliament, aided no doubt as it would be at any time by the report of the English members of the Commission, the advice of the Government of India and the India Office and His Majesty's Government, have found it really difficult to come to a just conclusion? If it really be the fact that the position in India is so hopeless as the Secretary of State in the House of Lords and Lord Winterton in the House of Commons have made it out to be, then in the name of commonsense and fairness I ask what is the good of appointing a Commission? Why entertain any talk of Reforms? Why not then follow the advice of a distinguished member of the European community in Calcutta who had the frankness and courage to say not many days ago that "the time had come for the Viceroy to sit down with his selected district officers who knew the real people of India and evolve a decent system for governing the country forgetting all democracy and all such discredited systems."

THE SCHEME OF THE COMMISSION.

Now let me draw attention to the scheme of the Commission. The Commission is to consist of seven members including its Chairman who represents the Liberal Party. There are two representatives of Labour and four representatives of the Conservatives. I do not wish to say anything in my own words of the personnel of the Commission. I shall venture to quote on this point what the *Times* wrote in one of its leading articles: "What has presumably happened" says the *Times*, "is that the Government have found it impossible in practice to divert from England any of those leaders on whose presence the complexion of the future Parliament may be thought to depend. And for the moment and in view of the character of the Commission as *rapporteurs* (in the Geneva phrase and not as constitution makers) the absence of the political leaders may not be altogether a disadvantage.... All that is a little surprising in the circumstances is that none of the recognized front bench leaders, either Conservative or Labour, should have seized the opportunity to take part in an enquiry so incomparably more attractive and more far-reaching in its consequences than the common round of politics in England. The fact that the rank and file of the Commission are composed,

broadly speaking, of men in the second flight (the italics are mine) has the further effect of adding greatly both to the responsibilities of the Chairman and to his reputation for self-sacrificing public services." Bluntly put, barring Sir John Simon who is undoubtedly a front rank statesman, England could not spare for this great mission any of its first rate men and India must go content with men in the second flight. That is the value that is attached to this great mission. We are asked to console ourselves with the belief that "a body of men who can concentrate on this task without too much pre-occupation with the next general election is likely to be more valuable than a constellation of distracted stars. The capacity to work as a team is certainly more important than individual brilliance." In other words men of ideas are at a discount. The obsession for an unanimous report or a nearly unanimous report makes it incumbent that the men to be appointed must be what are called safe men who must be prepared to be guided by their Chairman, and must not allow their own individual ideas to interfere with their utility as a team. The irony of it all is that we are invited to rejoice in such a team and to believe that these six worthies in the *second flight* can take good care of the present interests and of the future of three-hundred millions of this country.

THE PURPOSE OF THE COMMISSION.

"It is our purpose" said Lord Birkenhead, "that the Commission, when it visits India, should establish contact with the committee appointed for that purpose by the Central Legislature." But what is going to be the function of this committee? Here again let me quote the Secretary of State: "It has been most irrationally assumed" said Lord Birkenhead, "that they are merely to appear as a witness before the Commission. This is not the case. They are invited in a spirit of great sincerity to co-operate as colleagues with the Commission. It is contemplated that they shall prepare, in advance of the Commission's arrival, or if they find themselves within that limited period unable to do it, a year later, their own proposals and come before the Commission and say, *these are our suggestions*. We claim and they claim that the West cannot devise a constitution for the East, that you cannot put eastern wine into western bottles. Well, if

there be behind that claim, and I do not doubt it, the sincerity of real feeling, we afford them an opportunity of confronting our Commission with their own proposals, which can be analysed and criticised and can be accepted or rejected after that analysis and criticism." Further on we are told that "the Commission will develop in its activities and while they will retain contact with the committee of the Central Legislature as long as their deliberations extend to matters with which the Central Legislature is principally concerned, they will temporarily lose contact when they are journeying the provinces, but even here they will not be deprived of the constant refreshment of Indian opinion, for it is proposed—I see no recognition of this fact in any of the Indian papers—that in every province in which they journey there will be created committees of the Provincial Legislatures which will discharge the same consultative function with the Commission as is discharged at the centre of the Government by the committee of the Central Legislature. At no point, therefore, will the representatives of the Indian Legislatures be deprived of an opportunity of influencing the views of the Commission." Let us pause here and ask what all this comes to. Stripped of all superfluous verbiage it comes to nothing more than this that the Central Legislature will be asked to appoint committees to prepare their own proposals and to place them before the Commission. Hitherto in the passages that I have quoted above there is not even an indication that these committees will take part in the examination of witnesses or documents or that they will be at liberty even to submit any report. They are to place their proposals and try to persuade the Commission to accept them which will analyse and criticise those proposals and in the end may accept or reject them. They cannot vote at any stage of their contact with the Commission. They are simply there to plead, to persuade, to urge and then to withdraw, and yet we are told that these committees will be the colleagues of the Commission. If an advocate can be a colleague of a Judge, if a person who is put on his trial can be the colleague of a jury then no doubt these committees will be the colleagues of the Commission. If this is what Lord Brikenhead said about these committees and the scope of their work let us for a few brief moments consider whether we can find anything more encouraging from the statements made by other

statesmen on the subject. In the statement issued by His Excellency the Viceroy we are told that the Central Legislature would "appoint a joint select committee, chosen from its elected and nominated unofficial members, which would draw up its views and proposals in writing and lay them before the Commission for examination in such manner as the latter may decide."

Thus so far as the statements of the Viceroy and the Secretary of State are concerned the position of the committees is definitely stated to be that they would draw up their views and proposals and lay them before the Commission for examination. It was left to Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, the leader of the opposition, to wax eloquent about the scope of these committees. He talked about the Indian Legislative Assembly as the Parliament of India and at one place in his speech he observed that the Parliament of England was saying to the Parliament of India "we are going to regard you as the representative of Indian opinion, we are going to recognize you as having an authority, sanction and position like unto our own in your country and when we want to know what is going to be the constitution of India in future, when we want to know what the opinion of political India is, we appoint a Commission, you appoint a similar body and the two Commissions working together in harmonious co-operation with each other are going to report to the House of Commons what the lines of the new constitution should be." This he says is not insulting to India but paying her the greatest compliment. One should have thought after this eloquent description of the position that the Indian committee would really occupy a position of equality and would in truth be able to submit a report to the House of Commons, but the rhetoric of this passage begins to appear in its true proportions when we read another portion of his speech towards the end. For later on Mr. MacDonald himself observed, "his position and he thought the position of his friends was the quite sound constitutional position so far as the House of Commons was concerned, that they could not give the Commission of the Indian Legislature any right to make a report." Mr. MacDonald then argues that the Indian committee "was not our Commission and we were not responsible for it. It was not responsible to us and, therefore, what objection was there to letting it be known that as far as

the Indian Commission was concerned it could make a report as it liked and it could refrain from making a report if it liked. The body from which it owed its origin could deal with that report with exactly the same freedom as we would deal with our own report." He flattered himself with the belief that "if that position was known another large rock of suspicion would be removed." Now it may be asked: what is all this if it is not absolutely confounding eloquence? The Indian committee may report to its own Legislature and its Legislature can deal with its report exactly with the same freedom as Parliament will deal with the report of *its Commission*. But is not Parliament the ultimate authority and what is the good of the Indian Legislature enjoying the liberty of dealing with the report of its own committee, when it knows that its decisions are to be of no greater value than mere proposals and that its report cannot have the same constitutional authority attaching to it as will belong to the report of the Commission in the eyes of Parliament."

Now let us consider what Mr. Baldwin had to say on the subject. "Let Indians" said the Prime Minister, "dismiss from their minds any thought of inferiority. They will be approached as friends, as equals, but responsibility cannot formally be shared with the representatives of another Parliament." In other words, the difficulty that he felt was a constitutional difficulty based probably upon the interpretation of section 84 (a) by Lord Birkenhead. I have quoted these distinguished statesmen at length only because I am anxious to avoid any misunderstanding of their position. But I cannot help feeling that they were either carried away by their own eloquence or they felt that the assurances of equality couched in appealing terms and flattering as they are to our vanity will be sufficient to allay our fears and to assuage our feelings. Hitherto it has been customary with English statesmen to repudiate any claim on the part of the Indian Legislature representing as it does about 2 per cent. of the population that it can speak for the teeming millions of India. Now a superficial view of Mr. MacDonald's speech and the speeches of some other statesmen would make us believe that they have at last discovered what was not hitherto so obvious to them that the Indian Legislature can truly be said to represent the teeming millions of India. There is, however,

at least one British statesman who had the courage of his conviction and who was not prepared to endorse this flattering view of the Indian Legislature taken by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and that statesman is no less a distinguished person than Lord Winterton, the Under-Secretary of State for India. "It was perfectly possible" said Lord Winterton, "to be a realist without abating a jot or tittle from the consideration for or sympathy with the ideals of Indians in public life." He asked, "whether Parliament was not to listen to millions of people outside the electoral system in India by obtaining their views directly through its chosen representatives, which the members of the Commission would be, and also whether Mr. Walsh and Major Attlee were less likely to be sympathetic to the Muslim minority or the millions of untouchables than to the Brahmins or the members of the Hindu majority." One may not agree with the sentiment of Earl Winterton but one is bound to observe that it is refreshing to come across a frank and realistic statement like this in the midst of the torrent of eloquence and rhetoric that flowed in the House of Commons only with the object of convincing us that our *Parliament* was equal to *their Parliament*; that our committee was going to occupy the same status and position as *their Commission* and that we Indians in public life could have no legitimate grievance. The fact of the matter is that when one closely examines these speeches the conviction is forced on him that having decided to take this step His Majesty's Government and the statesmen of the other parties could only defend that position by an exuberance of language.

PETITIONERS OR PARTNERS?

There is yet another palliative provided and we are asked to reconcile ourselves to this scheme by remembering that at the next stage "after the Commission has presented its report, the proposals of the Government on it will be sent, according to precedent, to both Houses of Parliament." "Your Lordships, or those who are interested in Indian affairs at that time", said Lord Birkenhead, "will not have forgotten how considerable was the contribution, how unremitting the industry, of the Joint Committee which reported upon the Montagu-Chelmsford proposals. It is our intention to create a similar body." I have a distinct recollection of the

work of the Joint Select Committee in the year 1919. I was examined by it and so were many other Indian friends of mine. Constitutionally the creation of such a committee is perfectly understandable and defensible, but constitutionally again I ask how is it possible for any Indian delegation whether of the committees of the Indian Legislatures or any other class of persons to claim equality with the Select Committee of Parliament or to share responsibility with that Select Committee? Let not, therefore, the Indian position be misunderstood. At any rate our position is and has been that while constitutionally the ultimate decision lies with Parliament, there is nothing in the Act to prevent Parliament from taking in Indians into the Statutory Commission and giving them the right of participating in the recommendations of that Commission. A true spirit of co-operation and broad-minded statesmanship required that Indians should have been taken into the Commission and the creation of this cumbrous machinery of committees with all the bombastic claims for its equality can be no substitute either for a mixed commission or for a real round table conference. I do not know where these proposals originated, whether at Delhi or Simla or at Whitehall, but I cannot help feeling that those who were responsible for these proposals were either wholly out of touch with Indian views on this question or they deliberately adopted these proposals in the hope and belief that Indian opinion would reconcile itself to them after some struggle.

When Lord Birkenhead and Lord Winterton referred to the Hindu-Mohamedan differences in India in justification of the exclusion of Indians from this Commission, I wonder whether they had forgotten the state of things that prevailed in another Dominion when a great statesman whose name in constitutional history has become immortal described in his inimitable language the differences that rent the public life of that country. Writing so far back as 1838 about Canada, Lord Durham wrote in one of his despatches as follows:—"The first point to which I would draw your attention being one with which all others are more or less connected, is the existence of a most bitter animosity between the Canadians and the British, not as two parties holding different opinions and seeking different objects in respect to Government, but as different races engaged in a national contest.....What may be the immediate

subject of dispute seems to be of no consequence; so surely as there is a dispute on any subject, the great bulk of the Canadians and the great bulk of the British appear ranged against each other. In the next place, the mutual dislike of the two classes extends beyond politics into social life, where, with some trifling exceptions again, all intercourse is confined to persons of the same origin. Grown up persons of a different origin seldom or never meet in private societies, and even the children, when they quarrel, divide themselves into French and English like their parents. In the schools and the streets of Montreal the real capital of the Province, this is commonly the case.....Such a sentiment is naturally evinced rather by trifles than by acts of intrinsic importance. There has been no solemn or formal declaration of national hostility, but not a day nor scarcely an hour passes without some petty insult, some provoking language, or even some serious mutual affront, occurring between persons of French and British descent." But let us not forget that India is not Canada, and that these are not the spacious days of a Durham.

To exclude Indians on the ground that they are deeply interested persons, that there was not a single Indian (to use Earl Winterton's phrase) whose appointment could give satisfaction to all classes of people, to suggest the appointment of committees of the very same public men (who are excluded from the Commission because they have committed themselves to certain opinions) by Indian Legislature, the representative character of which is admitted by one statesman and denied by others, to ask these committees to place their proposals before the Statutory Commission without exercising the equal rights of members of that Commission in examining evidence or official documents or voting at the final stage of its work and to tell us that our representatives will occupy a position of equality and then to express surprise at the attitude which Indian politicians have adopted towards these proposals and blame them for rejecting a constitutional precedent the like of which was never before established is to sow the wind and refuse to reap the whirlwind.

THE INDIAN POINT OF VIEW.

Now, it must be a real tragedy if all of us have conspired together to deliberately mis-

understand them, or to underrate their professions of helping us on towards the goal. Speaking in the House of Commons Lord Winterton assured that August assembly that "evidence was daily accumulating that the raging, tearing propaganda against the Commission by certain persons who were always opposed to the Government of India (the italics are mine), as they were entitled to be, did not represent the real views of a very large number of people in India who took interest in these matters." The strident dogmatism and emphasis which are the privilege of an Under-Secretary, more particularly when he has two flying visits to India to his credit, cannot for obvious reasons accord with the serene and exalted position of a Prime Minister, and accordingly we find Mr. Baldwin speaking in a different vein. "That there should have been any misunderstanding" said Mr. Baldwin, "is particularly regrettable, because it led to premature rejection of the proposals by the distinguished statesmen of India who worked and co-operated with the Government during some very difficult years since the Reforms came into force." If Lord Winterton symbolises the spirit which has overcome the India Office then it is not by any means difficult to understand that he should be prepared to tell the House of Commons that the raging, tearing propaganda against the Commission is being conducted by certain persons who were always opposed to the Government of India. I do not wish to disclaim or disown my share in that propaganda—but it must be a remarkable comment upon the hold which Lord Winterton, or Lord Birkenhead and may I add the Government of India (I do not exclude the Indian members thereof) have upon the imagination or the political faith of men of 'moderate' views that such sober, staid, thoughtful and cautious 'statesmen' (or is it more appropriate now to call them agitators) as Sir Sivaswamy Aiyar in Madras, Sir Chimanlal Sitalvad in Bombay, Sir Syed Ali Imam and Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha in Bihar, Sir Abdur Rahim in Bengal, the Maharaja Sahib of Mahmudabad, Sahebzada Aftab Ahmad Khan and Mr. Chintamani in the United Provinces, all of whom have at one time or other held high office and have worked the Reforms and "co-operated with the Government during some very difficult years" should in their frenzied zeal for the 'boycott' of this ill-omened Commission forget themselves, and be false to

their traditions and to those principles and convictions under the spell of which they offered to work and did work the Reforms in the midst of popular obloquy and much misunderstanding on the part of the bulk of their own countrymen and their former associates in public life. All of them could not have hoped to be appointed members of the Commission and few of them could have on personal grounds liked the idea of being taken away from their normal evocations in life for a period of two or three years. If their critics have nothing more to say in explanation of their conduct than that they are being actuated by disappointment, chagrin or pique, then I say—and say so with confidence—that that charge will have to be brought against an overwhelmingly large number of Indian politicians, barring of course the faithful few who place caste, or creed, or class above the country.

I do not think a worse challenge has been thrown out ever before to Indian nationalism, and notwithstanding the profuse assurances in Mr. Baldwin's speech and the yet more profuse assurances in Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's, Indian Nationalists of the Moderate school have been compelled to ask if the only way of recognizing the spirit of co-operation is by telling Indians that their lot is to be none other than that of petitioners, that they cannot be trusted to participate in the responsibility of making recommendations to Parliament for the future of their country, and that all that they may aspire to is to put their proposals before the Commission, which may accept them or reject them, and again to repeat the same process of persuasion, argument and discussion before the Joint Committee of Parliament! Now if this is what is meant by co-operation, if this is the new idea of equality of status on which we are to be fed, if our patriotism is a prejudice and if the patriotism of the seven members of Parliament is to be treated as impartial justice, then we feel justified in telling the Government here and in England: "You may do anything you like in the assertion of your right as supreme power, but we are not going to acquiesce in this method of dealing with us. Neither our self-respect nor our sense of duty to our country can permit us to go near the Commission."

The broad fact is that India has not got a fair and square deal in this matter and no amount of casuistry can get over that fact. It

seems to me that the entire position has been, from the Indian point of view, well summed up by Colonel Wedgwood in his letter to Lala Lajpat Rai, and it so vividly represents our feeling that I make no apology for quoting a portion of it: "Petitioning for little scraps of liberty," says Colonel Wedgwood, "is a dirty business, and there has been too much of it. You lose your self-respect and you get despised. I was always against non-co-operation as you know and I am so still. Take what share in governing you can; use every power and every opportunity afforded by the Government of India Act. But this Commission does not require your help. There is no need to stand in the witness-box and be cross-examined by persons of no great importance who have not before shown any interest in your views or feelings."

If the Liberal Party in India is now asked to accept the new doctrine of co-operation which means that it must always subordinate its will to the higher will not of Parliament but of its agents then clearly the time has come when we should say that that is not our conception of co-operation. Much as the Liberal Party would like to work in an atmosphere of good-will, much as it would like to avoid all bitterness, much as it would like to help in the task of an ordered and safe development of the constitution it cannot be a party to an arrangement which is wholly destructive of that spirit of mutual confidence which alone can beget co-operation. It cannot be a party to anything which is inconsistent with the honour and self-respect of India and its moral right to effectively participate in the determination of its constitution, nor can it in its zeal for co-operation forget its duty to its country in a crisis of this character. Much as it has differed in the past and much as it differs even now from certain other parties on some questions,

it cannot compromise either its self-respect or the honour of the country. But it is not merely a question of self-respect. The larger interest of the country makes it incumbent upon the Liberal Party to say to the Government plainly and unequivocally that it must repudiate not only the Commission which has been appointed but the entire spirit in which the question of India's further advance has been conceived by Parliament and the Government of India. Whatever differences of method may divide it from other parties in India it stands united to them all in their eager demand for the fulfilment of India's legitimate aspirations and it is prepared as indeed it should be to take its part in the noble and patriotic work of preparing a constitution with the good-will of all and to the advantage of the country at large.

The charge of non-co-operation cannot possibly lie against us. I charge the India Office and the British Government with having non-co-operated with the sane section of the country and it is not we who should feel concerned so much as the Government, because they have by their conduct shown that they are ready to take a leaf out of the book of the non-co-operators they have condemned.

It is neither the sort of commission that we should have liked to get, nor anything like the round table conference which has been demanded by members of other parties. Instead of promoting good-will in the country and creating an atmosphere of cheerful co-operation and confidence it has created an atmosphere of doubt and distrust. For the moment the prospect before us is dark and gloomy but we must not lose courage or faith in the justice of our cause. Other nations have had to put up with similar disappointments in their arduous journey to freedom and responsibility. Let us ask with the poet. "If winter comes, can spring be far behind?"

THE ROYAL COMMISSION: LORD BIRKENHEAD'S CAMOUFLAGE.*

By SIR CHIMANLAL SETALVAD, K.C.I.E.
(*Ex-Member, Bombay Government*).

I stand this evening before this great gathering of the citizens of Bombay with feelings of regret and pleasure—regret that an acute difference should have arisen on a very vital matter between England and India, who in the wisdom of Providence have been thrown together and for whose mutual benefits it is that there should be feelings of trust and confidence between them; pleasure at finding that the citizens of this great city are united in demonstrating that they are all Indians first and Hindus or Mussalmans or Parsis or Christians afterwards, that they are prepared to stand together in defending their national self-respect and honour.

STATEMENT IN PARLIAMENT UNCONVINCING.

Since the last meeting in this hall the debate on the personnel of the Statutory Commission has taken place in the houses of Parliament. I have followed and studied in all humility the pronouncements of the responsible statesmen and leaders of the various political parties in Britain and I have no hesitation in saying, with all respect to them, that their announcements are altogether unconvincing; nay more, I venture to think that their utterances have confirmed and accentuated the view that I had expressed before the debate. I had emphasised that the exclusion of Indians from the commission involved a question of fundamental principle on which there can be no yielding. The Secretary of State agrees that difference of opinion on the question as to whether the commission should be purely a Parliamentary Commission or a commission on which Indian members should have found a place is founded upon principle. The Secretary of State thus insists on the exclusion of Indians from the commission as a matter of principle.

REPLY TO LORD BIRKENHEAD.

Let us examine the grounds on which he maintains his principle of exclusion. His first

general ground is that the responsibility in the matter of this statutory investigation is with Parliament and it cannot repudiate its duties and its responsibilities in the matter. But surely it cannot be suggested that the inclusion of Indians in the commission can in any manner be a deduction from the responsibility of Parliament over any legislation that they may decide to adopt. Then it is urged that Parliament can be helped "only by the opinions of men of admitted integrity and independence without any commitment of any kind at all." It is an unworthy suggestion to make;—the suggestion, which this argument implies, that among Indians it is not possible to find men of integrity and independence or men who, when sitting on such a commission, would give an impartial consideration to the questions before them in spite of any predilection or views that they might have. If Conservatives, Liberals and Labourites, with their pre-conceived ideas and predilections about the political progress in India, can act with integrity and independence, there is no reason why Indians will not acquit themselves in the same manner.

UNSATISFACTORY EXPLANATION.

It was next argued that the framers of the Government of India Act contemplated a purely Parliamentary Commission. The Secretary of State, as an eminent lawyer, knew that the language of the statute does not say so and he therefore hastens to observe that the statute does not say so because it was so obvious. It must be very poor cause if he has to fall back upon such an argument in support of it. Any lawyer advancing such an argument in a court of law would have been told that the intention of the legislators could only be gathered by the language used by them, and the language of the Government of India Act is clear that the

*Presidential address at a representative gathering of the citizens of Bombay.

membership of the commission need not be confined to members of Parliament.

ABSURD PLEA OF LORD BIRKENHEAD.

The next line of defence put forward is that India is divided into so many creeds and groups that it is impossible to put on the commission the representatives of all interests. This part of the Secretary of State's defence is indeed very specious and was indulged in because the immediate hearers through lack of knowledge were unable to see its obvious fallacies and exaggerations. Quoting what Mr. Goswami had said with respect to the religious differences between Hindus and Mahomedans on the music and cow questions, that the Hindu Maha Sabha was not recognised in Bengal, the Secretary of State proceeded to assert that as there was no organisation in all India which could speak officially in the name of the Hindu community, it was not possible for him to select a Hindu representative and he referred to similar difficulties about other communities. It is absurd on the face of it to assume that all Hindus should have one political voice conveyed through one communal organisation. If the Secretary of State were right, a Protestant can never represent a Roman Catholic and an Anglican a Dissenter. But I will let Mr. Goswami speak in his own words. Referring to the observations of the Secretary of State he says :

MR. GOSWAMI'S REPLY.

"Lord Birkenhead has quoted me for his purpose. I do not know to which of the numerous sects of Christianity he professes adherence, but does he suggest, for instance, that all the members of any one of these sects in Great Britain should have the same political views expressed through one communal organisation? Still less would he, I suppose, suggest that all Christians in Britain should be politically unanimous. Yet he expects that all Hindu India should have one political voice conveyed to the world through one all-embracing communal organisation, in order that a Hindu might be justified in enquiring into the institutions which are so vital to the secular life of a country. I need hardly emphasise how ridiculous such a suggestion is and yet the suggestion is undoubtedly there in Lord Birkenhead's speech. Not only it is almost impossible that an entire Hindu

India should be blended together to one communal organisation, but it would entirely be undesirable if that were possible; similarly for Mussalmans or any other community. The political parties cannot and ought not to be on communal lines."

INDIA NOT BANKRUPT OF PATRIOTIC MEN.

This supposed impossibility of including Indians on the commission because of Hindus, Mussalmans, Non-Brahmins, Sikhs and depressed classes, all clamouring for representation is unreal when the real facts are looked to in their proper perspective. India is not and has never been bankrupt of men of great patriotism, of catholic views in all communities, and we know there are Hindus who will command the confidence of Mussalmans and Mussalmans who will command the confidence of Hindus, Brahmins who will command the confidence of Non-Brahmins and depressed classes and Non-Brahmins who will command the confidence of Brahmins and others.

The large mass of illiterate India is pressed into service to establish the impossibility of selecting representative Indians for the commission. It is very singular that the interests of this mass of illiterates, who have been allowed to remain illiterate during the British administration for the last 150 years, are supposed to be properly safe-guarded by seven Englishmen with very little acquaintance of India and that educated Indians cannot be trusted to safeguard these interests.

REPRESENTATION OF CIVIL SERVICE.

Then it is said that if Indians were given a place on the commission the Indian Civil Service who, it is claimed, have a deep-rooted interest in the country, would also be entitled to be represented on the commission. Now during many years of unofficial life and a few years of official life I have come into close association with members of the Indian Civil Service, both Europeans and Indians, and I would most ungrudgingly admit that they are a splendid body of public servants who have rendered valuable service to India and whose services, in my opinion, would be still valuable to self-governing India, but I entirely repudiate the claim made on their behalf that they are entitled to representation on this commission.

NOT AFRAID OF CIVIL SERVICE REPRESENTATION.

The members of the service will be valuable witnesses before the Commission. Who ever heard the permanent public servants in a country are to have a voice in deciding on the political evolution of any country? But the contingency of some Indian Civil servants being placed on the commission with Indian non-officials does not frighten me. In the matter of those reforms we had in 1918-19, there were two important committees under the presidency of Lord Southborough to determine the question of functions to be decided upon the division of Imperial and Central and Provincial subjects in the provinces and the franchise for the various legislatures. On each committee we had three European members of the Civil Service, one of them being Mr. Hailey, now Sir Malcolm Hailey, Governor of the Punjab. In spite of the predilections and strong views on either side, the Indians and the Europeans were able to appreciate and adjust their conflicting views, and unanimous reports of both committees were produced.

COMMITTEES OF LEGISLATURES.

We are told that it is proposed to give us something better than membership of the commission by way of creating committees at the Central as well as Provincial legislatures to get into touch with the commission and later on with Parliamentary committees. We are told that the opportunities of collaboration offered to us under the scheme are such as have never before been offered to any country and that we are stupid and perverse enough not to appreciate and welcome those opportunities. Any person who carefully studies the proposals about these committees as put forward by the Cabinet in the Houses of Parliament, cannot be under any delusion as to their real nature notwithstanding the very sweet and generous words used to pacify us. Lord Olivier in the House of Lords and Mr. Macdonald in the House of Commons drew very attractive and rosy pictures as to what the status and powers of these committees of the legislatures might be. Lord Olivier suggested that there should be joint meetings of the two commissions as they called them and the reports of those commissioners should in due course be presented to the joint committee of Parliament. The suggestions of Lord Olivier were promptly repudiated by Lord Reading and he suggested

that they were quite impossible of acceptance. Mr. Macdonald in the House of Commons spoke of the two commissions working together in harmonious co-operation with each other and then report to the House of Commons the lines of the new constitution. Let no one be misled by these pious suggestions on the part of Labour leaders.

NO EQUALITY OF STATUS.

Let us look closely and squarely at the scheme of these committees as propounded by the Secretary of State. There is no mistake or misunderstanding as to what the scheme is. The functions of the Committee of the Central legislature are, in the words of the Secretary of State, "to prepare their own proposals and go before the commission and say, these are our suggestions." After giving the committee an opportunity of confronting the commission with their own proposals, it will be for the commission to analyse and criticise and the said commission ought to accept or reject them. When the commission goes to the provinces, the commission will lose contact with the committee of the Central Legislature and will get into contact with provincial committees who will, in the words of the Secretary of State, "discharge the same consultative functions as the committee of the Central Legislature." The commission will deliberate itself and arrive at its own conclusions and present its report to Parliament. The Secretary of State makes it perfectly clear that he cannot have two reports, one from the commission and one from the committee of the central legislature. After the report of the commission reaches Parliament and it is referred to the joint Parliamentary Committee, the committee of the Central Indian Legislature will be allowed to develop any criticism they may have to make to the proposals of the commission and Government. In all these so-called concessions what is more than what the legislatures could themselves have done? Who could prevent the legislators from submitting their proposals to the commission and later depute a committee to appear before the Joint Parliamentary Committee to offer their views on the proposals of the commission? It would be open to any organisation or any individual of importance to do so. Camouflage as you may, the committees of the legislature under this scheme have no more status and no more power than submitting

their views as any other witness. The Prime Minister may speak of approaching Indian people as friends and equals and the Secretary of State may speak of specially inviting the committee of the legislature to sit with the Parliamentary Committee. All these phrases would not advance in the least either the status or the dignity or the powers of the committee as defined by the Secretary of State. There is no misrepresentation and misunderstanding on our part as regards the status and rights of the committees. The misrepresentation is all on the part of those who are telling people that the committees have equal status and rights with the commission. We are told that we are given an opportunity that in the history of constitution-making has never been given to people. This is what he says: "They will on the whole have been given an opportunity which, in my judgment, has never been given in the whole history of constitution-making of any people 'who are in their position.'" The operative words are "people who are in their position." The position is this. We are a subject-race. But for the protection of the British army and navy, you are unable to protect yourselves and your country. You are quarreling amongst yourselves with your different religions and creeds and it is the height of impudence on your part to claim to sit on this commission which is coming to decide your political future.

OUR FIRM STAND.

This being the real nature of the association offered to India in the work of determining her political future, can India with any self-respect agree to accept the position offered to her? The answer that I venture to suggest is an emphatic negative. It is a very encouraging sign that the determination to refuse to have anything to do with the Commission at any stage or in any form is receiving such universal acceptance from all parties and organizations and all sections of the people. If Government have any political wisdom they ought to read correctly the great significance of the phenomenon that

the last month has revealed. It is not merely the fire-eaters and irreconcilables who are resisting the Commission as announced. Foremost in the opposition are many distinguished Indians who undeterred by any popular clamour and at considerable personal sacrifice, came forward to work the Reforms Act at a very critical period and steadfastly pursued that policy because they conscientiously believed it to be in the best interests of the country. If these people are now firmly against the announcement of the Parliamentary Commission and feel that they cannot conscientiously have anything to do with it, those in authority must pause and think and think wisely instead of deluding themselves with the belief that the action of these people is dictated either by stupidity or unworthy motives, which the apologists of Government are too ready to attribute to them. Our position is plain. The scheme as announced is unacceptable and we cannot take any part in it. If fresh proposals or modifications are made, we are prepared to consider them with an open mind. We have raised our voice in warning and the responsibility lies heavily on Government. They, the Government, have to make up their minds and the quicker they do it the better either to retrace their steps and rectify the great blunder they have committed or to persist in their mistaken course and work everlasting harm both to India and to England.

"INDIA'S SOUL IS NOT DEAD."

Mr. Macdonald is amazed that we are making all this fuss about the exclusion of Indians from the Commission and are not appreciating the opportunities given to us by means of the committees of the legislatures and Mr. Lansbury describes our attitude as "midsummer madness." It is so little these people know of Indian sentiments and feelings. But whatever the Conservative, the Liberal and the Labour leaders in Parliament may think, let us tell them with a united voice that India's Soul is not dead, and that self-respecting India will have nothing to do with this Commission in any shape or form.

LORD BIRKENHEAD'S CASUISTRIES ON THE ROYAL COMMISSION.

By DR. ANNIE BESANT.

Lord Birkenhead is a remarkably clever man, but he has a fault common to many clever men—he regards as fools those who disagree with him. The extraordinarily unconvincing speech which he delivered in the House of Lords on the Royal Commission can mislead none who can distinguish facts from fancies, or who knows even an outline of the history of India in the past or in the present. Let us examine the salient features of the speech.

Lord Birkenhead said that he had discussed the difficulties of the problem with two Viceroy's to an extent indicated by the statement that it would fill several volumes. Every alternative to the Parliamentary Commission had been examined. May I suggest one omission? The discussion by Parliament of the Commonwealth of India Bill, drafted by a National Convention composed of members of the Legislatures of India with 19 outstanding Indians not then in a Legislature, such as the ex-Law Member in the Viceroy's Council and a Privy Councillor of H. M. the King. Though this Bill has been read twice in the Commons' House and has been officially adopted by His Majesty's Opposition, Lord Birkenhead's eager scrutiny has overlooked it. It claims Dominion Status for India. If, as he pretends later, his offer is still open, why does he not now examine that Bill? Or is Lord Birkenhead quick to promise and slow to perform?

MEMBERS OF THE COMMISSION.

I need not trouble about the members of the Commission proposed; presumably they were the best that Lord Birkenhead could find who fulfilled the only necessary qualification imposed of having no knowledge of Indian conditions. Lord Birkenhead said they are an "exceptionally intelligent jury"—although apparently they needed little biographies to introduce them to the Lords—and the word "jury" is well chosen, for a jury sits on a corpse or a criminal—a dignified position for India, a Nation which

is claiming her birth-right of freedom. However, as she boycotts the Commission, the intelligent jury will not sit on her.

It is news that when the British merchants appeared in India, they found it "a country discordant and dissentient within itself, of warring sects, with no prospect of a stable and unified dominion." Elizabeth signed the first merchant charter, and she had tortured and pressed to death Roman Catholics, as her predecessor burnt Protestants, while Akbar ruled over a mighty Empire, employed impartially Hindus and Mussalmans, and held religious discussions every week in his own palace. One of the southern kingdoms of India had lasted for a thousand years before the Company destroyed it. India is about as large as Europe without Russia; was Europe so peaceful, and so free from religious turmoil and shocking persecutions that it can cast a stone at India's far better conditions? With such a past is Britain fit for Self-Government? This is all mere camouflage, repeating falsehoods often disproved.

NAVY, ARMY AND CIVIL SERVICE.

Then Lord Birkenhead asked: "Do you desire the withdrawal of the British Navy, the Army and the Civil Service?" As regards the first two, "Yes, as soon as India is allowed a Navy and a Merchant Service, with Marine Insurance Companies of her own." Indian ships sailed up the Thames, some centuries ago, and the ship-builders of Britain obtained legislation which destroyed her ship-building and her Marine. Yes, as to the Army, as soon as Indians are permitted to hold commission in the Artillery, since gunners are helpless without the officer's calculations; as soon as Indians are allowed to be trained as pilots of aeroplanes; without knowledge of long range artillery and aeroplanes, India is helpless to defend herself. How late Lord Birkenhead mock her helplessness, while the Imperial Government bars her way to self-defence? Will my Lord Birkenhead choose as

his Commissioners persons who know nothing of the grievous wrongs inflicted on India by the British Government? As to the Civil Service, it finds a comfortable field for the highly paid employment of young Britishers while India finds the "foreign yoke intolerable", as Mr. Asquith said, when he pictured the results of defeat in the early days of the war. As to the warring sects, Hindus and Musalmans lived together for well-nigh 1000 years without exterminating each other, and the riots of to-day, which Britain does not prevent, are due to her device of communal electorates, wherein Hindus and Muslims are pitched against each other. Under Home Rule these riots will be as rare as they are in the States governed by Indians to-day.

COMMUNAL DIFFERENCES.

Then, Lord Birkenhead played on the differences between Hindus and Musalmans. But those differences are religious, not political. Do the endless sects in Christianity connote political antagonism? If so, why not in Britain a hundred communal electorates? How can a Roman Catholic represent Protestants, or an Anglican a Dissenter? It is not so long since Protestants turned Roman Catholics out of their houses in Liverpool and burnt their furniture in the streets. Britain has sensibly ignored religious differences in the political field. Why does she inflame them in India? Her Government is neither Hindu nor Musalman, but Christians, an outcaste for outcastes, an aborigine for aborigines in which she does not believe. Then she pretends, by her Secretary of State that in a Commission to examine political advance (or retrogression?) she must have a Muslim to represent Muslims, a Hindu for Hindus, a Sikh for Sikhs, a Christian for Christians, an outcaste for outcastes, an aborigine for aborigines. In a British Commission, say for Agriculture, would she have men who know nothing of agricultural conditions, but an Anglican, a Roman Catholic, a Jew, a Free-thinker, an Atheist, a docker, a costermonger and a beggar? This is the kind of nonsense which Lord Birkenhead poured out to influence the House of Lords.

If he wanted a few facts, let him know that a Musalman was the President of the National Congress, and that the leading Musalmans of India are standing shoulder to shoulder in the

National Boycott of the Commission. As for "untouchability" what has Britain done for it? Now that the Educational Ministers are Indians, and primary education is free, Government grants are only made to schools that admit "untouchables," and just now the great Paichaiappa's College at Madras is admitting "untouchables" on equal terms. Lord Birkenhead urged that Government did not wish to affront Indian opinion:

It is all very well to
dissemble your love,
But why did you kick
me downstairs?

NEW BADGE OF SERFDOM.

Lord Birkenhead is going to give us Committees, "consultative" bodies, suitable to a subject Nation. The chief Committee is to be appointed by the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly—in which the Government and its nominated members have a large minority. Active and ingenious lobbying, with suitable promises and hints and flatteries, may easily turn this into a majority, and then Lord Birkenhead will be able to say that "the country" accepts his plan. Will these Committees have access to all records shown to the Commission? Will their report be given as much weight as that of the Commission? Or is it a mere device offered with pretty promises, "made to be broken," since Lord Birkenhead says: their proposals are to be analysed and criticised, and can be accepted or rejected. The official report is to be the basis of legislation. Nothing inconsistent with that has any chance of acceptance. Parliament is to make the new Constitution, not India. Parliament could accept the Australian Constitution and pass it into law. But an Indian Constitution must be made by Parliament and accepted by India. It will only be a new badge of our serfdom; British wisdom is to devise it; India is meekly to accept. Happy were our men who died in the trenches, in Gallipoli, in Palestine, in every theatre of war. They died, dreaming of Liberty for the Motherland. What cause had they to die to save Britain from invasion? They believed in British gratitude. Nine years and a half have passed since the Armistice was signed, and Freedom is not yet in sight. The All-White Commission will retain

us in subjection. A significant word comes at the end of Lord Birkenhead's speech. The government will not budge from their "central scheme." There will be no risk of "two reports proceeding from two Commissions." That is: the Committees, or Committee are subordinate

bodies; they may chatter, but there will be no report from them. They must know their place and keep in it. It is suggested that we should get more by not boycotting the Commission. May be. But man does not live by bread alone. At least we will keep our Honour.

THE POLITICAL PROBLEM IN INDIA.

By SIR ABDUR RAHIM, K.C.S.I.
(*Ex-Member, Bengal Government*).

Those who wish to boycott the Parliamentary Commission that has been appointed because it is a denial of the claims of India's politicians to determine the country's constitution either solely by themselves or in co-operation on equal and responsible terms (include myself in the latter category) and those who are content with a purely British Commission have equally to make up their minds on the principle on which the Indian constitution is to be based and the form of government which they want. It is to help forward that object that I wish to discuss some of the salient aspects of the momentous problem with which our country is faced. The fact is that though Lord Birkenhead for the last three years has been giving his most anxious consideration to the question of a purely Parliamentary Commission, he never thought of consulting Indian opinion either by publishing his views or by taking into his confidence prominent Indian politicians. Whatever might have been his intentions or those of his colleagues, there cannot be the least doubt that the deliberate exclusion of Indians from the Commission and the way it was done involves an understating of the value of Indian co-operation, verging on contempt. It is no wonder that the British Government's action has been regarded as an insult to India and as connoting an ominous departure from the hitherto professed policy of co-operation and partnership. But a mere boycott of the Commission will be ineffective unless it is substantially unanimous and is further backed by a successful effort to

evolve by agreement of the leaders of different important communities and political parties a suitable, workable constitution. Otherwise the self-determination which we claim leads us nowhere. So far as I have been able to gather this is the attitude of the Mussalman community and I believe men of divergent schools of thought agree with me in this respect. I leave out of account those individuals who cannot or will not think for themselves and with the brand of Mir Jafar on their foreheads are too happy to say *aminna wa saddayna* (I believe! I acknowledge!) to whatever the powers that be may propose.

The central question which has to be decided under Section 84A of the Government of India Act of 1919 is as to "whether and to what extent it is desirable to establish the principle of responsible government in India or extend, modify or restrict the degree of responsible government then existing therein." I wish at present to deal with some of the broad aspects of this momentous issue, for it is possible and advisable to postpone consideration of these specific problems which would emerge once the principles on which the future constitution of India is to be determined are settled. The terms of Section 84A of the Government of India Act and of the Preamble are open to a wide interpretation, but a careful analysis of the actual position would show the real limits within which the enquiry will be practically confined. It has been suggested by some impulsive constitution-makers that the whole ques-

tion as to the form of future government in India should be treated as an open one and that the British Parliament has a clean slate to write on. I have no doubt whatever that this is not so. In my opinion the question whether India is to have responsible government is closed by public pronouncements of British Prime Ministers, Secretaries of State for India and Viceroys, and above all by the facts of the situation and the times and to disregard them could be the merest cynicism and folly. At the same time it would be a blunder on our part to permit ourselves to be off our guard in any way with respect to the fundamental question and let our attention be engrossed with what is in their essence matters of detail, however important, simply because they have been the subject of communal controversy. We must firmly refuse to be led away by any sort of red herring that may be drawn across our path.

We know that the British Parliament will decide what the future constitution of India is to be. The crucial question is how is that going to be determined. It obviously cannot be determined by any *a priori* reasoning, for no form of government has yet been established by such a process. The factors and data on which a government is built are not amenable to the logic of the theorist. The present Government was established and has been maintained ever since by the resources of British arms and diplomacy securing the submission or acquiescence of the people. In the search for a suitable constitution the past history of India can be of little avail, by reason of the fact that ancient India had no such thing and the form of government that had been in vogue being disrupted by the operation of natural forces came down like a house of cards as a result of the onslaught of a body of British merchants. In that portion of India at least with which we are mainly concerned, a revival of the regime of Rajahs and Padshahs, however great or wise as rulers some of them might have been, must be ruled out under the present conditions as unthinkable. The official or bureaucratic form of administration which was elaborated by the British on the foundations of certain simple Moghul institutions never remained in a fixed or immobile state. A body of ever-changing foreign rulers with no permanent stake or interest in the country deriving their authority from and being responsible to a Power residing thousands of miles away could never hope to

secure round their Government the affections and devotion of any large class of the people. The more systematized and comprehensive such a Government became in its activities, it felt more and more the need of sending down roots in the country. From time to time therefore consistent and steady efforts had to be made by prudent, far-seeing British statesmen to engraft on it institutions founded on the principle of responsibility to the people which were essentially and necessarily opposed to the basic official system, e.g., Legislative Councils, municipalities, district and local boards, self-governing universities, etc.

The inevitable result has been that the bureaucratic idea of non-responsibility to the people of the country has been growingly felt to be a jarring anachronism producing more and more difficulties every day. One has to watch the proceedings of a few sittings of any of the more important Legislative Councils to realise how the principle of bureaucracy is wholly unable nowadays to maintain its ground against the principle of responsibility. It is indeed pathetic to see able and courageous men trying day after day to defend and save as much of the old system as they possibly can, but it is evident that they cannot shake off the conviction that they are struggling against overpowering odds. There are indeed some people who seem to think that Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford by transferring some of the departments of Government to the administration of representatives of the people and enlarging the functions of the legislatures introduced a new principle. This, however, is not the fact, though they introduced responsibility in a wider sphere of Government and greatly widened its basis so that the idea of self-government spread among far larger circles of the people. That no doubt helped to focus and intensify the conflict that had been going on between the two principles, so that it was almost with a prophet's vision that the framers of the Government of India Act provided for a thorough examination of the situation at the end of ten years. It is now unavoidable that the conflict of the two antagonistic principles should be removed as far as possible and there can be no doubt that the decision must be in favour of discarding the bureaucratic system and establishing on a firm and wide basis the principles of responsibility to the people.

The Preamble to the Reform Act of 1919

recites that the British Parliament being vested with responsibility for the welfare and advancement of the people of India must determine the time and manner of each advance. It further recites that there is to be a gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government. This is more or less a repetition of an old formula according to which the British regime in India has been professedly expanding its activities in this country though put in a somewhat new garb. The real question is how far this 'gradual progress' and 'progressive realisation' has gone on and where it has lauded us. This is not to be answered by any mathematical calculation nor by a mere array of figures and statistics. It is said: "Oh, look at the mass of illiteracy in the country—how can we expect that any wide system of franchise will be properly utilised." The true reply is "But this state of things only discredits the old system. Directly the people have power over Government they will naturally see to it that they get the benefit of education and thus improve their chances in life." The statesmen of Europe for instance never waited until the masses became wholly literate before instituting representative government. Similarly it is objected: "How a large and influential class of politicians have deliberately refused to avail themselves of the opportunity for service secured to them under the Administration." The answer is obvious. Except one class of politicians all the others have done the best loyally to make the most of the Government of India Act. But it has to be admitted that the inherent difficulties of the present system put too much strain even on their best-intentioned men,—men who always strove to look at things in the most favourable light and persistently endeavoured to surmount the obstacles in their path. The fact is that the present system does not concede to the representatives of the people sufficient power and opportunities to enable them to achieve any substantial good work and on the other hand expects of them to support officials who are not responsible to the people even in measures which might seriously injure the peoples' rights and liberties or grossly outrage their feelings and sentiments.

It will doubtless be urged that the hostile inter-communal feeling that has lately found such disastrous expression is a bar to any form of responsible government. This at first sight

would appear to be a formidable difficulty but it is necessary that we should appreciate its true character and significance. A little reflection would show that the argument first of all overlooks certain facts and secondly that it only raises the question as to the need for certain precautionary measures in the constitution and especially the way in which the legislature is to be constituted and not against India's fitness for responsible government. To begin with it must be borne in mind that the communal riots take place and have been in fact taking place for many years past owing to a conflict of religious or supposed religious rights mainly among the masses of the people. Until, say, about 5 years ago, there was no political motive behind these riots, but latterly a certain class of politicians have persuaded themselves that the community weaker in wealth, organisation and influence with the executive authorities might be made to submit to the domination of the community stronger in these respects, while on the other hand a class of men among those who do not believe in the desirability of self-government in India would naturally be calculating that the community which finds it more or less helpless against the other community chiefly because of the latter's ascendancy in the Government would ultimately come down on their knees and pray against a further devolution of power on a people who can do so much mischief with the modicum of power they are now suffered to exercise. The undesirable fact is that this communal warfare has been raging in all its fury under a regime which is not responsible to the people of the country even though it is powerful and resourceful enough to suppress all such strife without difficulty. The question that has to be asked is, whether when the people are vested with real responsibility and the best men among them realise the great possibilities which would then open out before them and see a real chance of installing India when the proper time arrives among the great and powerful nations of the earth, will communal selfishness, exclusiveness and hatred disappear, will they then fully appreciate the need for free development of talent in each community and class so that their aim will no longer be to cripple or destroy any large section of their countrymen for the sake of some petty communal immediate gain or for avenging some past or present wrong real or imaginary?

This question cannot be answered without answering a further fundamental question, how far the present phenomenon is a mere outbreak of latent feeling of general animosity between the two communities, which must necessarily actuate one community when it sees an opportunity or finds itself in a position of advantage and power to ill-treat and oppress the other community or is it due merely to a more or less accidental conflict of certain religious or civic observances and rights which the machinations of a class of politicians have been helping to spread all over the land. I am inclined to think that the latter is the case, for if we look to the history of India when the Muslims settled down in the country we shall find that none of the wars were of a communal character. If Aurangzeb and Shivaji fought each other it must be borne in mind that each had highly trusted officials of the other community under his command and that the Muslim Emperors and Hindu Rajas more often than not fought rivals belonging to their own community. Throughout the whole history of the Indian Moghuls and Pathans there was no attempt made to suppress the Hindu community the surest proof of which is to be found in the fact that at the present day we find many more Hindu Rajas and zamindars than Mussulmans. Nor were the Hindus at any time excluded from the military or civil office even of the highest rank. This was very natural as the Pathans and the Moghuls had made India their home. There was also a gradual assimilation of the two cultures. Arabic-Persian and Hindi-Urdu were developed as a common language in North-Western India and the Pathans helped to create the modern Bengali language in Bengal.

Indeed it is difficult to tell what would have evolved out of the welter of anarchy that followed the decay of Moghul rule, if the British had not stepped in and by their powerful organisation stopped the free play of all natural social movements.

Unfortunately caste survived and the scrupulous enforcement of existing customs by the courts of law gave it a further rigidity. It is caste unknown in other countries of the world which has stood in the way of an Indian nationality keeping the Hindus from the Mussalmans and dividing the Hindu community itself into a number of distinct units. This division of the population of India into distinct communities is the peculiar feature of Indian social life, which undoubtedly has to be taken into consideration in framing a constitution so that they may all find opportunities and facilities for self-expression and the minorities may be assured of effective protection. Surely it is not beyond the wit of man to devise such a constitution for responsible self-government. It may not be an ideal constitution but if to begin with it be acceptable and worked with sincere goodwill by all the parties concerned it will enable us to advance a good way towards realisation of self-government. It is also my firm belief that under a properly devised form of representative responsible government suitable to the actual conditions of India and provided with every reasonable safeguards against oppression by the majority and assuring to every section of the population means for improving their condition politically, economically and socially, the minorities will be much better off than they have been hitherto.

THE ROYAL COMMISSION AND INDIAN NATIONALISM.

By MR. SACHCHIDANANDA SINHA, *Bar-at-Law*
(*Ex-Finance Member, Bihar and Orissa Government*).

We are again in the midst of a great political upheaval, brought about by the announcement of the appointment of an all-British Commission, to work out the future constitution of India. If

it be—as many Indians believe—Britain's mission in India to act, from time to time, as a wholesome and beneficial irritant to the growth of Indian Nationalism, then the Tory

Government may well be credited with having once more discharged that duty effectively. It is not surprising, therefore, that having made a careful survey of the unprecedented situation so created, educated Indians have felt it to be their duty to state as clearly as they can their position and opinion at this juncture in the history of their country. Public opinion seems to be almost unanimous that the appointment of an exclusive British Commission can not but be regarded as a studied and calculated affront to India and a direct challenge to Indians in the matter of their inalienable right to assist, on an equal footing with British representatives, in the shaping of the future constitution of their country. It would serve no useful purpose at this stage to re-open the question whether a Round Table Conference—such as public opinion demanded—or a properly constituted Royal Commission would have been the most suitable machinery for the purpose. However that be, there is general agreement that the kind of Commission the British Government have chosen to appoint is not only highly arbitrary and grossly unfair to the inherent rights of the people of India, but that it is an arrogant assertion of British Imperialism and an absolute negation of India's right to take a prominent part and assist materially in the framing of her own constitution. The popular demand on the subject stands embodied in resolutions twice adopted by the Legislative Assembly, with almost the unanimous concurrence of the elected Indian members. But apart from that, it is indisputable that all political parties and communities in the country had made it abundantly clear that they insisted upon the appointment of suitable Indian representatives, of equal status with the British, on any Statutory Commission to be constituted. In the circumstances, the total exclusion of Indians from the Commission is an arrangement which—howsoever convenient or acceptable it may be from the British standpoint—is not one in which any self-respecting Indian can at all acquiesce, much less accept as the final decree of Fate; for every thinking Indian feels that (in the words put into the mouth of Shylock by Shakespeare) His Majesty's Government have but "scorned my nation."

In coming to this conclusion educated Indians have done—what they have been repeatedly asked to do—viz., kept in view the scheme "as a whole," and have carefully con-

sidered the proposals about the Committees of the Central Legislatures and the Provincial Councils, on which His Excellency the Viceroy and the parliamentary leaders have expatiated in their statements and speeches made in connection with the appointment of the Commission. But it is clear on the face of it that the members of these Committees will not at all have the status—even ever so remotely—of that of the members of the Commission. They will not have—for they cannot have as outsiders—any access to the notes, minutes and other confidential documents which will be submitted to the Commission by the Central and the Provincial Governments, and will thus be unable (for want of inside knowledge) to meet the case that may be attempted to be made out against our political progress. Nor will they have vote or even any controlling voice in formulating the Commission's recommendations—the proposed Committees being purely consultative bodies. At best, these Committees will but say their say and then await the acceptance or the rejection of their views, just as the Commission—or later the Joint Parliamentary Committee—may please. In my opinion, therefore, no more humiliating a position for these proposed Committees of the various legislatures could possibly be conceived, and I shall be surprised if a large number of members of the Central and the Provincial legislatures would be found willing to exercise their right for this purpose. For these reasons the educated public was justified in having unhesitatingly expressed its conviction that the Commission is wholly unacceptable to the thinking and politically-minded Indians, and as it has been constituted on the principle of a complete boycott of them, no self-respecting Indian can or should have anything to do with it, the best course thus obviously being to leave it severely alone.

But the grounds set forth for the extraordinary, indefensible and objectionable course adopted by the British Government are calculated, in my opinion, to still more deepen the sense of India's grievance. To say—as Mr. Baldwin did in the House of Commons—that the absolute exclusion of Indians is "a broad question of principle," is bad enough in all conscience. But to have bracketted—as His Excellency the Viceroy has done—the demand for Indian representatives with that of the representation of the British services and to say that if the former were to be appointed the

latter also must, of necessity, be given representation on the Commission—in other words, the assertion that in the framing of the Indian constitution the representatives of the people of this country should enjoy no better or higher a status than that of the British services—is justly regarded as adding insult to injury, since it enunciates a proposition which Indians can never accept as politically sound. As for the view propounded that Indians had to be excluded as they are bound to be biased in favour of their claim to self-government, can it not be asserted with even greater show of reason that British representatives—albeit they be members of Parliament—are no less interested, by reason of their conscious or unconscious bias, in retaining Britain's hold over this country, and are thus not qualified for their task, unless it be in co-operation on equal terms with Indian representatives of equal status with them? Read between the lines, the Viceregal pronouncement and the statements of the parliamentary leaders and others—including the supporters (in the British and the Anglo-Indians press) of the Commission, as constitutive—clearly imply that the view underlying the appointment of the exclusive British Commission is that the question of the political progress of India is one to be determined by the British Parliament and the British Parliament alone, and in which, therefore, India can not expect to have lot or part. I emphatically join issue with this view and repudiate any such unwarranted assumption. On the contrary, I maintain that although the British Parliament may enact legislation for India—as it did for Canada, Australia, South Africa and (last but not least) Ireland—the scheme to be embodied in any Indian Reform Bill must be one which should have been evolved as the result of the joint deliberations of Indian and British representatives of equal status as members of a Commission, acting together on equal footing, with equal powers and privileges. Lastly, if a mere expected unanimity of opinion be the criterion in the appointment of the Commission—which, it has been said *ad nauseum*, would have been jeopardized by the representation on it of Indians—it would be distinctly interesting to have it authoritatively declared whether Sir John Simon (the Liberal leader) and his six colleagues, drawn from the Conservative and the Labour parties, have already given, in any shape or form, an undertaking or an assurance

of presenting a unanimous Report! Thus put, this proposition has but to be stated to be rejected.

Surveying the situation carefully and anxiously, it seems that the British Government have but taken advantage of the unfortunate prevailing communal tension in the country to appoint a purely British Commission at a time when they believe our political forces to be at the weakest, and they evidently count upon the division in the Nationalist ranks to be able to work out a scheme which would perpetuate their hold upon the country. Further, the statement of Sir John Simon that "the Commission will not go to India with the idea of imposing Western ideas on constitutional reforms from without," seems to me to be highly significant and pregnant with the suggestion that under the guise of restoring or reviving some alleged indigenous system an attempt will be made to abrogate even the meagre Reforms already introduced. At any rate, the constitution of the Commission—the personnel of which has been justly subjected to animadversion by the *London Observer* and even by some of the leading Anglo-Indian papers—can leave no manner of doubt in the Indian mind that there is not even a semblance of genuineness to accelerate the pace of India's progress towards the goal of responsible government. In the circumstances, the only proper and dignified course open before a self-respecting people can be to have nothing to do (at any stage or in any form) with the Commission, precisely in the same way as the British Government has chosen to treat us by our complete exclusion from a body appointed to determine the future political destiny of our country.

Last but not least, I venture to hope that this crowning piece of deliberate wrong to the self-respect of our country, may drive home to the Indian people the conviction that the foisting of a Commission of this character is but the inevitable result of our internecine feuds and factions, and that a people so much divided amongst themselves as the Indians are at present, must necessarily fall victims to the machinations of those who are vitally interested in perpetuating their hold on this country and who are, therefore, only too ready to take advantage of any opening in our ranks. If the appointment of an all-British Commission will even now open the eyes of my countrymen to the irretrievable loss that India has already

sustained by reason of the working of the disruptive forces that are in the ascendant amongst us, and make them realize the essential identity of their political interests, it would be a blessing in disguise. It is time, therefore, that our communal strife were at an end, that healthier influences gained ground in our public activities, and that political cohesion again asserted itself in the ranks of all public workers, as also amongst the masses, in the country. I hope that the appointment of the purely Parliamentary Commission with its deliberate boycott of Indians may prove the "soul of goodness in things evil," and restore to us our lost political unity, by the coalescence into one compact body, one solid phalanx, of the various political, communal factions in which the Indian body

polity has disintegrated at present. This is the one great lesson that we have to and should learn from the action of the British Government in appointing the all-British Commission. But there is yet another and even a more useful lesson that we can and should learn from this incident. It is that embodied in the soul-stirring lines of Wordsworth, which all of us would do well ever to keep in mind:—

"Tis well! from this day forward
we shall know
That in ourselves our safety must be sought;
That by our own right hands it
must be wrought,
That we must stand unpropped or be laid low.
O, dastard, whom such foretaste doth not cheer

A BRAND OF INFERIORITY AND A NATIONAL
INSULT!*

By SIR P. S. SIVASWAMI IYER, K.C.S.I.
(Ex-Member, Madras Government).

When the appointment of a Statutory Commission was announced by Lord Irwin in a lengthy communique, it was received with widespread feelings of disappointment and dissatisfaction. The opinions of many public men were expressed on the proposals, and a large number of these were in favour of a complete boycott of the Commission. The pronouncement of an adverse verdict and the declaration of an intention to boycott the Commission were deprecated by the authorities in England and by the Anglo-Indian press, on the ground that the public were not in full possession of the reasons which had led the Imperial Government to decide upon a purely Parliamentary Commission. It was stated that, when the reasons which weighed with the Government in its decision were made known to the public in due course, our leaders would find that there was ample justification for the course taken by

the Government and would feel so satisfied with the fairness and justice of the proposals, that they would wish to co-operate with the Commission. They were, therefore, requested not to shut themselves out of the opportunity for co-operation, by public expressions of opinion which would render it difficult for them to retrace their steps. The public waited for the explanation. When recommending the names of the commissioners to the House of Lord for approval, the Secretary of State entered into a lengthy exposition of the reasons which induced the Government to appoint a purely Parliamentary Commission. He was supported by all the other speakers in the House of Lord including the two last Viceroys. But the speeches made during the debate in the Houses of Parliament have convinced few people in this country, except the Anglo-Indian press. Both in the Anglo-Indian papers and in the speech of the Secretary of State, it is stated that the proposals of the Government give a unique op-

*Reprint from the Daily Express Journal

portunity such as had never been granted before to the people of India to co-operate with Britain in treading the path leading to the goal of responsible government. They profess to be greatly surprised at the want of appreciation of such extremely liberal proposals by the people of the country.

LORD BIRKENHEAD'S EXPLANATION.

Let us now consider whether the speech of Lord Birkenhead has thrown any new light upon the situation or suggests any reason for altering the unfavourable verdict which had been pronounced by most people in the country on the composition of the Commission. The explanation of the Secretary of State really comes to this; that under the Government of India Act, there is no course open to Government except to appoint a Parliamentary Commission; that such a body would be the best conceivable instrument for the enquiry contemplated by the Act; that even if the Act allowed the appointment of a mixed commission, such a body would be unworkable and inexpedient; that subject to these two cardinal principles, the Government were willing to allow opportunities of the people of India to represent their case properly before the Commission and to co-operate with it, and that it would be unwise for the people to throw away such unprecedented opportunities for making out their case. We must first examine the correctness of these positions before we consider the attitude to be taken by us towards the Commission.

LORD BIRKENHEAD'S RIGHT AS A LAWYER.

Lord Birkenhead claimed the right as a constitutional lawyer to give an authoritative interpretation of the terms of the statutory provision prescribing the appointment of a commission. He had to admit that there was nothing in Section 84-A of the Government of India Act, which prohibited the appointment of a mixed commission, but he stated that the framers of the original and determining Act, when they spoke of a commission, contemplated only a Parliamentary Commission. With due deference to the opinion of such a distinguished lawyer, who once occupied the position of Lord Chancellor, it is necessary to point out that another distinguished Lord Chancellor of recent times laid down the dictum, that the framers of an enactment were those who were worst

qualified to interpret it. The golden rule of construction of statutes is not to go behind the language of the statute, whenever the meaning is plain and admits of no doubt. The framers of a statute are generally apt to impart their own intentions into the construction of the statute, which must be based upon what the language of the statute means and not upon the intentions of the draftsmen or of the many legislators who take part in passing it. Lord Reading only went so far as to say that a Parliamentary Commission was not ruled out by the statute. There is nothing in the language of the section which prevents the Secretary of State from proposing a mixed commission for the concurrence of Parliament. The contention of the Secretary of State that a mixed commission is ruled out by the statute is plainly inadmissible.

THE MORAL RIGHT OF INDIANS.

Let us see whether it is inconsistent with the principle of parliamentary responsibility. I do not belong to the school of politicians who have adopted the creed that Parliament has no right or business to decide upon the form of government suitable to this country. I do not hold with Pandit Motilal and his followers, that even if the Commission were to consist entirely of Indians, we should still object to it as contrary to the principle of self-determination. I belong to the party which has always been prepared to recognise facts in the face. We are prepared to admit that it is not possible for this country to acquire self-government except with the consent of the British nation and Parliament. But it is one thing to admit that the Parliament has by law the ultimate and determining voice and another thing to admit that we have no right to participate on equal terms with the Members of Parliament in the conduct of the enquiry, which is a necessary preliminary to the decision of Parliament. We all know the legal omnipotence of the British Parliament, which can do everything but make a woman a man; but does that negative the moral right of the people of India to take part on equal terms in an investigation which vitally affects the progress of this country? Does it again prevent Parliament from taking a wise, just or statesmanlike course? Whatever may be the legal rights of Parliament, it should in justice recognise the claims of the people

of India to treatment on a footing of equality at least in a preliminary enquiry concerning the government of their own country. The arguments of the Secretary of State about the primary and the ultimate responsibility for the welfare of this country being vested exclusively in the British Parliament may or may not be morally or politically sound; but how is that responsibility interfered with by the association of Indians with members of Parliament in a mixed Commission? For, to quote the language of Lord Birkenhead himself, what is the function of the Commission? It is only that of reporting to Parliament the facts elicited by its enquiry and making its recommendations as to the future. For the purpose of making this report, it is said that what is wanted is that the members should be men of admitted integrity and independence without any previous commitments whatever. To say that no Indians could be found with the requisite integrity and independence would be absurd. The claim that the members of the Commission are men who have not formed any previous opinions and enter upon their task without any bias is a large order upon the gullibility of Indians. Taking, for instance, the distinguished editor of one of the leading dailies, could it be said that he has had no opinions whatever upon the suitable form of government for this country? Similarly, with regard to the other members of the Commission; they must as public men have entertained some opinion or another on the subject of this enquiry. Political enquiries with a view to the determination of the form of government of a country do not stand on the same footing as judicial enquiries. Neither the data nor the conclusions are of the same order as those we are familiar with in judicial enquiries. The interpretation of facts and the recommendation of remedies alike demand a large experience of human nature, knowledge of the diverse conditions of society and a wide study of political phenomena and political history. A person would be superhuman, if his interpretation of political phenomena or his recommendations of political remedies were not influenced by his own political outlook, faith and sympathies. It is quite possible that Lord Birkenhead makes such a claim on behalf of the members of his Commission and on behalf of the members of the British race, but we cannot be expected to acquiesce in that view. Even among those public men who have ex-

pressed themselves in favour of co-operation with the Commission, there is no Indian who has not felt the sting of the total exclusion of Indians.

LORD BIRKENHEAD'S ARGUMENTS.

Let us now consider Lord Birkenhead's argument, that it would not have been possible to appoint a representative mixed commission, except at the cost of making it unwieldy and at the cost of a unanimous report. We shall not reply by remarking that even commissions of 18 persons have not been unknown in England, but it is enough to point out that commissions are not constituted on the same basis of representation as a Legislative Council. Lord Birkenhead has overshot his mark in this part of his defence of the decision of the Government. This is the first time that we have heard of the claims of the aborigines to a seat on a commission. It would not be an unwarranted inference from the speech, that Lord Birkenhead and his Government desire to follow the policy of 'divide and rule' and to exploit and excite communal jealousies. We wish that the same solicitude for the interest of aborigines and depressed classes and all races and creeds were displayed in the dealings of the present Government with Kenya and East Africa. It is also interesting to be informed that the Civil Service has deeply-rooted interests at stake which would be affected by any reforms and that these interests, apart from the interests of the country, must receive recognition, before any advance could be thought of. We cannot believe that the addition of half-a-dozen Indians would have made the commission unworkable. But it is said that a mixed commission could not produce a unanimous report. Of this there is no certainty. The Lee Commission was a mixed one, but produced a unanimous report. Apparently, the Simon Commission knows what is expected of it, and will produce a unanimous report. The idea that the Government and the Parliament will be distracted by divided recommendations by a mixed commission and will be unable to make up their minds and come to a decision, is not a compliment to the intelligence of Parliament.

SPIRIT OF THE TRODDEN WORM.

If then the composition of the Commission is so unsatisfactory, that even the Mahomedans

of the Punjab and the Non-Brahmins of Southern India are constrained to express their disapproval of it, what should be the attitude of the people towards it? In one of his private letters, Lord Morley refers to the uplifted spirit of the trodden worm. At least in that spirit, we can give answer to the question, what our attitude to the Commission should be and that answer is a complete boycott. In urging a complete boycott of the Commission, we are not urging a boycott of anything else in the land—of foreign imports or of the existing political institutions. We are not urging any form of non-co-operation except with the Commission. The distinction is clear as daylight between the policy of the Indian Liberals and the policy of the Gandhians, of the Swarajists and other types of extreme opinion. Some of our English friends among the members of the House of Lords and among the Anglo-Indian press have thought it necessary to warn us against the perilous consequences of the resort to boycott, and tell us that the movement will recoil upon us with deplorable consequences like the non-co-operation movement started by Mr. Gandhi a few years ago. It is somewhat surprising that our friends should not be able to distinguish between the policy of boycott of the Commission only and the policy of boycott of other things and of general non-co-operation with the Government, which have been preached to the public by an entirely different school of politicians. These remarks ought to be sufficient to obviate any misconception as to the scope of the boycott which is advocated by many of the members of the Liberal Party.

BOYCOTT AND ITS BENEFITS.

The next question to be considered is whether, by boycotting the Commission, the interests of the country are likely to suffer any material injury, or whether by co-operating with the Commission any great constitutional advance can be expected. For the purpose of answering this question, it is necessary to deal with two possible contingencies. The boycott may be either general or partial. That the boycott will not be universal and that the European and Anglo-Indian communities, and possibly the Indian Christian community, will not boycott the Commission, may be taken for granted. But the refusal of these communities to join in

the boycott will not affect the efficacy of the boycott, if it is otherwise general. Assuming that all the other communities join in the boycott, the Commission may proceed with its labours, but its recommendations will lack the moral support of the nation. Whatever findings the Commission may arrive at and whatever recommendations they may make, will rest entirely on their own responsibility. It may, perhaps, be feared that by not co-operating with the Commission we may lose the advantages that we may otherwise reap. I do not believe that the Commission is going to take any big step in the direction of constitutional reform. It is practically certain that they will not touch the sphere of the Central Government or the question of defence, and that the utmost they are likely to bring themselves to consider is the question of provincial autonomy in some of the provinces. They may perhaps consider the abolition of the system of dyarchy, but if they do, they are likely to revive all the discarded devices which were suggested by reactionary Governors at the time of the Montagu-Chelmsford enquiry. What lends support to these conjectures is the reference made by Lord Birkenhead to the deeply rooted interests of the Civil Service, the necessity for the perpetual maintenance of the British army and the Civil Service, the expectation of a unanimous report by the Commission and the allusion by Liberal politicians to the existence of reactionary elements which will obtain a ready hearing, if the people of India do not appear before the Commission and make their voices heard. This last apprehension implies a disposition on the part of the members of the Commission to listen to reactionary proposals and perhaps to act upon them. But I do not believe that the President of the Commission or even the Tory members of it would be so indifferent to their reputation, that they would be moved by a spirit of vindictiveness or that they would make recommendations of a reactionary character, retracing the steps which have already been taken along the line of constitutional reform. Even if the Commission should make any reactionary recommendations, there is nothing to prevent the people from carrying on a constitutional agitation against it, and, sooner or later, reconsideration will become necessary. Moreover, even if the Commission should make any reactionary recommendations and the present Government be inclined to accept them, there

are members of Parliament whose political creed is of a different hue, who should be anxious to see that the good name of the British Government is not discredited by reactionary measures.

POLICY OF DIVIDE AND RULE.

Let us, however, assume the contingency of the boycott not being universal and of large sections, like the Mahomedans and the non-Brahmins, co-operating with it. It may be feared that these sections who will gain the ear of the Commission may urge measures of a decidedly communal character and injurious to the interests of the nation at large or of those sections of the community which they wish to depress. Here again, the fear does not seem to be well-founded. The existence of communal dissensions is an undoubted temptation to adopt the policy of exploiting them and to follow the good old maxim of 'divide and rule'. This apprehension would not be altogether charitable to the President of the Commission or perhaps even to the Tory members of it. But the public will not be deprived of the opportunity of criticising any reactionary evidence or suggestions, unless the enquiry is conducted within closed doors. So long as the enquiry is a public one, we have nothing to fear. The evidence is bound to be public, and we shall have plenty of opportunities of criticising the evidence in the press and during the later stages, when the Government will seek to give effect to the recommendations by introducing the necessary legislation.

LORD BIRKENHEAD'S GENEROSITY.

In this connection, it is necessary to refer to the vaunted offer of facilities for placing our case before the Commission. Lord Birkenhead is amazed at his own generosity and wonders that these concessions have not been appreciated. Some of the Anglo-Indian papers have also followed suit and attribute our failure to appreciate them to our density, perversity or the disappointment of individuals who have been chagrined at not being invited to serve on the Commission. It is not worth while to reply to the despicable imputation of motives to Indian publicists who have advocated the boycott, but the charge of density is a cap which

fits the heads of those who make it against us. Our critics seem to be unaware that, when the Montagu-Chelmsford report was under consideration and when the Government of India Bill was on the anvil, the public had every opportunity of presenting their case before the Southborough Committee and before the Joint Select Committee. The facilities supposed to be offered by the willingness of the Secretary of State to allow the legislatures to elect their own committees to frame proposals in accordance with their views and submit them before the Commission, do not mean much. Is he right in boasting of it as the first genuine effort for co-operation between the Government and the legislatures? Would there have been anything to prevent the legislature from appointing a committee to frame proposals in the absence of this generous offer? It has been alleged against us that we have allowed ourselves to be guided by sentiment rather than reason, and that we are throwing away great advantages by the refusal of this offer. Lord Birkenhead said that 'the committee will co-operate as colleagues with the Commission'. But in what sense will they be colleagues? What is the meaning of colleagues who are not members? They will not form part of the jury, they will not join in making the report; at the most, they will only be assessors, whose opinions will be taken, but who have no right to see all the evidence including confidential documents. There is the greatest difference in the world between the position of a colleague who has the right to share in the inner counsels of a Commission, to know the workings of the minds of the other members and influence their conclusions by legitimate argument, and the position of an assessor. Lord Birkenhead has not explained the details of the contact which will be maintained by the Commission with the committee of the legislatures as colleagues. We are even told that the function of the Indian Committee is more important than the Commission itself. If so, we need only say that we shall be quite happy to be entrusted with the less important function of the Commission. Thus it seems to me that we shall lose nothing and gain little by sacrificing our self-respect in co-operating with a body with which, even though it is charged only with the function of reporters, Parliament refuses to allow us to be associated as real colleagues with a status of equality in every sense of the term. That

Parliament should claim the ultimate right to decide our fate may be one of those realities of the situation, which we are bound to recognise. That Parliament should consider that

Indians have no right to be included as colleagues on a footing of equality in the preliminary enquiry, is nothing less than a brand of inferiority and a national insult.

LORD BIRKENHEAD'S SOPHISTRIES ABOUT THE ROYAL COMMISSION.

BY MR. BARKAT ALI.

For excluding Indians from the Royal Commission Lord Birkenhead has sought shelter behind the constitutional position that the framers of the Act of 1919, under which this Commission has been constituted, themselves contemplated the appointment of a purely Parliamentary Commission at the expiration of 10 years. Now this contention is utterly unsupported by the language of section 84 (a) of the Government of India Act. This section is as follows:—

"At the expiration of 10 years after the passing of the Government of India Act 1919 the Secretary of State, with the concurrence of both Houses of Parliament, shall submit for the approval of His Majesty, the names of persons to act as a Commission for the purpose of this section."

THE FIRST REASON.

The important words to be noted in this section are "the names of person to act as a Commission." Had it been Mr. Montagu's idea to have a purely Parliamentary Commission, one would have expected the words of the statute to be "names of members of Parliament." And not "names of persons." The expression "persons" is generic and comprehensive, and does not and cannot mean members of Parliament exclusively. Leaving, however, the language of the Act, let us look to Mr. Montagu's own conduct at the time. In pursuance of his great declaration of 20th August, 1917—in which, for the first time, the goal of British policy in India was defined to be the

"increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration and the gradual development of self-governing institution with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible Government in India as an integral part of the British Empire." Mr. Montagu came out to India to confer with His Excellency the Viceroy and the representatives of Indian public opinion as to the first step which should be taken to plant India firmly on the road to responsible government. When Mr. Montagu so came out to India he came in the company of four persons. Two members of the House of Lords, one of the House of Commons and an Indian, the late Mr. Bhupendranath Basu who was then a member of the India Council. Again, while the Government of India Act of 1919 was being forged, Mr. Montagu sent out two Committees or Commissions to India—the one known as the Franchise Committee to thrash out the question of franchise presided over by Lord Southborough, and the other known as the Functions Committee to deal with and settle the question of distribution of subjects as Central and Provincial, and again provincial subjects, as Transferred and Reserved. On both these Committees Indian representatives sat as members with equal status. This shows that Lord Birkenhead's contention that Mr. Montagu himself contemplated a purely Parliamentary Commission cannot be sustained. I go further and say that it is casting a most unmerited slur on the memory of that great Englishman, imbued with the highest traditions of liberalism, to suggest that at the time he was

giving to India a great Instrument of Freedom, he was also contemplating the appointment of a purely Parliamentary Commission from which Indians would stand divorced as so many pariahs deprived of all determining and authoritative voice in the framing of recommendations for the better Government of their own country.

THE SECOND REASON.

The second reason which Lord Birkenhead has put forward in justification of the exclusion of Indians is that Parliament's responsibility is exclusive, and that Parliament cannot share it with anybody. Now, there are a large number of our countrymen who refuse to accept this position of Parliament and certainly is not in accordance with that principle of self-determination—the free affirmation of the will of a people, their right to determine their own form of Government—which British statesmen so loudly proclaimed and laid stress on, for the grouping together of the subject races of Europe at the termination of the Great War. Well, I shall not enter into a discussion as to whether Parliament's responsibility should be exclusive or whether Parliament should share it with India's representatives. I am a lawyer, and lawyers are a very constitutional and conservative people. I assume for the purposes of argument that Parliament's responsibility is exclusive and that Parliament is the final arbiter of India's political destiny. But I ask, how does this fact stand in the way of and preclude Indians from being equal members of Commission? After all, and Lord Birkenhead admits, this Commission is a reporting body. It is not the final judge. Its report has to go to Parliament for final acceptance and adoption. Even if it had contained Indian members it would have still been a reporting body and its report would have to run the gamut of Parliament's acceptance. The final word, even then, would have rested with Parliament. The exclusion of Indians, therefore, cannot be justified on the idea of Parliament's exclusive responsibility.

THE THIRD REASON.

I will now consider Lord Birkenhead's third reason. Lord Birkenhead says that the total population of India is appreciably three hundred millions, that out of this over seventy millions are residents of Indian States who have no sort

of concern with the Commission, and that out of the remaining more than two hundred and thirty millions only ten millions are the people who are politically minded and clamour for Reforms—the remaining having no conception of the Reforms. Lord Birkenhead contends that these over two hundred and twenty million Indians are entitled to be represented and that they shall be represented by the British members of the Commission. Now I fail to see how can a people six thousand miles away with no sort of racial or political or economic or patriotic affinities with these 220 millions of India's sons can represent them and not Indians who are their own kith and kin! As for the limited franchise enjoyed by an infinitesimally small number of Indians voting in the elections, I ask, who is responsible for this restrictive franchise? It is the British Parliament which in the exercise of its exclusive responsibility has fixed this limited franchise. Have Indians ever opposed the extension of the franchise? It is not fair to limit the franchise yourself and then say that the elected representative in the legislatures of the country are not the representative of the 200 million Indians who do not enjoy the franchise. Let Lord Birkenhead give them the franchise and then see whether their elected representatives stand shoulder to shoulder with their advanced Indian countrymen in the struggle for freedom or whether they would look to the British Parliament for the protection of their interests. In this connection I should also like to remind Lord Birkenhead that in his own country as far back as 1832 it was only three per cent. of the population that had the franchise. For the first time in 1832 the proportion was raised from 3 to 4.5 per cent. In 1867 Disraeli raised it to 9 per cent and in 1882 Gladstone raised it to 16 per cent where it remained till the War. So it is not right and fair to twit and reproach the Indian people in the matter of their franchise.

THE FOURTH REASON.

Finally, Lord Birkenhead's argument is that Indians are at the present moment so badly torn by dissensions and differences that a Commission representing also Indians is not possible. There are, he says, many divergent interests and each of these insists on representation through its own member. Allowing that Indians have their differences and are unfortunately warring

with each other at the present moment, yet even this cannot justify the exclusion of all Indians from the Commission. In spite of these differences I maintain that one could easily name more than a dozen Hindus enjoying the implicit confidence of their Mohammedan and other countrymen. And, similarly, one can easily name a number of Mohammedans enjoying the fullest confidence and understanding of their Hindu countrymen, and any one of these could have been easily appointed to the Commission. Even the existence of those differences, of which Lord Birkenhead makes such capital, has not prevented a unanimous uproar rising from one end of the country to the other asking for Indian representation. This spontaneous outburst of national feeling is its own reply to Lord Birkenhead's statement

that Indians could not have been appointed to the Commission because of India's warring sects, and it should disillusion him, even now.

I have thus shown that none of Lord Birkenhead's reasons can justify the action he has taken. Even in the days of bureaucratic rule before the Reforms, British statesmen took particular care to arrange for India's direct representation on all kinds of Royal Commissions, and, I cannot recall a single Royal Commission on Indian affairs from which Indians had been excluded. Lord Birkenhead's act is thus the greatest disservice to the cause of Indo-British co-operation and the only reply that a self-respecting and politically conscious India can make is a general and universal boycott sustained and vitalised by all that is the best and noble in the life of India.

THE STATUTORY COMMISSION AND INDIA'S TRIAL.

By PANDIT MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA, M.L.A.

(Ex-President, Indian National Congress).

*Man is his own star, and the soul that can
Render an honest and a perfect man,
Commands all influence, all fate ;
Nothing to him comes early or too late,
Our Acts our angels are, for good or ill,
Our fatal Shadows that walk by us still.*

Our fellow subjects of Great Britain have given one more illustration of their British steel frame. Treating with contempt the unanimous and universal opinion of Indians, British statesmen have adhered to their determination not to appoint a single Indian on the Indian Statutory Commission! The plea of Lord Birkenhead that if he appointed one, he would have to appoint twenty is ludicrous; his alleged solicitude for the depressed classes is unreal. If he had honestly selected any six Indian representatives the whole Indian community would have been satisfied. As regards the depressed classes for the spokesman of a Government which has not yet secured to them

the benefits of even elementary education, to say that he could not agree to any Indian being appointed to the Commission unless he could include a representative of the depressed classes in it, is unabashed hypocrisy. If he really wanted to appoint a member of that class on the Commission who prevented him from doing so? Certainly no Indian would have objected to it. But we are now on our trial. The world will now wait to see how Indian steel will meet this latest onslaught of British steel. Let us demonstrate on this occasion that there is an Indian steel frame also and that it can stand a tussle with the British steel frame. Let us show an equally firm determination not to go near the Commission. The honour of the motherland demands that we should organise and carry out a complete boycott of the Commission throughout India. I trust that all sons of India will unite in doing so. But that alone will not be sufficient. The insult has been cast upon us as a nation. We

have felt it as a nation. In the name of every thing we hold sacred and dear, let us resolve to live and act hereafter as a nation. We have severely criticised our British fellow-subjects for not having done what we consider it was their duty towards India, but let us realise how much more we ourselves are to blame for not doing our duty to our country. It is indisputable that as a rule every country obtains the government which it deserves. Have we worked and sacrificed enough to deserve what we desire?

WANTED: DEEDS, NOT WORDS!

We have talked a good deal of our right to self-government. We have talked much of Swaraj and of full responsible government. But excepting the short period of about a year of the movement for non-co-operation when Mahatma Gandhi and the band of his fellow-workers laboured to bring the idea of Swaraj home to the minds of the people at large, have we been sufficiently earnest and persistent in trying to secure self-government or Swaraj? How many among us, during the last fifty years, have dedicated themselves entirely to the task of creating an irrepressible love of liberty in the minds of our people? We have had in our own country shining examples of patriotism but if we did not remember these, many of us yet drank freely at the fountain of freedom which runs through the glorious literature of England. We have chanted many sonnets of liberty, read soul-stirring essays on it. We have had the glittering examples before us of our English fellowmen who have displayed their manhood in rising within a century and a half from poverty to power, in building up an empire over which the sun never sets, and in establishing their sway over 320 millions of us, 6,000 miles away from their island home! We have repeatedly heard them sing with joy and pride "Rule Britannia." We have read what enormous sacrifices the people of France, England, Germany, Belgium, etc., made during the last War. We have read of the sacrifices of the people of Japan and of other nations willingly made for the glory of their respective countries. But in spite of these influences working constantly upon us, how many of us have become liberty-mad? How many among us to-day are imbued with the blind patriotism, and the daring spirit of self-

sacrifice which have made Englishmen what they are? How many with the spirit of Mazzini, Garibaldi? How many with the spirit of the Japanese? of the Chinese? of the Turks? Egyptians? or of the Irish? We talk of equality with our British fellow-subjects. We must make up our minds that Indian steel must equal British steel before the latter will make room for the former. In physical culture and courage, in patriotism and public spirit, in daring and self-sacrifice, in unity and discipline, in the love of liberty and the determination to fight and even die for it, we Indians must equal Britishers to win and maintain Swaraj, to have the same freedom and opportunity to rise in our own country which Englishmen have in theirs. The painful daily contrast between the position of power and pride which our English fellow-subjects hold over us and our own subordinate position, the daily experience of being kept out of power which legitimately belongs to us, ought to have led us long ago to develop in ourselves and to create in the minds of all of our people an unconquerable desire to see the system of Government which is responsible for this state of affairs replaced by a system of self-government. But it has failed to do so. The conditions under which we live have benumbed in us the healthy sensitiveness of free men. It seems the shame of our present position does not ordinarily hurt our souls. It seems Providence itself has from time to time tried to rouse us from our torpor. It electrified us when the Rowlatt Act was passed, when the Jallianwalla Bagh massacre took place, when the Martial Law atrocities were perpetrated, when during the non-co-operation movement the Government sent thousands of our innocent countrymen to gaol, but it has failed to infuse us permanently with the full health and spirit of free men.

THE COMMISSION.

Following in the wake of all these has come the present rude shock which has once more roused the nation to an acute realisation of its position of shame and degradation. It is a God-sent shock, and I appeal to my countrymen to take to heart the lesson it is meant to teach. No people can win or retain their freedom unless they are knit together as a nation. We could only be knit together as a

nation if we made patriotism the political religion of the country. For the sake of God and Man let us resolve to do so. Let us vow fidelity to the motherland and to our fellow countrymen with the assurance to one and all that irrespective of caste, creed or race we shall respect their life, honour, and liberty as much as our own and shall not sacrifice the interest of the country for individual or communal gains. Let us become true votaries of the goddess of Liberty and vow to think, to speak, and to act as freemen and free-women determined to regain the freedom of the motherland. I feel that a new day has dawned upon my country. I feel that if we will realise our duty and do it like men we shall be administering our own affairs much sooner than many people imagine. I regret to say I have lost faith in the sincerity of the words of British statesmen. The policy which they have pursued and which they are pursuing to-day in this country, particularly their attitude in the matter of the Indianisation of the army and lastly their action in connection with the Statutory Commission has created the conviction within me that they are determined to postpone the day of the establishment of full Responsible Government in India, as long as they can. As it is my belief that the continuance of the present system means a continuous and grievous wrong to humanity and India. I consider that it is the duty of every Indian to definitely resolve to do all he can to end this system of Government as early as possible. I am convinced that our British fellow-subjects will not agree to establish full responsible government in India for a long time to come, unless we prove to them that we are in deadly earnest in demanding it and

that we are prepared to pay whatever price may be required for securing it.

MY VISION.

I see the vision of united and free India moving majestically towards power and prosperity as I have never seen before. I pray to God that all may see it and that we should all join in a National effort to realise it. If we are united our success is assured. To establish a permanent unity among us let us purify ourselves with the fire of patriotism, let us adopt it as our political religion. If we take the vow of fidelity to our fellow countrymen, pledge ourselves to respect the religion, life, liberty and honour of others, as we wish others to respect ours, if we decide to be just to one another all cause of disunity will be avoided and harmony and goodwill will pervade the land. Our great and glorious country can offer sufficient food, enjoyment and opportunity for distinction to all her children. If we establish self-Government and get rid of the enormous cost of foreign administration, we shall be able to promote the prosperity and happiness of our people to an extent few among us can realise. I invite all to join in this endeavour with prayer and the confidence that, if we do so God Almighty will bless us and will enable us to bring about a glorious change in the position of our country

*Let no man falter: no great deed is done
By falterers who ask for certainty.
No good is certain, but the steadfast mind,
The undivided will to seek the good:
'Tis that compels the elements, and wrings
A human music from the indifferent air.*

OUR ATTITUDE TO THE STATUTORY COMMISSION.

By MR. C. V. CHINTAMANJ, M.L.C.
(Ex-Minister of Education, United Provinces).

During the last four or five years Indians of all parties have demanded that the revision of the present Constitution should be undertaken without delay. They have urged the

reason that the Constitution has proved so unsatisfactory in its actual working that it would not be statesmanship to wait for the year 1920 for its revision. The nearest approach to com-

pliance with this National demand was the appointment in 1924 of the Muddiman Committee, whose scope was restricted by a proviso that its recommendations were to be consistent with the policy, the structure and the purpose of the Reforms. There was a Minority Report and a Majority Report; but not only was no action taken upon the former, but even the more important recommendations of the latter were laid on the scrap-heap. Having, during all these years, spurned the Indian demand for early action, the Government has suddenly, in the year of grace 1927, appointed this Commission and in doing so has the effrontery to tell us that this step has been taken in compliance with the wishes of the Indian people!

Why has His Majesty's Government resolved upon this course now? I have no doubt in my mind that it considers the situation in India at the present moment favourable from its point of view and adverse from ours. It is not that the Government has the burning desire to conciliate India, but to retain for itself all power in this country for as long a time as possible and to render it impossible for a better Government in the near future to do something more for India than it is prepared to do. As if it were not enough to injure the people of India by taking this unfriendly action, its spokesmen have proceeded with a guilty conscience to seek justification for their unjustifiable act. Lord Birkenhead has put forward the plea that to put representative Indians on the Commission would be unduly to swell its size. But one may ask whether there have not been on previous occasions Commissions and Committees without excluding Indians therefrom? Lord Birkenhead now invites the world to believe that either there must be an Indian of every shade of opinion, every creed, every caste and every community, or no Indian at all. It is argued as if Mr. Montagu, were he now with us, would not have set up a Commission with an Indian element therein. Lord Chelmsford and Lord Reading concurred in the view that, according to the Government of India Act, the Statutory Commission was intended to be a purely Parliamentary Commission without Indian representatives. The whole career of Mr. Montagu belies the slanderous statement of Lord Birkenhead that he would have insulted the people of India, for whom he spent his life, by setting up a non-Indian Commission of this character.

It is an amazing plea that a Commission which, according to *The Times* of London, is to decide the whole future of India, would be better able to appreciate the Indian point of view than one providing for representation of Indians; in other words, a purely British Commission would be more pro-Indian than Indians themselves. Even if the Commission were to be purely Parliamentary, what was there to prevent Lord Birkenhead from including in it the two Indians who happen to be members of the British Parliament? The obvious idea is that Indians must be shown their place in this so-called Commonwealth—that a large majority of the people have no voice in the determination of their own future.

It has been argued by some that we shall be doing a disservice to ourselves if we do not go even before this Commission, unsatisfactory as its constitution is. But we would be indirectly acknowledging the position of inferiority assigned to us, if we adopted this advice. We would have, again, no material advantage by co-operating with the Commission. It will ignore our evidence, will make the same report which it would otherwise have made, but will say: "We have heard the representatives of every shade of Indian opinion, given due weight to the facts and arguments which have been placed before us and have impartially arrived at our conclusions." We shall, therefore, be taking upon ourselves a share of responsibility for the disservice which this Commission is certain to do to India, if we go and participate in its work. We should not let them say that we participated at any stage, to any extent, in any manner.

The point upon which stress has to be laid is that this Commission will judge India on the basis of what the enemies of our progress will place before it. The Commission will have before it innumerable official papers, minutes, memoranda, notes, reports and despatches which will all be shrouded in the dark. There would be nobody on that Commission to elicit from any witness the truth about the allegations made in the dark behind our backs, against our fitness, our character and our work. It will have to ascertain what progress has been made in education. But it is a matter of common notoriety that during the whole period of British rule, the policy has been to prevent mass education to any great extent, because mass education, according to a British authority,

is a political danger in a subject country. The Commission is to find out to what extent we have shown by co-operation that we are fit to be entrusted with more responsibility. The contrary question would be more to the point: What co-operation has the bureaucracy extended to us in working the Reforms? It has interpreted the Act to its own advantage, put the narrowest construction upon the statute and defeated its very spirit. Mr. Montagu said on the third reading of the Government of India Bill:

"No Constitution of the kind seems to be of any use unless it is carried out by those who were responsible for the Government of India on behalf of Parliament in the letter and in the spirit. The powers that are reserved to the Government are not to be controlled by the representatives of the Indian electors, must be exercised as though they were applicable to a country of growing National consciousness on the road to Self-Government and not as if we were administering a great estate."

How does the bureaucracy stand this test? I stated before the Muddiman Committee that after Mr. Montagu's departure from the India Office, the Government had not co-operated with any progressive section of Indian opinion in the working of the Government of India Act. I declined to take advantage of the opportunity given to me by the Chairman of the Committee to withdraw the statement. I repeat in 1928 that during the last five and a half years the British Government, the Government of India, and the Government of the United Provinces have all done their worst to defeat the intentions and the purposes of the Government of India Act. They have done their best to reserve power in their own hands even in the transferred departments to the utmost extent that they possibly could. They have filled the mind of every Indian progressive politician, every real Indian patriot, with a feeling of disgust that they should be acting with bare-faced selfishness. The accused before the Commission are the Governments in India

and their officers; but the countrymen of those very accused are to form a packed jury ignorant of the truth about Indian conditions. This is the farcical scheme which is presented to us.

We are told that the Committees of the Central and Provincial Legislatures can do enormous good. But they will be merely subordinate organisations. They will not take part in the framing of the report of the Commission; their report will not be before Parliament as an authoritative document like the report of the Commission. We are unfit to be members of the Commission. How then are we fit to be members of its subsidiary bodies? Since when have our Legislatures become, in the opinion of the British Government, truly representative of the people? If they are, how is it that the Government rejects their recommendations for further advance? Has it not been constantly diined into our ears that the franchises are enjoyed by a tiny fraction of the people, that the Legislatures are unrepresentative and their opinions are not deserving of acceptance?

Nothing short of a definite recognition of our position of equality in the Empire, nothing short of the practical concession that we must be casters in our own house, as they are masters in theirs, nothing short of the constitution of a Commission according to the terms of the Act in which representative Indians will predominate or, at the least, be equal in number to the British, can ever reconcile any Indian with self-respect, intelligence and patriotism to go before a body whose very existence is a standing reminder to us of our position of humiliation in this Empire. Let us lose ourselves to find ourselves. We must sacrifice smaller for larger things. In the larger interests of the country, for the honour of our Motherland, let us sacrifice such petty advantage as we may secure by making representations before the Commission; but let us give ourselves no rest and the British no peace unless and until they recognise the position that is ours.

A COMMISSION WITHOUT INDIANS UNCONSTITUTIONAL.

By MR. R. G. PRADHAN.

In this article I have discussed the constitutional aspect of the exclusion of Indians from the Statutory Commission on Reforms. My submission is *that the exclusion of Indians makes the Commission unconstitutional*. As far as I am aware, the considerations which I have urged in support of this submission have not been advanced in the numerous comments and criticisms hitherto made on the Commission, either in the Press or on the platform; and, though, perhaps, they may not receive ready and general agreement, particularly at a time when passions have been aroused, and cool, impartial consideration of the question has been outweighed by the supposed exigency of carrying on propaganda in favour of a particular policy, they are considerations to which I bespeak the careful and earnest attention of all those who would care to consider, in the dry light of reason, the composition of the Commission, purely as a constitutional problem.

GROUND FOR A PURELY PARLIAMENTARY COMMISSION.

The purely Parliamentary character of the Commission is sought to be justified on the ground, *inter alia*, that the responsibility for the welfare and progress of India, and for judging the time and measure of her advance towards responsible Government rests exclusively on Parliament and cannot be shared with any other authority or body. Lord Birkenhead in his speech on the subject, in the House of Lords, said:—

"We undertook by an Act of Parliament—that Act which substituted for the authority of the Company, the authority of the British Parliament—Parliamentary responsibility. . . . How can any one in those circumstances pretend that whatever point may be disputable, the responsibility of Parliament not only does still survive, but is not an exclusive responsibility, from which Parliament can divorce itself, without being false to the long and glorious history of the association of England and India?.....If I am right in saying

that it was Parliament which was responsible for that first momentous change which deprived the Company of its political activities, if from that moment Parliament has been charged with responsibility, how can we divorce ourselves from that responsibility at this moment? Observe it is only eight years since this same Parliament, by what is known as the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, by a great public Act, created the constitution which is now to be the subject of revision and re-examination."

Other speakers, both in the House of Commons and in the House of Lords, who supported the Government motion for the Parliamentary Commission, expressed the same views, though couched in different phraseology. And the statements made by Lord Birkenhead which I have quoted above may be taken as fully, lucidly and correctly expressing the constitutional position on the matter, as understood and taken up by his Majesty's Government.

NOT A CORRECT CONSTITUTIONAL POSITION.

Now with due respect for the Secretary of State and other members of Parliament who have agreed with him, and for his well-known extensive and deep knowledge of constitutional law, I submit that this is not the correct constitutional position, as it really exists at the present moment. And it is not the correct constitutional position, for two reasons, *viz.*, (1) it ignores and contravenes the terms of the declared policy of the British Government as laid down in the historic pronouncement of 20th August, 1917, and (2) it ignores the character and implications of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms which constitute a part and parcel of the existing constitution and which have, in principle, substituted for the responsibility of Parliament the responsibility of the Indian Electorates in the domain of the departments under the control of Ministers, and therefore, at least to that extent, for the welfare and progress of the Indian people. In other words, the exclusive responsibility of Parliament is no longer maintainable in view of (1) the terms of

the pronouncement of 20th August 1917 and (2) the partial bestowal of responsibility (however qualified and small it may be) on the Indian Electorates by the Government of India Act, 1919. Both these reasons I shall now elucidate and elaborate.

LORD BIRKENHEAD'S ARGUMENTS.

In order to urge and prove the exclusive responsibility of Parliament, Lord Birkenhead has referred to the Act of Parliament whereby the responsibility for the Government of India was transferred from the East India Company to the British Government, that is, to British Parliament. That Act was passed in 1858; and it certainly gives the British Parliament exclusive responsibility for the welfare and progress of India. But that Act is no longer on the statute Book; nor does the policy which governed and inspired it, subsist without vital modification. The Act is replaced by an enactment now called simply the Government of India Act, and for its policy is substituted a new one declared in the historic pronouncement of August 20th, 1917, and embodied in the Government of India Act 1919, and subsequently in the consolidating Act, called the Government of India Act. Now, what are the terms of the new policy of Parliament which the late Mr. Montagu, the then Secretary of State for India, announced in the House of Commons on 20th August, 1917? It is not necessary to quote them in full; but those which are relevant to the present issue are as follows:—

"I would add that progress in this policy (*i.e.*, of the ultimate attainment of responsible Government) can only be achieved by successive stages. The British Government and the Government of India, on whom the responsibility lies for the welfare and advancement of the Indian peoples, must be judges of the time and measure of each advance."

A JOINT RESPONSIBILITY.

From this, it is clear that, rightly or wrongly, the pronouncement of 20th August, 1917 bestows not only on the British Government, but also on the Government of India, the responsibility for the welfare and advancement of the Indian people, and for judging the time and measure of each advance. Such responsibility no longer belongs exclusively to the British Government; it is the joint responsibility of the British Government and the

Government of India. The Government of India's share in that responsibility is clearly recognised and laid down in the new policy as declared on 20th August, 1917. Lord Birkenhead mentioned the Act of 1858; but the principle of that Act, *viz.*, the exclusive responsibility of Parliament was deliberately modified by this new declaration of policy which admitted the Government of India to a share in that responsibility.

WHAT IS THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA?

Now what is the Government of India? Since the introduction of the Indian element into the Executive Council of the Governor-General in 1909-10 the Government of India has not been a purely British Agency or authority; it has been a mixed British and Indian Agency or Authority. As a matter of fact, the Government of India means an authority which consists partly of Britishers and partly of Indians. Indians being members of the Government of India as much as Britishers and the Government of India having been given a share in the responsibility exclusively enjoyed by the British Government and Parliament before, it follows that that responsibility must now be shared both by the British and the Indian people. The responsibility for the welfare and advancement of India, and for judging the time and measure of each advance to be made by her towards responsible Government is not the exclusive responsibility of the British people; it is the joint responsibility of both the British and the Indian people. This is the true position; and, I submit, it is the only sound position as being in conformity with the terms, which I have quoted above, of the pronouncement of the 20th August, 1917. And when I consider the ideals, the principles, the ideas and the spirit that swayed the British people and Parliament when the pronouncement was made, I cannot conceive that any such exclusive responsibility could have been claimed and asserted by them at the time.

RESPONSIBILITY OF INDIAN ELECTORATES.

My second ground is the partial bestowal of responsibility upon the Indian Electorates under the existing constitution. That responsibility may be small, the inevitable conditions of dyarchy may have made it necessary to subject it to qualifications and restrictions. But the principle cannot be denied that the Montagu-

Chelmsford Reforms have conferred upon the Indian Electorates responsibility for the administration of the transferred departments. Before the introduction of those reforms, it was Parliament that ultimately had the sole responsibility for the Government of India and for the administration of every department. But when once those reforms were introduced, the responsibility of Parliament for the Government of India, so far as the transferred departments were concerned, ceased to exist; in its place, was substituted the responsibility of the Indian Electorates themselves. Taking the Government and administration of India as a whole, in relation to departments which are central, which are reserved, and which are transferred, the responsibility for them can no longer be truly called the sole or exclusive responsibility of the British people; it is the joint responsibility of both the British and the Indian people. The partnership of these two peoples is not a mere ideal; it is not a mere theory or figment of the imagination; it is a constitutional fact established by the Declaration of 20th August, 1917, and by the new constitution. The terms of the partnership may be extremely unfair and unequal; but there can be no doubt about the fact of the partnership itself. And be it noted that the transferred departments are precisely those which have an intimate bearing upon the welfare and advancement of the Indian people.

AN UNSOUND PROCEDURE.

If the reasoning which I have set forth above is correct, the conclusion to which it leads is obvious. That conclusion is that the position taken up by Lord Birkenhead and the British Government in appointing the present Parliamentary Commission, *viz.*, that Parliament is exclusively responsible for the welfare and advancement of the Indian people, and for determining her progress towards responsible Government, is unsound; that the sound position is that this responsibility rests both on the British and the Indian people.

COMMISSION WITHOUT INDIANS UNCONSTITUTIONAL.

This conclusion leads to another, *viz.*, that the present Parliamentary Commission is *unconstitutional*, that no Commission will be constitutional to which Indians are not appointed.

It would be too much to hope that this view which I have endeavoured to propound will have any effect upon those in authority; besides, things have already advanced far enough. But if my view of the constitutional aspect of the matter is correct, why should not the mistake which the British Government have committed, which has already caused so much bitterness of feeling and which may lead to fresh developments in Indian politics, be rectified, and the present Commission enlarged by the inclusion of four or five Indians.

There is one more point to which I shall refer before I conclude. Lord Birkenhead has admitted that the clause in the Government of India Act, relating to the Commission, does not state that the Commission must be a Parliamentary one. But from this he has drawn the conclusion that the word "Parliamentary" is not used in the clause because it is so obvious that the Commission must be Parliamentary. Now, I submit that the absence of the word "Parliamentary" in the clause, far from suggesting or warranting the inference drawn by Lord Birkenhead, in reality supports my conclusion that the Statutory Commission to be appointed under that clause must be a mixed Commission of Britishers and Indians. The words actually used in the heading to that clause are 'Statutory (not Parliamentary) Commission.' Surely, if a Parliamentary Commission was obviously intended, the natural course for the framer of the Act would have been to give the heading "Parliamentary Commission," and not "Statutory Commission" to the clause. Again, it deserves to be noted that the Joint Parliamentary Committee in their comments on the clause, do not say that the Commission should be Parliamentary. If there was any man who vividly and keenly realized the nature, effects and implications of the policy declared on 20th August, 1917, and subsequently given statutory effect to, it was the late Mr. Montagu, and the truth of the matter seems to be that he grasped the fact that the Commission to inquire into the working of the reforms and to report on changes to be made must be a mixed Commission of Britishers and Indians. No doubt, Lord Chelmsford says that he always had in mind a Parliamentary Commission. But he cannot speak for the late Mr. Montagu; and it was the latter who was responsible for the framing and piloting of the Government of India Act, 1919.

MILNER MISSION AND SIMON COMMISSION—A PARALLEL.

By MR. MUKANDI LAL, M.L.C.

No historical parallel for any country can ever be found on all fours for anything; still great similarity can always be traced for good many things and circumstances and results. The case of Egypt is in many ways very similar to the case of India. But for the last war Egypt would not have been what it is and India would have not got what she got in the way of some reforms.

As soon as the Armistice was signed, the late Saad Zaghlul as the leader of a deputation of representative Egyptians pressed to represent their claim in London just as Mr. C. R. Das claimed to represent India's case in London. Zaghlul's claim was rejected by the Foreign Office, though favoured by Sir R. Wingate, the High Commissioner in Egypt.

Egypt gave the only answer that a patriotic, freedom-loving people could give. The rest of the history from the time of this rebuff up to the time of the despatch of the Milner Mission is common knowledge. It is a period commonly called the period of rebellion. The sacrifices and sufferings of the Egyptian leaders will go down to history as one of the glorious chapters in the history of freedom. The passive resistance, boycott and physical resistance, was followed by a sort of National Government or Committee of the Egyptian leaders who placed before the British three demands: (1) recognition of the Wafd's Mandate, (National Delegation); (2) non-recognition of the British Protectorate and (3) replacement of British sentries by Egyptians.

The British Government replied by proclaiming on November 10, 1919, that their policy in Egypt was to preserve autonomy under British protection and to develop the system of self-government under Egyptian rule; to establish a constitutional system in which, under British guidance, as far as may be necessary, the Sultan, his Ministers, and the elected representatives of the people may co-operate in the management of Egyptian affairs; and finally to send to Egypt a mission to work out the details of a

constitution, and in consultation with Sultan's Ministers and representative Egyptians to undertake the preliminary work.

A curious parallel, just as the Zaghlul of India, Motilal Nehru, is in London at present, the Egyptian Zaghlul was then in Paris. The Nationalists in Egypt proclaimed the boycott of Milner Mission and a barrage of anti-British propaganda was put up against the Mission. And although the President and leading members of the committee of independence were interned and Nationalist newspapers suspended, yet the members of the suspended Legislative Assembly and Provincial Councils met and protested. And so did the Ulemas, the notables, the Omdahs, the bar, the colleges and the schools. The agitation and protest was so effective that when the Milner Mission arrived on December 10, 1919, with its members, it "found itself subjected to a picketing worthy of Poplar, a boycott that would have done credit to Tipperary, and a taboo of Polynesian rigour. Its members, even on individual excursions, found themselves cold-storaged by a frigid escort and cold shouldered by all and sundry. If the legal member (of the Mission) went to witness a sitting of the Law Court, the bar got up and left in a body. When the Liberal member successfully evaded a hostile demonstration at Tanta there was a riot. The Commission left after three months (March, 1920), having learnt more about Egyptian nationalism and less about the Egyptian nation than it had hoped. But it had at least been wholly convinced as to the necessity of restoring co-operation—a necessity not only political, but also economic."

Let us hope history will repeat itself and the Simon Commission will return after three months, if not earlier, with the same experience. And as the departure of the Milner Mission was celebrated then at Zaghlul's house by five-sixths of the members of the Egyptian Legislative Assembly who nullified unanimously all the decrees and proclamations including the pro-

tertorate, so may we celebrate the departure of the Simon Commission. And just as the Egyptian boycott had thus brought the conflict a stage nearer settlement by establishing that a settlement could only be secured by negotiations as between two nations and not by dictation, so will Parliament have to revise its opinion and constitute the Commission in such a way that will be acceptable to us. But we do not expect Parliament to be so reasonable and accommodating until she is threatened by another European war. Therefore, so far as India is concerned we should give a cold shoulder to the Commission of the Seven Innocents and make the boycott so complete and effective that they will not return to India next autumn. And, on our part, let us place before the British public and the world our minimum demand and our own constitution as we would have it.

In the case of Egypt, as the result of their boycott of the Milner Mission, negotiations were opened between the Egyptians and the Milner Commission in London; and the settlement arrived at was:—"Egypt was to be recognized

as an independent constitutional monarchy with representative institutions and the right of diplomatic representation. The Empire was to reserve the right of maintaining a military force for the protection of its imperial communications, which was not to constitute a military occupation nor prejudice the rights of the Government of Egypt." Even these liberal provisions were rejected by the Egyptian Nationalists. And the British Government had to yield further and agree to abolish the Protectorate at the signing of the treaty. And the British Government further assured the Egyptians that there was no intention to continue an actual or virtual protectorate.

In this connection it will be worthwhile to mention that in Egypt a party of Independent Liberals was formed to carry on co-operation with the Britishers but that proved still-born. Let us hope if any party or group is formed in India to co-operate with the Commission, it will meet the same fate. And India will vindicate her honour in the most fitting manner.

WHY BOYCOTT THE SIMON COMMISSION.

THE LIBERAL PARTY'S MANIFESTO ON THE NEGATION OF INDIA'S CLAIM TO PARTNERSHIP.

The following is the full text of the manifesto adopted at the last session of the Liberal Federation held at Bombay which explains the attitude and the policy of the party towards the Simon Commission:—

1. The Indian Liberal party having met at the tenth annual session of the National Liberal Federation held at Bombay consider it their duty to make a public declaration of the reasons which have compelled them to adopt their present attitude towards the Statutory Commission which has been appointed by His Majesty's Government in concurrence with the Government of India. The Liberal party in India have always aimed at and worked for the establishment of responsible government in this country

so that India may stand at no distant date on the same footing as the self-governing Dominions which are members of the British Commonwealth. They accepted the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms and have worked them to the best of their ability in the hope and belief that the introduction of responsible government would soon follow.

2. The Liberal party desire to draw public attention to the fact that during the last six years no less than five resolutions have been moved in the Central Legislature urging upon His Majesty's Government the need for taking steps towards the establishment of responsible government. During the last four years the Swarajists and other parties in the Central Legis-

lature have formulated their demand and have asked for a round table conference. Never have any party asked or suggested the appointment of a purely Parliamentary Commission.

3. The appointment of a purely Parliamentary Commission based as it is upon an interpretation of the Government of India Act which the Liberal party wholly repudiate as being unwarranted by the plain terms of the statute and opposed as it is to the spirit of the Act as well as all considerations of broad-minded statesmanship, has been supported by arguments of a specious character the validity of which the Indian Liberals are not prepared to accept.

4. In the opinion of the Liberal party there was nothing in the language of the Act to prevent Government from including in the Commission at least an equal number of representative Indians. They repudiate the assertion that this was impossible, and place on record their emphatic protest against the manner in which the entire question of India's advance has been prejudiced by exaggerated and even sensational statements made in that behalf by responsible statesmen in Parliament. The exclusion of Indian public men on the ground that they have in the course of their public activities expressed their views on constitutional questions amounts to penalising all public expression of opinion and is unprecedented in the annals of constitutional reform.

5. The Liberal party have given their careful consideration to the scheme of committees adumbrated by Government. Notwithstanding the assertions made by responsible Ministers of the Crown and by certain other statesmen that it virtually amounts to a round table conference, the Liberal party maintain that in the light of the pronouncement hitherto made, these committees are not in truth and fact equals of that Commission. They cannot share responsibility of making any proposals, submitting any report to Parliament or voting at the sittings of the Commission. Their functions are to assist the Commission by placing their proposals before it, and the Commission may accept or reject them. In point of fact according to Mr. Baldwin it was a matter of principle that these committees were excluded from participating in the responsibility of framing proposals and submitting them to Parliament. The Liberal party is aware that Indian delegations will be invited to England to lay their

case before, and discuss the proposals of, the Statutory Commission with, the Joint Committee of Parliament, but it is obvious that such a delegation like the delegation which went to England in 1910, can only make representations or express views on concrete proposals and this provision relating to the committees in India, amounts to nothing more than the recognition of the ordinary right of representation which is open to every subject of the Crown. In the opinion of the Liberal party, these provisions can be no substitute for the direct recognition of India's claim to share the responsibility of framing a constitution to be laid before Parliament.

6. The Liberal party are aware that power has been reserved to Sir John Simon, the chairman of the Statutory Commission to liberalise the procedure of his Commission *vis-a-vis* these committees of the legislature but it is obvious that whatever Sir John Simon may do, he cannot consistently with the terms of his reference and the statement made by the Prime Minister in Parliament, that the Commission will be at liberty to lay down their procedure provided that 'such procedure is within the framework' fixed by Parliament, create a new and truly co-equal status for these committees without reference to Parliament.

7. In these circumstances the acceptance of these proposals of Government does not appear to the Liberal party to be consistent with the self-respect of India, or with their unanswerable claim that Indians should have an effective share in the determination of the constitution of their own country. It is obvious from all the proceedings in Parliament that this Statutory Commission is to be used as a precedent for the future. In the opinion of the Liberal party, India ought not to be subjected to repeated enquiries by periodic Commissions which are bound to be detrimental to the development of her national life and constitution, and the time has come when a permanent and durable constitution capable of automatic growth and development should be framed by a competent and representative body. Even upon the assumption which the Liberal party repudiates, that there is need for further periodic enquiries, the Liberal party cannot, while accepting the constitutional position that the final authority according to the British Constitution is Parliament, accept the precedent of a Statutory Com-

mission from which Indians are now excluded and will always be excluded in future.

8. In short, in the opinion of the Liberal party, the Statutory Commission fails to satisfy the test of a properly constituted Commission with an adequate Indian representation nor does it amount to a round table conference. It is a bare and emphatic assertion of the right of Parliament not only as the final authority to pass a constitution for India but also to adopt

an exclusively British agency for exploring the avenues of progress and it is at the same time the negation of India's claim that it should have an effective part in the determination of her constitution. In these circumstances and for these reasons the Liberal party have come to the conclusion that they should have nothing to do with the Commission at any stage, to any extent and in any form.

DYARCHY IN INDIAN PROVINCES IN THEORY AND PRACTICE.*

By MR. SACHCHIDANANDA SINHA, *Bar-at-Law*,
(*Ex-Finance Member, Bihar and Orissa Government*).

INTRODUCTORY.

I am grateful to the authorities of the East India Association for permitting me to bring up for discussion to-day the subject of "Dyarchy" in theory and practice in the nine major provincial Governments in the Indian Empire. The expression of my sense of gratefulness is by no means conventional, as it is well known that this old-established Association of Indians and Anglo-Indians—using the latter term in its classical sense—tries to do good to India in various ways, one amongst which is avoiding, so far as possible, subjects which are of too contentious a character, and the discussion of which is likely to evoke acute differences and lead to acerbity of feeling. Now, it must be frankly admitted that, in the nature of things, intimately connected as it is with the question of constitutional reforms in India, a survey of theory and practice of Dyarchy—even from the purely administrative standpoint, such as I propose making—is bound to be more or less controversial. But in my humble opinion even contentious Indian questions may be discussed with advantage, provided the discussion is carried on in temperate language and free from the taint of partisanship, and if only those who may take part in

it will constantly keep in view the main object of this Association, which is that of bettering the condition of India by affording a common platform for the exchange of views, freely and frankly, to persons interested in the welfare of that great country. It is actuated by this ideal that I shall attempt to discuss the problem of Dyarchy, not from the political but the administrative standpoint. If I may be permitted a personal reference, it is to say that I may claim to have seen the working of Dyarchy in a major province not only from without, but also from within, for a longer period than any other Indian non-official, since it fell to my lot to have watched it, both as President of the Legislative Council in Behar and Orissa, and also as Finance Member of the Government of that province, for more than five years, that, too, during the tenure of office of four Governors—two permanent and two officiating. But I am aware that the subject is a large one, and its adequate treatment would require time and space which we have not at our disposal. I shall therefore try to make this survey suggestive rather than exhaustive.

*A paper read before the East India Association, London, on 22d October, 1927; and debated upon on that date and also on the 17th October, to which further debate was adjourned.

THE "STATUTORY COMMISSION."

The Government of India Act, 1915—as amended by subsequent Acts, notably the Reform Act of 1919—is divided into twelve parts, of which only one (Part VIA) consists of but one section (84A). But this part of only one section is perhaps the most important, from the point of view of those interested in the development on sound lines of the Indian constitution. I make, therefore, no apology for quoting the almost entire text of this section, as I have found that its terms are not unoften forgotten by many of those who discuss the question of Indian reforms. It runs as follows: "At the expiration of ten years after the passing of the Government of India Act, 1919, the Secretary of State, with the concurrence of both Houses of Parliament, shall submit for the approval of His Majesty the names of persons to act as a Commission for the purpose of . . . inquiring into the working of the system of government, the growth of education, and the development of representative institutions in British India, and matters connected therewith, and the Commission shall report as to whether, and to what extent, it is desirable to establish the principle of responsible government, or to extend, modify, or restrict the degree of responsible government then existing therein, including the question whether the establishment of second chambers of the local legislature is or is not desirable. The Commission shall also inquire into and report on any other matter affecting British India and the provinces which may be referred to the Commission by His Majesty."

The terms of the section quoted above make abundantly clear the importance of the Statutory Commission, in view of the nature of the work which will have to be done by that body. It may be said, in brief, that the future political destiny of India will probably depend on the result of the Commission's investigations and recommendations, as embodied in their Report. As the personnel of the Commission has not yet been announced, it may be permissible to express the hope that, when appointed, it will be found to have been so constituted as will command the confidence of all the classes in India whose interests or aspirations are likely to be affected by its deliberations.* It is also

in the hope that my statement and the discussion on it may, to some extent, enable the the Commission, whenever appointed, to appreciate the inherent difficulties of the present situation in India, as the result of the many serious administrative defects brought to light in the practice, during the last seven years, of the system of Dyarchy in the Governments of the major Indian Provinces, that I have ventured to take up the time of the East India Association.

THE "OLD SYSTEM."

As administrative problems and political developments cannot be dealt with as if they were inscribed on *tabula rasa*, it seems to me necessary to advert, howsoever briefly, to the system of government which obtained in British India before the Reforms were introduced at the beginning of 1921. I am not going to present an historical sketch of the origin and the growth of the administrative and political system which had come to exist in British India, culminating in the constitutional changes associated with the names of Lord Morley and Lord Minto. My object is to indicate—on authorities which cannot be assailed on the ground of any anti-government feeling—the defects which were found in the British Indian administration as it then existed—defects not only from the point of view of the thinking and politically-minded classes in India, but also from that of those (whether British or Indian) who would favour a liberal and progressive constitution for that country, in the interest of the British Commonwealth as a whole. To begin with the authoritative declaration made with the imprimatur of the Secretary of State for India, we find the following statement in the Material and Moral Progress Report of India for 1924-25, presented to Parliament and issued as a Blue-book in 1926:—

"Unlike other countries, in which the permanent officials are controlled by Ministers, the administrators of India not merely execute a policy, they also initiate it. For many decades the Indian Civil Service was not only an administration, but it was also a government."

I may next invite attention, as bearing on the same object, to the statement of an ex-Prime Minister of Great Britain—the Right Hon. Ramsay MacDonald. After studying the British Indian system in the course of several

*This expectation has not been realized, which is, indeed, a great pity.

visits to India—during one of which (1913-14) he traversed the whole country as a Member of the Royal Commission on the Public Services—this is how Mr. MacDonald described the system of government in British India in his book called "The Government of India," which was issued in 1915:

"The Indian Civil Service is more than a collection of individuals. It is a bureaucracy with a corporate life, a machine, a freemasonry. It moulds the raw recruit into its own image. It has to work as a whole. Many officers become wheels in a mechanism working by rule and regulation, (and) the machine reduces its parts to mechanism. (Thus) the machine of Government has become a thing apart, and by separating itself from the organic life of India, it has over-emphasized the fact that India is ruled by foreigners. . . . Secretariats become all-powerful; not a sparrow falls but is recorded, reported, and re-recorded, docketed, initialed and minuted; not a suggestion emanates from below but is regarded with suspicion or hostility as something of a foreign origin: not a thing is done without involving the whole machine in the doing of it. Then, it is the Government on one side and the people on the other. Such is both the mechanism and the psychology of the Service, and the one cannot be separated from the other. All this is unhealthy, is bad government, cannot last."

I shall quote one more passage—taken from the editorial columns of a well-known Anglo-Indian daily, issued from Allahabad—the *Pioneer*. This is how this journal (which is generally and perhaps not unjustly regarded as the spokesman, in the press of India, of the official hierarchy) sketched the British Indian administrative system as it obtained on the eve of the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, in 1921. Said the *Pioneer*: "The most perfect system of administration which the world has ever seen has come to be regarded by many—and an increasing number—as a top-heavy bureaucratic hierarchy, Byzantine in method if not in spirit, detached from practical conditions, mechanical and doctrinaire." No wonder, if after this, an enthusiast for Indian Reform like the late Mr. Montagu characterized, in the course of a speech delivered in 1917 in the House of Commons, the system of government that then obtained in British India as "wooden and antediluvian."

I have no desire to multiply such extracts, for those already brought together from authoritative and unimpeachable sources clearly establish a consensus of weighty opinion as to the nature of the administrative system that obtained in British India till 1920. It was run—and run very efficiently—by the Indian Civil Service, from their own point of view as to what was good for India, but it was clearly one in which even the educated, thinking, and politically minded classes had no lot or part. The latter could perhaps partially influence the administration, but could not either control or direct the policy of the Government. I myself was for more than one term an elected member of the old Imperial Legislative Council, in which the elected element was overborne by the nominees of the Governor-General and in which, therefore, howsoever much reason and argument might be—according to us—on our side, the strength of voting was always against us. Even if we had possessed much greater influence, it would not have been a sound system, since it is a well-known political maxim that influence is not government. The Morley-Minto scheme thus did not afford a sound basis for the steady development of the Indian constitution towards the establishment of responsible government.

SOME RESULTS OF THE "OLD SYSTEM."

The results to the credit or the discredit of the "old system" are to be found stated in a large number of books; in fact, the literature on the subject is overwhelmingly voluminous. Eminent Anglo-Indian officials like Sir John Strachey and Sir George Chesney set forth their conclusions, from the official standpoint, in works which are justly regarded as classical; while the non-official standpoint has also found adequate expression in the works of a number of British and Indian publicists of whom Messrs. Digby, Naoroji, and Dutt are well known. My object is not to rake up to-day this age-old controversy, as it will serve no useful purpose, the old system having been modified for better or worse. The truth very probably in this matter—as in many others—is to be found somewhere between the two opposed sets of opinions. No sensible Indian can justly withhold his appreciation of the great work done by the British services in India in evolving a stable system of administration in that country

(out of the disruption which prevailed therein in the eighteenth and the earlier part of the nineteenth centuries), in establishing law and order on a footing which may compare favourably with the conditions in many Western countries, in introducing means of communication like railways, telegraphs, and those other paraphernalia of modern civilization which we naturally associate with an efficient and advanced system of administration. All this may and must be freely and frankly conceded. But when we come to consider in these days the results achieved by any Government, we cannot confine our attention merely to the blessings of peace and order or the benefits brought in their train by courts or communications. We have naturally to look to other things as well for forming a just estimate, and these are the economic condition of the people, their resources, their fighting strength against famines and the ravages caused by epidemics, as also their position in the sphere of education, the educational facilities open to them, and above all the share they enjoy in moulding and directing the policy of their Government. It is the universal opinion of educated Indians that highly efficient as the British Government in India has been as an administrative machinery, it has not been sufficiently responsive in these higher spheres of activities, which are of even more vital interest to the well-being of the people than the mere maintenance of law and order or the administration of justice by courts manned by competent officers. No living Indian is more distinguished than the Rt. Hon. Lord Sinha alike for his keen perception of and deep insight into the realities of Indian life, as also for his appreciation of the benefits conferred by British rule on India. Yet this is what he is reported to have stated to a representative of the *Manchester Guardian* only last July: "Great progress has been made in many directions. But—for there is a but—there is so much leeway still to be made up. I am speaking for my own province of Bengal. The poverty there is appalling, and the health of the people is so bad that disease, ignorance, and poverty would seem to be the lot to which we are born. . . . To a large extent it may be the people's own fault. . . . I recognize that progress must be gradual and slow having regard to our limitations, but I cannot help thinking at the same time that hitherto the Government has been

content to keep law and order, and there has not been strenuous endeavour to better the lot of the people that I feel there would have been if the people had been your own. . . . The fact remains that material progress has been very slow. It does not seem to me—speaking again for Bengal—that the people are in any way better off to-day than they were, say, thirty, or even fifty years ago." What Lord Sinha has said of Bengal is, in the opinion of educated Indians, generally applicable to the conditions of the other provinces as well. Now, if this view of the material progress of India under British rule be accepted as fairly correct, it is easy to understand the anxiety of British statesmen to so modify the old system as to make it more mindful of the pressing needs and requirements of the people, and more responsive to their material welfare and moral progress. Hence—I take it—the memorable declaration made by the then Secretary of State (the late Rt. Hon. E. S. Montagu) in August 1917, as representing the view of the Coalition Government (or, in other words, of all the great political parties in the United Kingdom) which is now, in more carefully worded language, embodied in the Preamble to the Government of India Amendment Act of 1919, and to which I shall have to refer hereafter.

THE "NEW SYSTEM."

The new system introduced to set right the inherent defects of the old was primarily by application to the major provincial administrations in the Indian Empire (numbering nine) of the principle known by the word "Dyarchy." Under it the provincial administration is divided into two halves—called the reserved and the transferred—the former being administered by the "Governor-in-Council" and the latter by the "Governor-in-Ministry." As, except in those who may be familiar with the present-day administrative conditions in India, these two expressions and what they stand for are likely to be vague, I may explain this system in a few words. The reserved half of the Provincial Government is administered by the Governor and his Executive Council, the members of which, like the Governor himself, are appointed by His Majesty the King-Emperor, and who, as such, are naturally responsible to the King-in-Parliament. The transferred half, on the other hand, is adminis-

tered by the Governor working with his Ministry, the members of which are chosen by himself from amongst the elected members of the Provincial Legislature, and who are, as such, in theory responsible to that body. The reserved half, generally speaking, are in charge of law and order—namely, the recruitment and control of the executive and the judicial services, as also of the police, the administration of justice, land revenue, irrigation, and some other departments, particularly that of the whole financial system. The transferred half, broadly put, administer what are called the "nation-building departments"—agriculture, education, local self-government, industries and the excise department, besides some others not so important. Except for three years in Bengal and the Central Provinces (due to their Legislatures having refused to vote the Ministers' salaries) this system has now been in operation in nine of the major provinces of the Indian Empire since January, 1921. Its merits and demerits, as disclosed during the last seven years, are, in the main, the subject of my address.

I may premise by saying that public opinion, not only Indian but British as well, seems to be almost unanimous that Dyarchy has few merits, if any, but that its demerits are unfortunately so great as to render it not only unworkable but practically useless as a means of qualifying Indians to fit them "for the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in British India as an integral part of the Empire," which was the *raison d'être* of the Reform Act of 1919, as expressly declared in the words I have just quoted from its Preamble. I shall quote in support of this view the opinions expressed—no, not by the poor Ministers themselves, who may be charged with a hankering after greater powers—but by eminent British statesmen and Anglo-Indian administrators, as also leading British and Indian non-officials, whose credit cannot justly be impeached on the score of being influenced by any anti-Government feeling. I shall quote a few authorities only.

SOME OPINIONS ON "DYARCHY."

Speaking in the House of Lords, this is how the present Secretary of State for India, the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Birkenhead, is reported to

have expressed himself on the subject under consideration:

"I myself was always very distrustful of the dyarchical principle. It seems to me to savour of a kind of pedantic and hide-bound constitution, to which Anglo-Saxon communities have not generally responded, and which in my anticipation was unlikely to make a successful appeal to a community (the Indian) whose political ideals were so largely derived from Anglo-Saxon models."

Dealing with the same subject in an earlier debate in the House of Lords, the late Lord Curzon—who was not unjustly regarded as a great authority on the official view of matters Indian—delivered himself in the following terms:

"I abominate the system of Dyarchy, but when the Committee of your Lordships' House decided to recommend it, because they said they could not find another alternative, I bowed my head and acquiesced."

Lord Ronaldshay—who, as Governor of Bengal, had great opportunities for watching the working of the system in that province—has recorded his view of Dyarchy as follows:

"It (Dyarchy) was certainly a novel type of Camarilla, a sort of political Siamese twins with the Governor as the umbilical link holding them together. Like the two-headed eagle of Byzantium, it looked East and West—the Ministry to the Indian Legislature, the Executive Council to Westminster and Whitehall." It is a "complicated constitutional machine, admittedly a makeshift of a purely transitional character," and "the dyarchic Government thus resembled the famous founder of Janiculum, so conveniently dowered with two faces, the better to look forward while maintaining an eye upon what lay behind."

Only the other day (September 16), in the course of an article contributed by him to a London evening paper, Sir Reginald Craddock referred to what he calls "the strange expedient of Dyarchy" as a "hybrid system," which "cannot continue," as "no country or province can be successfully governed by two independent Cabinets." That is exactly the Indian view.

In 1925 the Government of India published the opinions they had obtained from the various Provincial Governments on the working of Dyarchy. These were sought for the benefit of the members of the Muddiman Reforms Inquiry Committee, which had been appointed to investi-

gate the working of the new system. The two most notable opinions in the Report were those expressed by His Excellency Sir William Marris—the Governor of Agra and Oudh—and Sir Henry Wheeler, ex-Governor of Behar and Orissa. Sir William Marris—who, as the Reforms Secretary, had much to do with Dyarchy—recorded his view of it as follows:

"Dyarchy is obviously a cumbrous, complex, confused system, having no logical basis, rooted in compromise, and defensible only as a transitional expedient. The difficulties and defects inherent in the scheme are quite incurable by mere alterations of the Act or the Rules. There is no half-way house between the present and a new constitution. . . . Concessions which fall short of complete provincial autonomy will . . . secure neither stability nor contentment."

Sir Henry Wheeler's view of Dyarchy—which was concurred in by Sir Hugh McPherson, the then Civilian Executive Councillor—was recorded in the following terms:

"There is very little that can be done to smooth the working of Dyarchy or to eliminate the different administrative imperfections. Whatever defects exist are inherent in the system itself. . . . It is workable now, though creakily. The few minor remedies may cure a creak or two, but they will affect the large questions in no degree whatever."

These official testimonies from some of the leading British statesmen and eminent Anglo-Indian administrators speak for themselves, and I have no desire to mar their effect by making any comments. But I think I may usefully supplement them by quoting two non-official opinions—one from a British and the other from an Indian source. Mr. E. Villiers (who twice represented the Presidency and Burdwan European constituency in the Bengal Legislative Council) issued last year a statement as to why he would not offer himself for re-election. In this occur the following passages which bear upon the point under discussion:

"I hold them (the Reforms) to be wrong in practice, since, if we are going to carry out the policy of teaching India how to rule herself with the maximum of efficiency and at the minimum of cost, if we are to teach her a sense of 'political responsibility,' we are going the wrong way to do it. Instead of teaching her responsibility we are teaching her irresponsibility. Until the Reforms are recast, until they are applied solely to the provinces as separate states,

until such subjects as are 'transferred' (no matter how small or how unimportant these may be) are transferred lock, stock, and barrel, uninterfered with by Governor and uninfluenced by the Government votes in the Councils, until all this is done (even given that the principle of democracy is right for India) I see no hope for the success of the Reforms. In these circumstances, then, feeling as I do strongly on the question, I do not think that I can any longer serve your interests or the interests of the Province to advantage."

Last, but not least, I shall quote the view of an eminent Indian, Sir Ali Imam, who justly enjoys a reputation for moderation and political sanity, which we naturally associate with one who as an ex-Law Member of the Governor-General's Executive Council and as an ex-High Court Judge, has held the highest offices under the Crown, both on the executive and the judicial sides. In the course of a speech delivered in this country in 1924, this is what Sir Ali Imam is reported to have said:

"The transferred departments are in the hands of Ministers who are supposed to be responsible to the House. But while all the appearance of democracy is there, it is a shell without the kernel. The Minister has to run his departments, but he must have a permanent Secretary over whom he has no control. If the Minister wants anything to be done, the Secretary can go beyond him to the Governor, and the latter can overrule the Minister. The result is that although the Minister is said to be responsible to the House, he has to carry out the orders of the Governor. The danger lies in this that a form has been given to the constitution but without the substance."

That is putting in the mildest terms what is felt to be true by every thinking Indian. There seems to be thus a consensus of weighty opinion on the inherent defects of Dyarchy as a principle of administration.

DYARCHY IN PRINCIPLE.

I shall give later some details of the system in practice (as opposed to the theory on which it is based), but before doing so, I may briefly advert to the theory itself. Now, the principle or theory underlying Dyarchy seems to be the assumption that it is practicable to divide a Government vertically and to place the administration of each such divided part or group of

parts under more than one executive unit, each responsible to a different sovereign power—as in the present instance the Governor-in-Council to the King in Parliament for the reserved half and the Governor-in-Ministry to the Provincial Legislature for the transferred half. But I venture to say that such an assumption is not at all warranted either by history or the political experience of any of the peoples or nations amongst whom popular or responsible government has ever obtained. On the contrary, all knowledge and experience point conclusively to the fact that a Government worth the name—whether despotic or responsible—must always be one organic entity, and not split up vertically into so many parts—each part of it responsible to a different sovereign authority. This very important consideration was particularly emphasized in a despatch of the Government of Bombay, who writing in 1858—when the Reforms were under consideration—adverted to this very important aspect of the question in the following, so to say, prophetic words:

“Practically all proposals of importance put forward by the Minister in charge of any of the departments suggested for transfer will involve a reference to the authorities in charge of the reserved departments. There are few, if any, subjects on which the functions of the two sections of the Government would not overlap; consequently it will be seldom possible in the case of a transferred subject for a Minister to dispense with a reference to the departments concerned with reserved subjects.”

In other words, Government departments are in the nature of things interdependent and, therefore, constitute an indivisible unit and they cannot be split up into parts or groups and placed under different controlling agencies without rendering the administrative machinery wholly unworkable. That any attempt at an artificial division is thus bound to recoil on the whole system is brought into strong relief in the evidence of the many Ministers who were examined by the Muddiman Reforms Enquiry Committee. It need not surprise one, therefore, that the theory itself on which Dyarchy has been based being politically unsound and unwarranted by administrative experience, the new system has not only failed to give satisfaction either to the administrators or the people, but has been a potent cause of bitterness and strife in the

country, between the Government and the politically-minded classes, in particular.

THE GOVERNOR IN MINISTRY.

The most notable feature of Dyarchy is the introduction of a Ministry, acting with the Governor in the administration of the transferred departments. It is this system which has provoked the greatest controversy on the ground that under it, as it actually obtains in practice, the Minister has no individuality of his own, nor is he really responsible to the Legislature, but is merely a mandatory of the Governor. Now, we know from experience that in the working of all human institutions, much depends not on the constitution but upon the personalities administering the system, and so, even as things are at present, there is no reason to apprehend that a really qualified and strong Minister—if one such be selected by the Governor—would be but a phonographic automaton of his nominator. Making allowance for it, however, the fact remains that, speaking broadly, Governors have so far preferred to choose safe rather than strong men, and the Ministers have but held sway over the administration because there has not yet been sufficient time for the formation of strong political parties to oppose the Ministers who are supported by the official and non-official nominees of the Governor in the Legislative Councils. Apart from this, the system has been so worked as to have been incapable of evoking any enthusiasm for the Ministers or the Ministry. To begin with some minor matters, but to which yet great importance is attached in India: the Ministers occupy in popular estimation a distinctly inferior status as members of the Government. The reasons for such a view but lie on the surface. Unlike the Governor and the Executive Councillors, the Ministers are not servants of the Crown but are the nominees of the Governor. Again, they suffer in comparison with their colleagues of the Executive Council in some other respects also. The latter take official precedence over the Ministers. The newest Executive Councillor is thus senior to the oldest Minister. The Ministers are precluded under the law from being nominated by the Governor as Vice-President, and so are not qualified to succeed him as temporary Governor during periods of vacancy arising suddenly, or by the Governor's going on leave. The Vice-

Presidentship is under the law reserved for a member of the Executive Council. When the less advanced Indian asks one why power is vested in the Legislative Council to omit or reduce the salary of the Ministers but not of the Executive Councillors, it is not difficult to make him understand it on the ground of constitutional usage and the Ministers' responsibility to the Legislature. But the other differences pointed out above—as also the fact that a Minister is not at present qualified to be in charge of the Finance department—naturally seem incomprehensible, since there seems to him no justification for them. Thus these restrictions and limitations have stamped the Ministry in the opinion of the general public in India as the inferior half of the Provincial Government.

But far more important than any of these is the fact that the Indian Constitution does not at present openly acknowledge the great constitutional principle of joint ministerial responsibility, nor has it so far obtained in any Province in practice, as the result of convention. Curiously the wording of the section dealing with this subject in the Government of India Act (52, cl. 3) is such as to leave no manner of doubt that it contemplates the establishment of joint ministerial responsibility. It is as follows: "In relation to transferred subjects the Governor shall be guided by the advice of his Ministers—unless he sees sufficient reason to dissent from their opinion." Now, the use of the words "Ministers" and "their" goes, I submit, to support the view I have propounded. Unfortunately, in the absence so far of judicial interpretation by a competent tribunal, all Governors seem to have taken the view that this clause does not contemplate what is known in constitutional law as "joint ministerial responsibility." The result is that this very important clause has been rendered a dead letter by the action taken by the Governors, who have framed rules of executive business in a way so as to be enabled to deal separately with each Minister and practically to make him thus subservient to his will. It is to this undesirable aspect of the situation that Sir Ali Imam referred when—in the words quoted by me above—he spoke of the Governor overruling the Minister and of Dyarchy having but the appearance of democracy but being really a shell without the kernel. When it is kept in view that the principle of joint ministerial responsibility is

the bedrock of popular or responsible government, so much so that it finds a distinct place and is specifically affirmed in every constitution established during the last two centuries—not excluding that of the present Republic of Turkey—its practical absence from the Indian constitution is obviously a grave and serious defect, detracting to a large extent from the position of the Ministers, as also from the Ministry as a training ground for educated Indians to qualify themselves for enlarged powers and higher public responsibilities. It is to be hoped that the attention of the Statutory Commission would be drawn to this constitutional anomaly and that they would suggest means for setting it right; otherwise we shall continue to have Ministries without joint ministerial responsibility, which is admittedly a contradiction in terms.

Another almost insuperable difficulty affecting the administration of the transferred departments is the division of the subjects under the control of the reserved and the ministerial sides. For the reason stated above—namely, that Government is an indivisible organic entity, which cannot be split up into parts and be yet properly administered—there is experienced almost daily difficulty by the Ministers in executing their policy in the departments under their control. Now, it must be so because the division of departments effected is absolutely arbitrary; and in fact it could not be otherwise. This is a matter on which the Ministers are—not unjustly—constantly and continuously harping. I shall quote here the words of Sir K. V. Reddi—a Minister in Madras—from a statement made by him in 1923. This is what he said:

"I am Minister of Development minus Forests, and you all know that development depends a good deal on Forests. I am Minister of Industries without Factories, which are a Reserved subject, and Industries without Factories are unimaginable. I am Minister of Agriculture minus Irrigation. You can understand what that means. How can Agriculture be carried on extensively without Irrigation, in the hands of those who are responsible for it, is rather hard to realize. I am also Minister of Industries without Electricity, which is also a Reserved subject. The subjects of Labour and Boilers are also Reserved. But these, after all, are some only of the defects of the Reform scheme."

Similarly, the senior Minister in Behar and Orissa (Sir Muhammad Fakhruddin) spoke in the Legislative Council, in 1927, as follows:

"The classification of transferred subjects is seriously defective. There is no reason why you should give the Minister, Agriculture without Irrigation. Why should you give him the administration of the spending department without any control over Finance? Without purse others consider me as if I am simply a clerk to prepare a certain scheme, and after the scheme is ready the Finance Department is entitled to knock it down on the ground of want of funds. What happened this year? I had a scheme ready costing several lakhs of rupees for recurring and non-recurring expenditure. But I could not get money."

These are striking comments from responsible Ministers of two Provincial Governments and tell their own tale. But the point raised by the Behar and Orissa Minister in regard to the administration of the Finance Department—to which I have already referred above—is one of very great constitutional importance. There is no prohibition in the Government of India Act against the appointment of a Minister as Finance Member, but it has been so embodied in one of the Devolution Rules. There seems to me no justification for any such restriction. There are at present in two provinces Indian Executive Councillors in charge of the Finance portfolio, and there is absolutely no reason to apprehend that equally qualified Indians are not likely to be available in the ranks of the Ministers. The restriction imposed upon the latter is, therefore, inexpedient, as it not only acts as an irritant, but also prevents the Ministers from obtaining experience of the working of the financial machinery, and enables them to say that the rigid control of the Finance Department interferes with their executing successfully their policy in what are called the "nation-building" departments.

I could point out a larger number of other equally grave defects and serious limitations in the constitution and convention of Dyarchy, especially as it affects the Ministers and the Ministry, but the few points to which I have referred already will, I feel sure, satisfy impartial critics that it is impossible to expect any good and useful results to accrue from so grossly defective an institution as that of the Ministry under Dyarchy. As a distinguished Anglo-Indian administrator—a retired Civilian member

of the Governor-General's Executive Council—said to me the other day: "It redounds greatly to the credit of the educated Indians that they should have managed to run successfully for seven years, in seven out of nine major provinces, so inherently defective a system as that of Dyarchic Ministry."

THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

I shall now deal with the composition, the recruitment and the constitution of the Executive Council, the nature of its work and how it is done under the system of Dyarchy. Curiously this important subject has not attracted the attention it deserves, and all the interest displayed so far has centred round the Ministry, probably because it is a novelty. But it must be borne in mind that although the administration of the nation-building departments by the Ministers and their theoretical responsibility to the Legislature are, in a sense, important aspects of our present-day constitution, nevertheless it is the Governor and his Executive Council who—as responsible for the maintenance of law and order, the administration of justice, and the control of the financial machinery—constitute beyond all doubt the more important half of the Provincial Executive. So long as the Executive Council lasts as a part of the Provincial Executive, its constitution and personnel should naturally deserve serious consideration. As such I make no apology for adverting to some important aspects relating to the Executive Council. As regards its composition, it is as heterogeneous as it can be, especially in contrast with the Ministry. The latter comprises men chosen from amongst the elected members of the Provincial Legislature, and as their salaries are votable by that body, the Governor *has* to select those who are fairly well educated and who may be expected to enjoy the confidence of their fellow-legislators for a fair measure of ability and also reputation for character. No such considerations, however, necessarily prevail in the selection of the non-official Indian members of the Executive Council since neither in theory nor in practice are its members amenable to the control of the Legislature. The total strength of the Executive Council is four in Bengal, Bombay, and Madras, and two in all the other provinces where Dyarchy obtains, and of these half the number is practically reserved for members of

the Civil Service. It must be frankly stated that Indian public opinion is unanimous that, even in the selection of the Civilian Executive Councillors, there have been many appointments which were open to grave objection. The grievance is that, admitting that higher appointments need not necessarily go by seniority, Civilians who are believed to be of liberal and progressive views are passed over in favour of those known to be dictators or reactionaries. But it is in the selection of the Indian Executive Councillors—who by reason of convention have to be non-officials—that the Indian public have much to object to. This matter was agitated even in the course of the enquiry conducted by Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford with a view to formulating their proposals for the Reforms. Strong exception was taken before them to the appointments which had been made till then from the ranks of Indian non-officials, and the subject is discussed by the two eminent authors in their Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms, issued in 1918. On pp. 103-4 it is stated:

"We are aware that in the past the nominations made to the Executives have not always given satisfaction. There has been a disposition to regard the men appointed as chosen because they are safe and not likely to give the Government trouble; and, if Legislature and Executive are to work smoothly together, it is, we agree, necessary to make appointments, which command confidence and ensure efficiency and ability."

Again, dealing with their proposed constitution for the Executive Council under the Dyarchy they state their views as follows:

"It should be open to the Governor to recommend whom (from amongst the Indian non-officials) he wishes. In making his nominations, the Governor should be free to take into consideration the names of persons who had won distinction whether in the Legislative Council or any other field."

The two passages taken together can leave no doubt as to the class of persons amongst Indian non-officials from whom Executive Councillors should be preferably appointed. Put shortly, they imply that those should be chosen who—to quote the memorable words of the late Queen-Empress Victoria's famous proclamation of 1858—by their integrity, ability, and character may be qualified to discharge their duty successfully as occupants of the

exalted office of members of Government on the reserved side, the more so as their colleagues would be men who had received their training as administrators either in British public life or in the Indian Civil Service. It is the settled conviction of the thinking classes of India that many of the appointments made of Indians to the Executive Councils even in recent years will not stand this test, and that the selections were made from amongst men who were believed to be "safe" rather than qualified. The appointment of such persons naturally brings into lurid light Dyarchy in practice even to a larger extent than would otherwise have been the case. Thus in reply to interpellations it was not long ago elicited in a Legislative Council that while the Indian Executive Councillor in that province was pompously dubbed as the "Home Member," and was naturally believed to be in charge, as such, of the Political and Appointment Departments, the main work of the Appointment department—that of appointing, posting, and transferring the officers—was entrusted by the Governor not to him—the "Home Member"—but to his Civilian colleague! Any comment on the situation so revealed would be an act of supererogation. One can but express the hope that this system which has not unnaturally brought discredit on the Government on the reserved side—if I may indulge in an Irishism—"in future will be a thing of the past." I may add that I have not cited an isolated instance, but that such instances can easily be multiplied.

By far the greatest defect in the constitution on the reserved side is the highly anomalous arrangement under which the Governor and his Executive Council are expected to carry on the administration of the departments in their control, and also to enact legislation and to pilot the budget in the Legislative Council, depending all the time not on a majority of votes but on the good sense of the elected members who, so to say, constitute the Opposition! The total strength at the disposal of the Governor-in-Council in any province is barely more than one-fourth of the total number of the Legislative Councillors. For instance, in Behar and Orissa the total strength of the Legislature is 103, while that of the Governor's nominees (taking both officials and non-officials) is, I think, twenty-seven, besides the two Executive Councillors who sit *ex-officio*. And it is with the aid of these twenty-nine votes, at the highest, that the Governor-in-Council in this

province is expected to do his work successfully in a Legislative Chamber, about three-fourths of the members of which constitute the Opposition. Such a system of parliamentary government is foreign to all conceptions of a sound polity. No Prime Minister who knows his business would be able to carry on administration or legislation in any legislative body on such terms. And yet it is this very strange feat that the Governor-in-Council is expected to perform successfully under the system of Dyarchy! In the circumstances, one need not be surprised if there has to be much manipulation, a good deal of wire-pulling, and no little "moral suasion" brought to bear on the non-official members to cast their votes on the side of the Government. So far as the administration of or legislation dealing with the transferred departments is concerned, there is the obviously sound theory—howsoever unattainable it may be in practice at present—that the Ministers must receive the support of their party. But the Governor-in-Council, not being amenable to the control of the Legislature, cannot depend upon any party in the House, except only the Governor's nominees. Unless, therefore, a large number of non-officials can be secured to support the acts and the policy of the Governor-in-Council, no work can be carried on, and the administration of the reserved side must come to a standstill. By reason of such serious defect in the Constitution, the Governor-in-Council is naturally driven to resort to methods for securing votes from non-official members which are not unoften open to grave objection, and which have generally a highly demoralizing effect both on the Government on the reserved side, as also on the non-officials who are its habitual supporters. These facts are so obvious as to require no further exposition.

THE GOVERNOR UNDER DYARCHY.

From what I have said above it would be clear that the Governor administering Dyarchy—either with the aid of the Executive Council on the reserved side or with that of his Ministers on the transferred—is not what we understand by the term "constitutional Governor." His powers under the law are large and extensive—some may think, dangerously so. To begin with, he alone of all the members of the Provincial Government is vested with the power of

framing rules for the carrying on of the business of Government on which the working of the whole system hinges. Section 49 (cf. 2) vests the Governor alone with powers to "make rules and orders for the more convenient transaction of business in his Executive Council and with his Ministers." The result of the rules framed under the terms of this section is that the principle of joint ministerial responsibility—so clearly enunciated in the section quoted above—has been practically abrogated and the Ministers are overruled frequently and the Executive Councillors—especially the many "safe" ones—made subservient to the Governor's will. When, for instance, the point was raised as to the reason why the work of the Indian "Home Member" was done by his Civilian colleague—to which I have referred above—the answer given by the latter on behalf of the Governor was that the transaction of official business was a domestic concern of the Government! True, but it did not seem to have struck the Civilian Member that if he alone could do both his own work and that of his Indian colleague, it is obviously a waste of public funds to retain the latter at a high salary—that too in a poor country like India. Such are the inherent difficulties one is naturally faced with when taking up an untenable position in defence of Dyarchy in practice.

To take but one more example of the extensive powers vested in the Governor under Dyarchy. After the enactment of the Indian Civil Services Act of 1925, the Governor of a province directed that his tour expenses, which had been till then submitted to the vote of the Legislature, should not be so done. Accordingly the Finance Department in preparing the next budget removed the amount of this item from the votable to the non-votable list. As the law stands, the action of the Governor was legally correct and justifiable. But after the budget was passed, a member of the Legislative Council applied in the High Court of the Province for a writ of mandamus against the Governor and the Finance Member. The point was argued at the Bar before a Full Bench of the Court. In the result, the learned Judges rightly dismissed the application, holding that the Governor was, under the law fully within his rights in doing what he had done, and that no application or suit could lie against him for his having counselled or done anything or ordered anything to be done in his official

capacity. The law, as stated by their lordships, must be accepted as correct. But I cite a short passage from the comments on this case of one of the leading Indian journals, of a province other than the one concerned, to indicate the Indian view of the powers of a Governor under Dyarchy. Wrote the *Tribune* of Lahore :

"There are two and only two forms of check on the Indian Executive which can prevent it from acting arbitrarily or despotically. One is that exercised in and by Parliament. The other is that exercised by courts of law. In the present case parliamentary check admittedly does not exist, and now one of the highest tribunals in the country has told us that the courts, too, have no jurisdiction in the matter. Who can say after this that autocracy has finally disappeared from our midst, and that we live under a constitutional Government?"

But while the powers of the Governor are obviously large and arbitrary, he is unduly protected of all the members of Government. The Executive Councillors and the Ministers sit in the Legislative Council and have to defend not only their individual official acts, but also those of the Government as a whole. But the pivot of the Provincial Government, the Governor, who is entrenched at the Government House, outside the Legislative Council, and who moves from there the whole machinery of administration, is declared by law and rules to be absolutely immune from any criticism in the Legislature, or even from his name being referred to therein in his official capacity. In other words, he is treated on the same footing as a constitutional sovereign—he is a King or a President—who is declared immune from parliamentary criticism on the ground that as the head of the Executive he but follows the advice of his Ministers, who sit in the Legislature to defend their policy and the advice tendered by them to the constitutional head of the State. But such an assumption is absolutely unwarranted by the facts and the circumstances relating to practice in Dyarchy in the nine major provinces of the Indian Empire. The law and the rules obtaining therein have made the Governor the most powerful member of the Provincial Government. It is he who runs the whole machinery of administration, both on the reserved and the transferred sides, and who also directs and controls the work of the Legislature by having vested in him the powers of ultimately dis-

allowing or overruling interpellations, motions, resolutions, and private legislation. And yet in spite of it all, he is treated in law and in fact as if he were but a constitutional Governor! The facts stated above in regard to the extensive powers vested in and wielded by the Governor go to show the baselessness of such an assumption. Far from that being the case, the fact is (as I have pointed out above) that even his colleagues in the Government—either on the reserved or the transferred side—have no voice in that very important function of a Government, the power to make rules for the convenient transaction of business. Clearly, then, an amendment is called for, not only of Section 49, dealing with the rule-making powers of the Governor, but also of the provisions under which his acts and orders cannot be discussed or even referred to in the Legislature. Either the Governor's acts or orders should be made amenable to the Legislature, or—if that be considered undesirable or inexpedient—the Governor should become a constitutional Governor, dependent on the advice of the Ministry, who alone should be responsible to the Legislature.

THE LONG AND SHORT OF IT.

Such are but some of the striking and salient features of Dyarchy, both in theory and practice. The system has been found, both in principle and practice, to be full of grave defects and serious limitations, and it is not surprising that it has not appealed to Indian imagination. In his "Government and Parties in Continental Europe" (vol. i., p. 103) that distinguished authority, Professor Lowell, after analyzing the constitutions of various Continental States, remarks that the result of his analysis shows that "the foundation of government is faith, not reason," and this view is obviously even more applicable to the Governments of Eastern rather than Western countries, and can be predicated with even greater certainty of Asiatic countries and their Governments rather than those of Europe, or of those derived from or based on European models. But that is not all. For, "if" (as remarked by the late Viscount Bryce in his monumental work on the American Commonwealth, vol. i., p. 357) "the true value of a political contrivance resides not in its integrity, but its adaptation to the temper and circumstance of the people for whom it is

designed," then there can be no hesitation in saying that no political system could be worse adapted to the objects the authors of the scheme had in view than Dyarchy in the provinces of the Indian Empire, as its inherent defects are patent on the surface, both in the theory on which it is based and also in practice.

But there are other important political considerations bearing upon the subject under discussion. "Parliamentary Government," says Professor Lowell (in his standard work on the Government of England, vol. ii., chapter lvi.), "avoids deadlocks by making the Executive responsible to the Legislature." "Presidential Government," he continues, "limits deadlocks, because all the organs of the State must alternately submit to a superior tribunal, the electorate of the nation." But a Government like that established in all the major provinces of the Indian Empire, composed of an elected Legislature and a divided Executive, with a Governor at its head armed with extensive powers and working one half of the Government with the aid of an Executive Council appointed by the Crown and not responsible to the Legislature, and the other half with the aid of Ministers appointed by himself and responsible to the Legislature, is a system not only too complex and complicated, but one which, being unknown to constitutional history, is naturally unwarranted by political experience as a satisfactory solution of the problem of an efficient Executive, sufficiently amenable to the control of popular representatives. As for its being able to command the "faith" of the Indian people, it is unfortunately but too true (and for reasons stated above there is nothing surprising in it) that in the opinion of all those who have worked the system, whether officials or non-officials, Indians or Europeans, Dyarchy has completely forfeited any claim to allegiance.

THE REMEDY: PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY.

Before discussing the question of a proper remedy for the present state of affairs in the provinces of India, I would like to remark that, as foreshadowed by me in the opening part of my address, I have tried my best to survey and discuss the problem purely from the administrative and not from the political standpoint. I have not referred to the abstract right of all peoples in general or of those of India in particular to rule themselves, or to the especial

difficulties that may be said to exist in India in giving the people Home Rule, because these would be political rather than administrative considerations. My attempt has been to show that the King in Parliament—the highest Sovereign body in the British Commonwealth—having declared his will in the Preamble to the Reform Act of 1919 that its object was "the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in British India," that object has not only not been achieved, but is not likely to be achieved at any time through the medium of the system of Dyarchy. Now, if this view be correct, the question of some constructive measure becomes at once an important one, and it is to this point that I shall refer before bringing my remarks to a close.

At one time, with a shorter experience of Dyarchy in practice, I thought that the best course would be to transfer, from time to time, additional departments to the charge of Ministers, till they came to possess complete control over the provincial administration. This was the view I held as late as 1924, and expressed it in the minute which I wrote for the information of the Muddiman Reforms Enquiry Committee. But the discussions which I then had the advantage of having with my two colleagues in the Government on the reserved side—the Governor and the Senior Executive Councillor—satisfied me that the remedy proposed by me would probably be worse than the disease itself, and I was thus led to accept the conclusion suggested by my colleagues—though they were not prepared to recommend its adoption at that time on the ground that it went beyond the purview of the enquiry then undertaken—namely, that provincial autonomy could be the only solution of the problem facing us. Thus, in this important matter, I tried to be more cautious than my colleagues of the Indian Civil Service, but finding that my view was declared to be untenable and impracticable by administrators like Sir William Marris and Sir Henry Wheeler—who deprecated setting up a half-way house—I was driven, on a more careful consideration, to accept their view that there was no *via media* between the present system and provincial autonomy. This is not only the view of the two experienced Anglo-Indian administrators, quoted above, who may justly be credited with an intimate knowledge of Dyarchy in practice, but also that of another

Anglo-Indian authority—namely, Sir Michael O'Dwyer. Concluding an article on "Indian Politics and Economics" in the issue of the *Edinburgh Review* for July last, and after pointing out what according to him are very serious obstacles to constitutional progress in British India, Sir Michael says that if and when an Indian nation has come into existence, "we can then ask Indians to co-operate with us in the development of self-government in its only practical form—i.e., provincial autonomy." So that evidently is the one practical solution of the problem with which we are confronted, and the inevitable conclusion logically forced upon us is that, whenever the present system is to be superseded, it can only be by the adoption of provincial autonomy—i.e., by a system in which the Executive is composed of a constitutional Governor and a Ministry responsible to the Legislature.

II.

A REJOINDER TO CRITICISMS.

Through the courtesy of Mr. Stanley Rice, I have received a copy of the report of the discussion on my paper on Dyarchy, at the adjourned meeting on the 17th October, when I was on the high seas on my way back to India. I am desired to send in a reply not to exceed one thousand words, though the report of the debate itself covers no less than 18 pages of closely printed matter! In the circumstances, I can not help feeling that it would have been but fair to me to have arranged for the debate on the date on which I read my paper, and not adjourned it to a date when I could not be present to reply effectively. Readers of my reply will, I trust, kindly keep in mind the disadvantage I am thus placed under, and will make due allowance for my inability to meet all the points urged by my critics. For the same reason—and certainly through no lack of courtesy—I shall confine my reply to the observations of the Chairman (Sir Patrick Fagan) and only those others amongst the debaters who have had actual experience as administrators of the working of Dyarchy.

I need not devote much space to the speech of the Maharajadhiraj of Burdwan, as he agreed with me in the main and differed but on minor matters. As a member of the Government of Bengal (both before and after the introduction

of Dyarchy) his views are entitled to weight and consideration and it is gratifying to me to find that he substantially confirmed my view. He rightly said that both he and I "know for a fact that" our "conclusions regarding the working of Dyarchy were practically the same"—namely "that Provincial autonomy was perhaps the only remedy". I am quite content to leave it at that. It seems a pity that none of the speakers at the adjourned debate cared to notice the significance of the valued support I had received from the Maharajadhiraja on my main contention.

Similarly, it is a source of great satisfaction to me to find that though an experienced administrator like Sir Patrick Fagan started by "reprobating" me (in the legal sense) by saying that the "root and branch condemnation which the author of the paper expressed had not been altogether borne out", he more than "approved" my views in the same breath by declaring as follows:—"Dyarchy appears to attempt to do what is in essence an impossibility". This was precisely my own contention. I need quote him no further, as his own words (following those I have reproduced) amount, I submit, to an even stronger condemnation of Dyarchy than may be justly said of my statement. The only other comment I may permit myself to make is with reference to Sir Patrick's complaint that I had suggested as remedy "Provincial autonomy" which "rather vague expression is not explained". I regret I cannot plead guilty, for my last words were a definition of this very phrase as "a system in which the Executive is composed of a constitutional Governor and a Ministry responsible to the Legislature". I submit that this statement of the principle underlying provincial autonomy makes its meaning as clear as my command of English enables me to do.

Dr. Paranjpye's observations seem to me to be, on the whole, of so nebulous a character that I find it rather difficult to deal with them in the short space at my disposal. He emphasised that the Montague-Chelmsford Reform (even though afflicted with Dyarchy) is better than what it superseded—namely the Morley-Minto constitution. I myself hold that view and have expressed it unambiguously in the paper under discussion. Nor did I ever suggest, or could do so, that we should go back to the old constitution, merely because it was impossible to work Dyarchy. All this is, I

submit, what lawyers call "raising a false issue"—just to draw a red herring across the trail and thus cloud the main issue. But Dr. Paranjpye while he "did not entirely agree in all" that I said "as regards the difficulties of the system" had the fairness to admit—for which I am grateful—that "of course, the difficulties theoretically were there". That is an admission to which I attached great weight and value as Dr. Paranjpye having been himself a Minister has had practical experience of the inherent defects of Dyarchy. But when it comes to the practice of it, he seems not quite disposed to agree with me, though here again he is not direct and specific in his statements, but takes shelter behind the specious plea that the smooth working of the system "depended upon the personality of the Governor and the Minister and also perhaps upon the personality of the Secretary as to who was to be topdog in all this trouble and fight". Well, to a learned Brahmin like Dr. Paranjpye, immersed in beatific beatitude, the spectacle of each of the three contending parties struggling to be "top-dog" in the provincial administration (on the transferred side) may cause no worry and may not upset his equilibrium. But his declaration (just quoted) amounts in my opinion to the strongest condemnation of the system in practice, as he lays down as its condition precedent an ideal state of affairs, which is not likely to be realized in this work-a-day world—namely, the Governor (Brahma), the Minister (Vishnu), and the Secretary (Siva), all three working harmoniously, when as a matter of fact each of them—according to Dr. Paranjpye himself—is but struggling to be "top-dog" of the show!

I shall now turn to the longest criticism of my paper and also (in a sense) the most important, that offered by Sir Henry Wheeler. Sir Henry kindly acknowledged my "able assistance" during the more than four years that we worked together as colleagues. While conveying to him my sense of profound gratefulness for it, I may add that of the many things I learnt as the result of my close association with him, not the least important was that, in public discussions, hard words break no bones and that, therefore, it is best either to avoid them, or at any rate to be temperate in one's language. That I have taken this lesson to heart and tried to benefit by it, is evidenced by my paper on Dyarchy having been "passed"

by the Literary Committee of the East India Association, as being one which—in the words of Sir Louis Dane—was "written in a most admirable and temperate spirit", and in which "there is nothing which need give rise to anything in the nature of acrimonious discussion". It has, therefore, come as a rather disagreeable surprise to me to find that Sir Henry in his criticisms of my paper was disposed to be at times not only intemperate in his language, but also unchivalrous enough to formulate some unfounded charges in the absence of the accused, to which he could not, therefore, reply at the time; nor can he do so adequately now in the very restricted space at his disposal. He charged me with having fallen a victim to the use of "a catch phrase ('Dyarchy 'must go' "—which I had never used!) borrowed from English politics in the way that catch words and phrases travelled round the world", with having "entirely misrepresented" the position of the Secretary under Dyarchy, with having depicted the Governor as an "ogre of the piece", with having stated "that Ministers were daily over-ruled" and (to omit several other similar accusations) he averred "that the picturesque language of journalism had rather carried the writer away into some disregard of the actual facts." Such language is, in my humble opinion, wholly at variance with the sound teaching Sir Henry graciously imparted to me and the lesson he so kindly inculcated on me, both by precept and example, in the matter of temperateness in expression and in adopting fairness of outlook in dealing even with those from whom we may differ in opinion. I may venture to claim—on the testimony of Sir Louis Dane quoted above—to have set a better example of these virtues in my paper than Sir Henry did in his criticisms. It would not be difficult for one like myself, who has been thirty-five years at the Bar, to indulge in effective retorts and smart persiflage on the line of criticism adopted by Sir Henry, but I would advisedly forbear from doing so, preferring to follow the example he set me in his responsible office of Governor to that in the (comparatively speaking) much less responsible position he now occupies as an inmate of that Cave of Adullam—the India Office.

As to the merits of his accusations, Sir Henry seems to me—if I may say so, without impertinence—to have brought to bear upon my paper not quite an unprejudiced frame of mind which

has resulted, not unnaturally, in a warped judgment. For the statements I made I gave incontrovertible facts, unimpeachable data and unquestionable authorities, and they are there, for what they are worth, for any one who may care to study, with an impartial mind, the problem I dealt with. I expected that those who would discuss it, with a view to improve matters, would not forget that fair criticism upon the matter is to be desired and not misrepresentation or invective. I tried to avoid both these common failings, and it is to me highly gratifying to find that no other speaker charged me with either. To say as I did that by reason of the non-establishment of the principle of joint ministerial responsibility (in the administration of the transferred side) the Governor finds it easier to over-rule individual Ministers, is very far from stating or even implying that the latter are overruled "daily" (the word Sir Henry puts into my mouth, but which I nowhere used) by Governors; and to say as I did that the direct right of access to the Governor which the Secretary enjoys materially weakens the position of Ministers is not at all to imply (as Sir Henry vigorously puts it) that "the Governor and the Secretary got together to see how best they could do down the Minister." Such comments—howsoever in their proper place in "nothings" on Secretariat files—are not likely to commend themselves to or find acceptance with people trained to sift, appreciate and weigh things properly.

But Sir Henry's criticisms of my paper are not confined merely to faults of commission, but (in a larger measure) to those of omission as well. My answer on this charge must be briefer still, viz., that the omissions were advisedly made, as in my opinion they did not come within the purview of my paper—which was Dyarchy in theory and practice, but not in its working in the various provinces. Assuming, but not admitting, that they did so, and that my judgment on this point was wrong, even then I would urge that I was fully justified, by the terms of my agreement with the East India Association, not to deal with them, as they all trenched upon the political sphere and were thus bound to prove controversial and to lead to an acrimonious discussion.

I shall illustrate my meaning by an example. I find, for instance, that referring to the many

omissions which he enumerated Sir Henry said:—"Beginning with the basis of the whole structure, how had the electorates worked?" Now supposing I had dealt with this particular aspect of the question and had stated that the electorates had not yet worked well, in the sense that they had not displayed sufficient interest, enthusiasm or a right perception of the qualities or qualifications of the candidates, surely, the matter could not rest there. The question would at once be raised why it was so. And what would be the answer of any educated and thinking Indian? It would very probably be that it was so as the Government (though it had ruled, say Behar, since 1765) had grossly neglected its duty to the people and had failed to educate them, with the result that even after 162 years of British rule the vast bulk of them (more than 95 per cent.) were grossly illiterate, and that this was due to the Government's indifference to the condition of the masses, on account of its personnel being foreign and its character despotic (howsoever of benevolent a type) and its natural anxiety to spend a larger portion of the public revenues for the upkeep of its British civil and military services and the maintenance of an unnecessarily large Army to garrison the country, and so on and so forth. If an Indian said so at a meeting of the East India Association, could any Anglo-Indian (using the term in its classical sense) be prevented from repeating or paraphrasing in his reply to the Indian argument the substance of the observations emphasised of late by Lord Birkenhead in the House of Lords, in which he has eloquently descanted on the origin of British rule in India, the past and the existing conditions in the country, and the consequent, inherent rights of the British as the perpetual trustees of the Indian people? And would not such a debate—which I have admired in the mildest language—be in all likelihood highly acrimonious, full of bitterness and recrimination? I hope Sir Henry will now realize why I felt justified in excluding from my survey the actual working of the Dyarchic system and confined myself but to its theory and practice. But if he does not or will not, then all I can say is that in this matter we are evidently looking at the question entirely from different angles of vision and must, therefore, but agree to differ.

ASIA AND EUROPE.

By MR. S. V. RAMAMURTHY, M.A., I.C.S.

It is a remarkable fact that the cultures of Asia and Europe have dominated each other alternately. Geographically the division between Asia and Europe is by longitude rather than by latitude. Latitude, we know, has different physical effects. We know of none for longitude. Yet Asia and Europe—roughly the East and the West—function in different periods. They have realised different temperaments. Asia tends to be idealistic as against the realism of Europe. Asia moves slow where Europe rushes. Asia has lasted longer than Europe. Asia's forte is in religion while Europe's is in science. At the present moment Europe dominates Asia. In the new world of America, every European is welcome, no Asiatic is. In spite of all the differences, Europe claims superiority over Asia by judging the latter on the standards of the former. I wish to show that the life of Europe and of Asia is set in different moulds and has to be judged by different standards and that the failure to do this is unfair to Asia and therefore also to the world of which Europe is a part like Asia herself.

We do not see life directly. We see it through its material effects. The processes of life have their correspondences in the processes of Nature. I want to show that the life of Europe and Asia in its sources, in its appearance, in its rates of progress, in its seasons of activity corresponds closely to the life of a rain-fed stream and a snow-fed stream.

RELIGION—SOURCE OF ASIA'S LIFE.

The source of a snow-fed stream is the snow on mountain-tops. Gradually this hardens into a glacier full of crevices and stained with mud. And from the foot of the glacier starts a stream in summer. Religion is the source of Asia's life. It is like the snow on mountain tops, pure and clear, high near the heavens. It hardens into her social system, with artificial bonds separating castes and creeds. From this flows in the summer of that religion a stream of individual lives, of beauty, wisdom and energy

enriching the world around. But in winter, the glacier ceases to feed the stream. Asia in her winter is a glacier and not also a river. The high truths of her religion lie on her mountain peaks bound by the cold force of winter. The glacier grows sluggish even in her slow motion. If you saw Asia only in the bed of her summer stream, you would say she was dead.

LIFE IN EUROPE A RAIN-FED STREAM.

But the life of Europe is a rainfed stream. There are no reserves which melt. Clouds gather and supply the earth with ready-made water. At the birth of Greece, Egypt rained her art and wisdom over Greece. Greece passed her heritage to Rome which enriched it. At the renaissance of Europe, all the treasures of classical antiquity were rained over Europe. It is remarkable that Italy which was the birth-place of the European renaissance hardly started a line of art or thought the germs of which were not supplied by the leaders of Greece and Rome. These seeds grew in the fertile soil of Europe and we have the rich harvest of science. But now we see that European civilization is in floods. The very water that grew her crops threatens to destroy them. In the summer, which is roughly the non-rainy season, the rain-fed stream is reduced to a stagnant spring or pool at the source. Such was Europe in the Middle Ages. Such according to thinkers is the fate that threatens Europe after her rains and her floods.

How do Europe and Asia differ in appearance now? Europe has a unity which is lacking in Asia. Her branch streams have a smooth surface. But Asia's streams have shrunk in the winter. What appears is her glacier. The surface of the glacier is full of deep fissures and stained with mud. And yet in spite of the fissures, the glacier is one even as the river is one. In fact, the fissures of the glacier are of the very mechanism of her motion. In the summer, however, Asia gives out a stream of life as smooth and as full as the stream of Europe

in winter. The civilisation of India, China and other Asiatic countries in the summer of the world life was as full, as creative, as varied and withal so full of an underlying unity as that of Europe now is.

RATE OF PROGRESS.

And then as to rates of progress. Europe in the winter is a river which moves fast. Asia in the same period is but a glacier which moves slow. Even in her summer, Asian thought melts slow. If it rains to-day, to-morrow you begin to raise a crop. If it snows to-day on the mountain tops, it may be many years before that snow moves to the foot of the glacier and melts into the river to enrich the land about. Thus the civilization of Europe when active, moves fast. Asia correspondingly moves very much slower but for that very reason lasts very much longer.

As regards seasons of activity, we find that Europe and Asia are active in different seasons of world life. On our analogy Europe is active in the world winter (or rainy season) and Asia is active in the world summer (or non-rainy season). Asia thus melts her snows of thought and feeds the plains in the summer when the land is parched.

Europe's rivers flow when there is rain. There is thus greater balance in the activity of Asian thought and life. Where life is parched up as to-day it is in India and China, then it is that the snows on the mountain tops melt. The greater the need, the greater the supply. In Europe, it is land that has rain that gets also the river. The more the rain the less does the land need water and yet the more does the river bring it. Hence the danger of floods in European civilization. European activity tends to defeat itself by its fulness: Asiatic activity is restrained and balanced and its danger is emaciation. In winter when it rains, the snows are held in reserve. In summer when there is need, the latent power of the snows is released. Asian Gods reside in the accumulated snows of her Himalayas and come to the earth when the land is parched.

BLIND ATTITUDE OF EUROPE.

It is remarkable how very closely the analogy of a river-fed stream and a snow-fed stream fits the differences between the life of Europe and

Asia. Europe has envisaged progress as uniform and in a straight line. That there is progress is thought to be proved by the fact of Europe's progress in the last three or four centuries. It is shown that Asia has not progressed in the same period. It is thence deduced that Asia has lost the capacity to progress or else the force of the time would have moved her even as it did Europe. Hence it is concluded that Asia is dead. I submit that this is a false reasoning based on a mistaken view of progress. Progress, I submit, is not uniform but rhythmical and the basic rhythm in this material world is that of duality. If there is a forwards, there is a backwards. Summer and Winter alternate, so do night and day. Even after death, there is life. The world cannot be all summer, all men, all positive. The idea of an infinite Euclidean straight line is exploded. The reigning mathematical idea which is Einsteinian is that the world is finite though unbounded and that if you go along a straight line long enough, you will come back to where you are. Europe cannot progress for ever nor can Asia. Life needs periods of rest and recuperation. Asia has slept because it has been her turn to do so and because it has been the turn of Europe to be up and doing. Yet Europe clamours as if she alone has been guarding the fort of humanity for all time. Surely she shows youthful impatience and a short memory. If the guards of a fort divide watches between themselves, one half for the day and the other for the night, is it open to a new Commander to find the sleeping half to be unworthy and order them to be disarmed and shot? Surely such a man would be regarded as blind. Yet the attitude of Europe when she speaks of her cultured burden and blames Asia for her sloth and beggarliness, is as blind. Asia is not dead but asleep. A glacier is a river not dead but asleep. In the long run it does not pay to meddle with a sleeper. A sleeper awakened before his time is both uneconomical and dangerous. Judge not the glacier by the laws of the river.

The life of India is torn by differences of castes, races and religions. It is not more torn than the surface of a glacier. Yet a glacier is one. It moves and in its own time, it gives rise to a life giving river. In fact, it is as summer dawns, that the glacier quickens her pace and the cracks deepen and widen.

INDIA AND CHINA.

India and China are the eternal mountain peaks of Asian thought. At lesser heights the snow may evaporate. Babylon and Assyria evaporated. Egypt and Persia evaporated. Perhaps the snow of adversity may have accumulated in them and we shall yet see new rivers of life from them in the world summer. But you cannot kill India and China. Is it possible to wash away the eternal snows of the Himalayas? Water that seeks to wash away a glacier but remains behind itself frozen.

And what next? Are Summer and Winter ever to be apart? Are Europe and Asia ever to dominate each other? The poet has sung:

"East is East and West is West
And never the twain shall meet,"

If that be true, we may as well sing,

"Summer is Summer and Winter is Winter,
And never the twain shall meet."

But surely they do meet in the year which is both Summer and Winter. Or, we may as well sing,

"Ear is Ear and Eye is Eye
And never the twain shall meet."

But surely they do in the brain which combines both their activities.

The differences between Asia and Europe do exist. But there is a reconciliation. Europe and Asia have the common quality of humanity, they have a common home in Earth, they have a common goal which men have agreed to call God.

SUMMER AND WINTER.

East and West meet not on their own plane but on a higher plane. Snow and water meet in their common nature as shown by a common history taken over all time. Snow cannot claim precedence over water because in Summer snow yields water while water merely evaporates. Water cannot take precedence over snow because in Winter water flows as rivers while snow keeps idle on the mountain tops. Take their history over all time, they are identical.

Asia may work out Science from religion. Europe may build up religion from Science. But the processes, when complete, will be identical. Europe may move when Asia rests. Asia may move when Europe rests. Yet over all time each total activity is of the same pattern.

Europe and Asia meet in the vision of those who see not only the past but also the future, in the vision that transcends time and space, in the vision that is of God. To Asia then whose life flows from her religion it has been given to realise the brotherhood of man. Buddha has taught it. Christ has taught it. Mahamud has taught it. Many lesser men in Asia have lived it. To Europe, the realization of the brotherhood of man is a hope of the future.

In the present then, Europe and Asia are bound by their dual rhythm. Europe has been active but her life is in floods. Asia has been bound in sleep, but the snows on her mountain tops are melting. Cast off the clothes of winter, Prepare ye for the new summer!

THE INTERNATIONAL PRESS CONFERENCE AT GENEVA.

By "INDIA'S REPRESENTATIVE."

Having returned from Europe I think I should send a communication about the first International Press Conference which was organized by the League of Nations and held at Geneva from August 24th to 29th, the session

of which I attended as a representative of the Press of India. A week before the opening of the session of the Conference, I received a pressing invitation from Sir Eric Drummond, Secretary-General of League of Nations, request-

ing me to attend the Conference so as to represent the Press of India, which I was given to understand would otherwise go unrepresented, the gentleman who had been invited and had agreed to attend having been unable to go to Europe. The letter of invitation also stated that "the Conference is a meeting of individual experts and not of delegates of press groups and as such the invitation should be considered as personal, not involving the obligation of preliminary consultation with the press organisations to which you may belong." In the circumstances, I accepted the invitation and attended the session at Geneva from the date of its opening till that of its closing. Not being the representative of any particular section or group of the Press of India, but of that of the whole country, I thought I would best discharge my duty by holding as it were, a watching brief on behalf of the Press of India, so that its interests might not suffer by letting judgment go by default.

As mentioned above, the session lasted for six days (exclusive of Sunday) and the gathering was indeed memorable. It was the first Independent Press Conference of the whole world and thus differed from those previously held. No less than 38 countries were represented by 63 delegates, 20 assessors and 35 experts, representing not only States which are members and non-members of the League, but also all the five Continents and all the different categories of press interests—newspaper proprietors, cable companies, press bureaux and journalists' associations, besides representatives of the International Cable Association and of the great British, French and German newspaper distributing houses. In spite of the diversity of speech in a gathering of this character the work was carried on with remarkable smoothness by almost all the speakers using with wonderful facility either English or French—the only two languages officially recognized by the League of Nations. Every speech delivered in one of these two languages, was immediately rendered into the other by a highly competent staff of interpreters. The debates even on most controversial subjects were carried on in a friendly spirit, without betraying any acerbity of feeling and the proceedings, as a whole, were of great significance as showing how in spite of obvious difficulties, business can be smoothly carried on by keeping the main object of the gathering in view.

A very large number of resolutions were keenly debated upon and ultimately adopted. Their full texts would cover several columns of a newspaper, but all of them can be divided under three main heads, namely, communication, circulation, and journalistic facilities; or in other words, the collection, the transmission and the circulation of news. The first link in the chain was the resolution of the Conference to extend the freedom of the journalist for the fulfilment of his primary duties. The various resolutions under this head, however, naturally took note of the conditions in Europe and in countries where the European methods of journalism prevail, and they have thus but little reference to those obtaining in the Press in India. Similarly, a large number of resolutions were passed mainly affecting the question of communications with a view to effect improvement in news transmission. The third and the last subject dealt with, but which, in a sense, was the most important, was that of protecting news, both before and after publication, against unfair appropriation. This question was more keenly and more warmly debated than any other before the Conference, and I think, Lord Burnham (who very successfully presided over the Conference) was fully justified in saying that "it represents a real triumph for journalistic statesmanship that unanimous agreement was reached on a subject of such vital importance. In view of the importance of the subject I append below the full text of the resolution:—

"(a) Concerning unpublished news: the Conference of Press experts lays it down as a fundamental principle that the publication of a piece of news is legitimate in all cases where the news in question has reached the person who publishes it by regular and unobjectionable means, and not by an act of unfair competition. Nobody can acquire the right of suppressing news of public interest.

"The conference is of the opinion that full protection should be granted to unpublished news in course of transmission for publication in those countries in which such protection does not already exist.

"No information destined for publication by the Press or through broadcasting shall be legally received by unauthorized persons for publication or use in any way for the purpose of distribution through the Press, through broadcasting or in any similar manner.

"There shall be no preferential right in official news issued by a Government or Government Department or by an official representing a Government or Government Department. All such news may be published without restriction in full or in part.

"(b) Concerning published news: In view of the widely differing conditions obtaining in various countries, the conference is of opinion that the question of the protection of published news where reproduced in the Press or by broadcasting is one for the decision of the respective countries concerned, and recommends that any Government to whom application in this respect is made by its country's Press should sympathetically consider the advisability of granting protection. Such protection should, however, permit the reproduction of news within a specified period subject to acknowledgment and payment.

"This Conference affirms the principle that newspapers, news agencies, and other news organizations are entitled, after publication, as well as before publication, to the reward of their labour, enterprise, and financial expenditure upon the production of news reports but holds that this principle should not be so interpreted as to result in the creation or encouragement of any monopoly in news.

"In order to realize these principles, it is desirable that there should be an international agreement and that the Council of the League of Nations by resolution, should request various Governments to give immediate consideration to the question involved."

Put shortly, the resolution amounts to this, that the Conference did not wish to establish any monopoly in news or prejudicial control of the sources of public information, but that it wanted to protect against unfair competition those great journalistic enterprises which by their initiative and organization bring the

World's news at great cost of time and skilled labour to the use of the reading public. This resolution is in my opinion of great interest to newspaper proprietors and press organizations in India also, since so far back as 1900, a Bill was introduced by Lord Curzon's Government into the Imperial Legislative Council to be called (if enacted) the Telegraphic Press Messages Act, which tried to give proprietary right in news legally obtained by any one for a period of 36 hours from the time of the first publication. In view, however, of the great opposition offered to the bill by the Indian Press, it was withdrawn by the Government, though the Government had the support, for enacting the measure, of some of the leading Anglo-Indian newspapers. It would be seen that the resolution of the Geneva Press Conference leaves it open to the Government of each country to bring in legislation which may be considered expedient, if and when such legislation becomes necessary.

I venture to think that this short communication will interest the newspaper reading public in this country. I believe there are in India one or two press organizations located in Calcutta and Bombay, but I am not quite sure if the range of their activities covers the press of the whole country. It seems to me that the time has come when a serious attempt should be made to establish on a sound basis a well-organized Press Association for the whole of India, with a Press Conference to be convened by it annually. If it has been possible for the League of Nations to organize an International Press Conference composed of the representatives of thirty-eight countries, it should not be an impossible task to call into existence and maintain an active and effective press organization for the whole of India. I am throwing out this suggestion in the hope that it may be ventilated in the press so that perchance some beneficial results may ensue from the discussion.

THE SPIRIT OF ADVENTURE.

AN OLD MAN'S HEART-TO-HEART TALK WITH YOUNG MEN.

What is adventure? It is doing things which involve risks. Suppose you do things which everybody round you does. You know what will happen because others have experienced it. In the beaten track, there may be ruts, there may be mud. But you know it. Like others you can put up with it. But when you leave the beaten track, there may be pits, thorns and impenetrable walls. To leave the beaten track is to seek adventure. In other words, adventure is the doing of things which your neighbours do not do. If all men moved and you moved with them, you have no more life than they. As the earth moves, all things on it move with it. Such motion does not mean life. Mathematically, uniform motion in a straight line is equivalent to being at rest. A straight line is the line of least resistance. It is the path which particles move in under no forces. It is the beaten track of dead matter. It is force that changes either rest or uniform motion in a straight line. It is the presence of life-force within you that impels you to adventure. Where men have not the spirit of adventure, they are dead or at best asleep.

Look at the periods of History that interest you. Look at Europe in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries when life was a glorious adventure. Men dared to challenge the seas and sail round the world in seventy-ton sailing vessels. The known world was felt to be too small and men sought new worlds and found them. They were not content with getting the products of Asia. They explored Asiatic countries and seized them. They went to America, Australia, the Pacific Islands and colonised them with such vigour that great new nations have risen all over the world. Along with this world expansion, men were impelled to a deeper probing into the secrets of nature. The whole development of European Science was a glorious adventure. For Newton to have ventured into the secrets of Planetary motion and seized the law of Gravitation was a great human adventure. The development of steam power, the discovery of the wireless and

the aeroplane were powerful events which give to all who are not leaders but mere followers something of the sense of adventure. To be a scientist in the last 3 or 4 centuries is to be in the vanguard of the human adventure.

Look back to Greece and Rome when men dared to think and organise and create great art, systems of thought and empires. That was a period of adventure.

Look again at India in the centuries when men thought no truth too great to be fought for and won, when every Kishi was a school of thought, when a singer of the Rigveda dared even to peep into the mind of God Himself. When speaking of the nature of the Universe he said "Perhaps God knows and perhaps God knows and perhaps God Himself does not know." Look at India in those centuries when her caravans traversed the whole of Asia and penetrated into Europe and Africa, when her sailors carried her products from Africa to China, when her thinkers and craftsmen made great art, great cities, great Social Systems. That was a period of adventure.

But now, life in India is still. Let any of you think if you ever had an adventure. Most of you will have to say none. Look at the life of a typical educated Indian. Whatever freedom he had was when he was too young to be chidden. A whole life of 'Don'ts' awaits him as a boy. The daily round is from house to school and school to house. If he plays games, his father is afraid he is wasting his time. If he becomes a Boy Scout, his teacher may feel gloomy. All truths and untruths that are presented to him he has to accept with humility and without questioning. The adventures he is asked to admire are those of other people. He has no chance to learn in the school of the great enterprises in which his forefathers took part. He passes his examination and except rarely, he enters the beaten track of subordinate Government Service where, cramped and jostled by the crowd, he proceeds without a sense of individuality, without keenness for his work, without the joy of activity,

to earn a petty sum which is hardly enough to meet his needs. He becomes prematurely old and just dies.

Look at the life of the villager. Look at his ignorance, the insanitation of his village, his poverty, his sloth, his sense of fear, his helplessness, his daily hunger. And yet these men built the temples which we still see in India, these men built the irrigation anicuts and channels of Tanjore; these men made the delicate things of beauty which foreigners prize, these men spread Buddhism into China and Japan and profoundly influenced their life; these men made the armies and navies of Indian Empires; these were the men who upheld the great religious teachers of India. Where is all that life-force gone? Is the stuff of which men are made dead in India or is it leadership that is lacking? I asked some Chinese who travelled with me from Hong Kong what was wrong with China? Every day we heard of anarchy, murders, looting. There seemed to be no order. Commanders were fighting with Commanders, Provinces with Provinces. What was wrong with China, I asked. They said they had everything to make a nation—men, materials, traditions. What they needed was a leader. It happened in their history before that for lack of a leader their country was temporarily in anarchy. But it always set itself right. The leader would be sure to come. They waited for him.

As in China, so in India, our lack is the lack of leadership. A leader is a man of force of ideals and of character. It is he that not only leaves the beaten track himself but can make others do so likewise. A leader is a man with a spirit of adventure. For lack of that spirit, our individuals as well as the nation are suffering from torpor.

Quite apart from the national needs it is, I put it to you, a need of your soul to develop a spirit of daring, a spirit of adventure. From the one God to the many souls, the way must have been long. An individuality which has been the result of such an evolution is worth preserving and developing and you do so by developing a spirit of adventure. It is not isolated adventures that you need under the force of some great stress. What you need is to develop a quality of adventurousness. Whether in work or in play be keen and put your soul into it. Let the force of your individuality be felt in all your work. If you

have not work, then play. If you cannot find a dragon to fight, till at least at the windmill rather than do nothing at all. You have to learn to till at the windmill if by and by you would kill a dragon.

If you have the spirit of adventure, you cannot complain of lack of opportunities to exercise it. Life makes its own opportunities. Look at the India of to-day. Is there ever a forest which needs pioneering work more than India does? All the joys of building a great national life are before you. Naturally Englishmen could only make large tracks through the forest and impose general peace and order. But the task of exploring the forest fully is left to you. What a lot of things there are to be done in this country. Educate the adults, clean up the streets, get even a few agricultural improvements followed, organise cottage industries, remove prickly pear; spread the glory of the knowledge which Europe has contributed. It is a joy to you to peer into the past and to dream of the future, to peep beyond the stars and into the atom. Share some of the joy with the 90% who know it not. To do any of these things will be to you an adventure. It is true that the economic conditions of the country do not permit a large number to indulge in such adventures all their life. Therefore let me make to you a concrete proposal. Conscribe one year out of your life—but one year out of the 30 or 60 years that you live. Sometime between 20 and 30, let one year be your own, to do as you like. Let the cares of life, its selfishness, its greed, its meanness leave you. For one year, be a wanderer from the beaten track. Surely you give enough of your life to the security, the fear, the mechanical system of the world. Take away one year of your life. Wander as a temporary Sanyasin, as a lay brother. If it pleases you to carve, go to a village where they build a temple and learn sculpture. If you would paint or dance or sing, go and do it. If you would go to men whom you can help, not because you feel pity for them but because it gives you joy to do it, go and do it. If you want food, beg it, if you must. Do a day's work as a labourer or as a teacher or as a preacher or as a singer and beg a day's food. Greater men than you have begged. Buddha begged, Sankara begged, Ramanuja begged.

It is the men who begged their food and worked for other men for the needs of their

own souls that India reveres. One year of such a wandering will add to your stature morally and spiritually. Think what it would mean when in after life moving along the beaten track weak in body and in spirit, you can have the memory of one year when you were the master of your spirit, when the world had no bonds for you, when you could seek adventures as your nature prompted. Some of these wanderers will have helped themselves and thereby indirectly helped their nation. But a great many will have found scope for freedom and adventure in activity which helps the nation. The needs of your nation are also the needs of your soul. Nearest the soul is God, then humanity, then the nation and then your body. In trying to help the nation, you help your own soul. Don't be despondent at all the divisions that you see in India. Don't you believe people when they say you have no nation. True the surface of your life is broken with castes and creeds, races and religions. But it is not more broken than the surface of a glacier. And yet a glacier is one and moves as one. When a man wakes, he has to wash his face, bathe his body, sweep his room before he begins the day's work. All the meanness, pettiness, jealousies, mutual intolerance and slackness that you find in India are the filth that has accumulated in the night. You have to wash it out, bathe it out, sweep it out before India can begin her season's work. If therefore you seek adventures be a pioneer in this awakening of India. Do it for your own soul's

sake and you shall have helped the country too. I have asked you to conscribe one year out of your 30 or 60. Let that one year be also an year conscript for the country. Imagine the youth of this country conscribing one year out of its life for adventures, what an army there will be spreading new life in the country.

I have a scheme by which we hope to find a few graduates to work each in a village. It is proposed that the village feed him and that a Central Committee pay him a small sum, say ten rupees a month as pocket money. His business is to supply the village with leadership and driving power. He should teach the adults, help them to clean their streets, see that even small improvements in agriculture are made and introduce if possible a cottage industry. It is enough if he works for a year. Another can continue his work. If such a scheme is found successful and is widely followed, we shall not only have organised men into finding spiritual adventure but found through them men who having been at the lowest can also take their places in the highest seats as the leaders of the nation.

I ask you young men for the sake of your own souls to wake up, to seek adventures and through your personal adventures build up a national adventure. There is so much work to do in India now, so much scope for personality and spiritual growth that to be born in India now is a privilege rarely given to any generation. May you appreciate and utilise that privilege in its fulness!

BOOKS OF THE QUARTER.

AN ANGLO-INDIAN VISION OF FREE INDIA*

"Al Carthill," the pseudonymous author of the book entitled *The Lost Dominion*, which created much sensation a few years ago, has now written another work, which he calls euphe-

mistically *The Garden of Adonis*—the mythical garden which arose in one night and lasted for a day, and then disappeared! The book is evidently so named in order to show that "Free India" is only a fleeting conception and will not last, if it eventualises. Obviously we are here in the region of speculation and surmises, but the title itself indicates that it is inspired by the wish being father to the thought behind it.

**The Garden of Adonis*. By "Al Carthill" (William Blackwood & Sons, London) 1927.

The book is thus in the nature of a complement to the author's previous work. It might be recalled how in that book, after showing that Britain had wantonly and needlessly given away her Dominion in India to the lawyers, yielding to the frothy and selfish agitation of a section of the people of India, the author ended in a triumphant and highly optimistic note: "The Dominion Is Not Lost!" The whole trend of the book was to lead to a conclusion contrary to this declaration and it was difficult for the reader to appreciate or understand the force of the exclamatory assertion. In his sequel—in the book under consideration—the author starts with a protestation that he was determined to be optimistic in spite of everything and this asseveration appears over and over again in the book under notice. But, we fear, that like dear old Lady Macbeth, he doth protest too much and it is obvious from the way he writes that he himself has no grounds for optimism, nor can he expect his readers to be optimistic.

The author accepts, however grudgingly, the "Montford" Reforms and admits it is impossible to go back on them. The usual defects of the system, the wanton conduct of those who granted them needlessly and the childish pranks of those who refused to work them in two provinces, for what they were worth, are dealt with in the usual style of the die-hard Briton. But the main theme of the book are things as they would be in "Free India." It is impossible, says the author, that India can and will continue in the status of a Dominion of the British Empire. It is different in race, religion and thought from the other Dominions. The making of India into a Dominion will mean the disruption of the Empire and must necessarily lead to a Free India,—which is perhaps a logical though not necessarily a likely conclusion. Except for India, which is a Dependency, the British Empire, (he urges) is at present held by ties of common blood and common ancestry, common ideas and common tradition. The bonds that hold the Empire are delicate and invisible. The introduction into this British Union of a new Dominion different in every way except in acknowledging a common King would snap delicate bonds. Neither Canada nor Australia would be prepared to fight in a cause in which India was interested or *vice versa*. Such are, in brief, the author's premises. In his view, therefore, there is no alternative to India being a Dependency as at present, and the

author, therefore, proceeds to show what the dangers would be in a Free India. He does not believe that democracy will ever be understood or worked out in the East, as it has been in the West. The rule in Free India would, he thinks, be by an oligarchy of the higher castes or classes.

As to whether this oligarchy will be of the lawyers or of the landed aristocracy, or of the capitalists and moneylenders, or of the martial classes, the author is not sure and in different parts of his book, he comes to different conclusions. But of this he is certain that whatever the class, the poor peasants, the silent millions, who so far have been protected by the impartial and high-minded alien bureaucracy, will suffer. The landlord will tyrannize over the peasant and the moneylender and the lawyer will help him in perpetrating such tyranny. The capitalist will tyrannize over the labourer and, again, the lawyer will help him. Emigration, which benefits the emigrant (and incidentally the foreign planter in Assam or Java or Mauritius) will be stopped in the interests of cheap labour in India. The export of grain will be prohibited—thus causing loss to the peasant, while import duties to benefit the manufacturer will harm the general consumer, as all articles will cost him more. The putting down of usury will no longer be pursued with energy. The administration will and must become slack with the absence of European officers. Considering the character of the Police and the temperament of lawyer judges, crime will no longer be put down as at present. As regards defence, internal and external, the British soldier and officers will decline to serve as mercenaries. To a Free India, Britain can no longer give the protection for the sea frontier. A weak country with an industrious population and with great possibilities of development and exploitation must expect attacks from outside and eventually succumb. The position of the numerous princes of India is peculiar, and in a Free India, they would either disappear or spread out and consolidate their power and make a Free India impossible. The Afghan and the border tribes are an ever-present danger and in addition, there is now the torrent of Bolshevism with the Russian soldier sweeping towards the East. To meet all these dangers, Free India will have neither the men nor the arms, nor the money and she must therefore collapse. That seems, to the author, inevitable—in fact, as sure as a decree of Fate!

II.

Thus, it is a very dark picture that the author draws, of things likely to be in Free India. His optimism, which he so often protests, is that of the ostrich burying its head in the sands. Obviously he does not expect the reader to believe him. The book is written for the British elector and the author's obvious purpose is to tell him that a Free India is an impossible conception; and that to be a party to make India free would mean the disruption of the British Empire, the loss of British power and prestige and, in addition, the ruin of India itself and of all the work which, in the last over one hundred years, Britain has done for the neglected and oppressed peasantry of India. With all its tone of sweet reasonableness and studied impartiality, therefore, the book is no more than a strong plea for the continuance of the *status quo* and for the non-grant of any further reforms towards the realization of Dominion status in or responsible government to our country.

Now, as Indians, we welcome this book, for as often as not our worst enemies are our best friends. Tukaram (the Marathi saint and poet) says "We should have a censurer as a neighbour," for by pointing out our defects in season and out of season, he will enable us to improve ourselves. The author has, in his book, adopted a less truculent tone than he did in his previous book, and nowhere gives offence by his language or even by insinuation. All this is for the better, for then he knows he will be listened to the more carefully. We, in India, are fully aware of our numerous defects and weak points. The fact that we do not recite them frequently for the benefit of outsiders does not mean that we are blind to them. But in a vast country like India, the spread of new ideas and new culture, and the uprooting of old ideas and old evils is bound to take time. No one, and least of all the author, who knows this country, can at all deny that much has been done. The peasant is no longer the old peasant of the Moghul or Mahratta times. He will no longer submit to the old tyrannies and the author is much mistaken if he thinks that the new oligarchy, if it does eventualise, in Free India, would behave as did the old Moghul or Mahratta Subedars or that the peasant would allow them to do so. He seems to forget—if he has not deliberately done so—that ideas

are more powerful than machine guns and words—properly used—are now more effective than swords.

The idea of modern democracy, in all its aspects and implications, may not have spread to all the villages in India, but the main idea of it has already taken a deep root not only among the intelligentsia and but also amongst the villagers. No Indian oligarchy of the nature admired by the author can last long. The evils contemplated by him may occur but, we, in India, recognise that we shall not attain our goal without passing through the vortex of suffering. We anticipate and are prepared for much trouble because the goal is worth it. We can only learn—like all other human beings—by mistakes and failures, and we claim our indefeasible right to commit mistakes and court failures before achieving ultimate success in responsible government. What all writers of the class, to which the author belongs, will not understand is that we in India are not content to remain as we are and that we want to be as free as any other Dominion of the British Commonwealth, and that this anxiety of ours will save us from many a pitfall. We do not want to hang our heads, in shame forever in the Council of Nations. We do not want always to be known to western nations as *Indes Britannique* or as *Indes Anglaise*, but as India, free and self-governing. We want to develop our own form of Government—adapted to our genius and social conditions. Perhaps, democracy as developed in the West, may not suit us; who knows? We can only try and experiment. We at present think that that it is about the best form of Government. The author obviously does not believe in democracy even for the West and much less therefore for the East. He believes in a benevolent autocracy or an oligarchy but he forgets that it is all very nice for you as long as you belong to the ruling classes. "We are all brothers provided I am the big brother." We want no such philosophy, and Modern India will have none of it.

III.

We are truly grateful for the Pax-Britannica. We are grateful for what Britain has done for India—though it be at an enormous cost to the latter. We are grateful still more for the new ideas and thoughts that she has imparted to us; for these last are more valuable, more powerful

and more lasting than all the railways, telephones, telegraphs, land revenue systems and machine guns. But, we ask our British fellow-subjects (including, of course, the author, who is one of them).—What is the price you expect us to pay for what you have done for us? Is it eternal submission to and perpetual dependence on you? Your own teaching is against this doctrine and you cannot expect us to say: "Thank you for what you have done, and please carry on as before." If we did so, your teaching would have proved barren and fruitless. And even if you had not so taught us, the development of Science, and improvement in modes of communication would not have kept the new ideas from permeating us. All the dangers you point out in the way of a "Free India" may be true, though we believe they are grossly exaggerated. But what is the alternative? Is it to remain for ever as we are in permanent bondage and in perpetual servitude? No, at no cost. We are determined to learn by our mistakes, by our failures, and by our sufferings. It will not be the peasant alone that will suffer, nor will it be only the landlord, the capitalist, or the lawyer. All will suffer, but then ultimately they will come out of the struggle for freedom purer and stronger, as gold passed in the crucible through the fire.

None in India is so foolish as to believe that the British will ever retire to Aden to-morrow or the next year and that a Free India will be left in her present condition to contend with the numerous problems referred to by "Al Carthill" in the book. But what we object to is the contention urged by the author that things are hopeless for a Free India, and that she must, therefore, continue as she is at present for ever and for ever. We are told that India is unfit to defend herself; true, so she is at present. But when we ask you to fit ourselves for that duty, are we not deliberately prevented? No Indians are allowed even to-day to enter the Artillery or the Air Force and, till recently, none was taken as an officer in the Infantry and the Cavalry. We are told we have no martial traditions, no power of leadership, no organising ability and Heaven knows what besides. But are we never to develop these qualities, or is it that we are endowed with a double dose of original sin requiring us to remain till the crack of doom but the slaves of an alien bureaucracy.

True, we have our racial, communal and

caste differences, but none of them is insuperable or insurmountable for all time to come. If that were so, then certainly it would be far better to scrap even the "Montford" Reforms and revert to the old system, in which the "paternal" District Officer ruled his district, treating the people like so many naughty children to be given cane and jam alternately. But the assumption that these District Officers and their superiors were ideal men—goals on earth as it were—is entirely wrong. They were but human beings—some venal, some crack-headed, some well-intentioned, some good, some bad, and some indifferent, and many of them—if not all—of the earth earthy. Their assumption of superiority was insufferable and the old system is as well abolished. The author recognises this but beyond pointing out the dangers incidental to a Free India, he has nothing to say on the evils of the old system which the present Reforms have but very partially superseded.

IV.

And this is the great defect of "Al Carthill's" book. The opening gives hopes that the author would make some constructive suggestions, but, throughout the book, one vainly searches for a single one. It is one long wail of sorrow and regret, sorrow for what has already been done in the way of Reforms and regret for what is yet to come. One hoped that the author would give an alternative to the Reforms and indicate the lines on which progress for the future may be made with safety for the Empire and in the interests of an inevitable Free India. But there is no trace—not the faintest—of such a suggestion. The author obviously believes that there is no alternative between what existed before the Reforms and chaos for the future—a Free India torn by internal dissensions and overrun by foreign invaders and a peasantry tyrannised by a close oligarchy of lawyers, landlords and capitalists, the Empire disrupted and Britain reduced once again to its little island kingdom. This is the gloriously "optimistic" picture which the author presents to the reader.

"Al Carthill's" present book is thus exceedingly disappointing after *The Lost Dominion*, which had a certain rude vigour about it and, however much one may have disagreed with the views and condemned the misrepresentations in it, one could not but admire the plain-speaking,

In the present book, the author does not appear to be so sure of his views; they are expressed half-heartedly and haltingly and he appears to be afraid of accepting the logical conclusions of his own arguments. One is, therefore, time and again struck by a hollow note of hypocrisy. Now, for reasons which we have set forth above at length, we are not prepared to accept the conclusions of the author, for his premises are clearly wrong. We Indians are no more but no less blessed or cursed with the attributes common to all mankind. We have our defects (us who has not?) and we have our good points. We are many of us selfish, communal, foolishly religious, superstitious and so on, but what nation has not these defects among its people?

If we are to wait until all the 300 millions of Indians are permeated with the high ideas of a Burke, we shall have to wait till the last chapter of history. We may not be quite fit for a "Free India" to-day, nor is there any chance of such a consummation coming to pass either all at once, or in the near future. But we equally refuse to believe that we shall never be fit to run a "Free India," which is our destined goal. For the dangers in the way of Free India, which the author so vividly points out, we are truly thankful to him, but they will neither frighten us nor deter us from pursuing our clearly chalked-out goal; we shall fight and overcome the obstacles in our way and ultimately succeed in evolving stable government on democratic lines. It is for Britain and the British electorate to decide whether that goal shall be attained by strife and struggle leaving bitter memories behind, or whether it shall be reached by peaceful means leaving behind sweet memories and strengthening the common bonds of humanity. In the course of his reply to Mr. Arthur Ponsonby's manifesto in favour of universal peace, the Prime Minister Mr. Baldwin, writes:—"A war of aggression is an abomination and horror; a war of defence is very different. Is it not our inalienable right to govern ourselves, to develop our liberty and our institutions in accordance with our own national ideals, not subject to foreign domination?" Quite right, Rt. Honourable, Sir. The question has only to be put to be answered. Only, Mr. Baldwin and his people must be prepared to concede the same "inalienable right" to other countries that they justly claim for their own. If self-government is a country's inalienable right, may we enquire why British states-

manship resisted the assertion of this right by Ireland as long as it could, why it has only grudgingly and till now inadequately conceded it to Egypt, and why in our own case it is still all but completely withheld? If Mr. Baldwin is not among those who think that the existence of this inalienable right is determined by latitude and longitude, it is his clear duty to recall the Simon Commission and give India what she has been asking for.

ANTICIPATING THE ROYAL COMMISSION.*

By MR. FEROZE CHAND (OF THE PEOPLE).

The author of this book is evidently a Britisher with official experience in India. Some reliable reports—unconfirmed, except by being uncontradicted—tell us that 'Khuh Dekhta Age' is known to his friends as Sir Henry Sharp, and is, therefore, I believe, the official who used to write the Education Reports of the Government of India as one of its departmental Secretaries. He introduces himself as one who has "never attained to high executive office in the service of the Crown," but who has "counted himself rich in the multitude and catholicity of his friends." I cannot say whether his work under consideration will help to remove his grievance for never having been given high office, or whether it will merely help him to please the multitude of his Anglo-Indian friends.

The book is written in a subtle and elusive way. At places it tries to adapt a pseudo-classical style to the political pamphlet. Throughout it seems to be imitating certain features of another writer of political tracts, who conceals his identity under the pseudonym, "Al Carthill," known as the author of *The Lost Dominion* and *False Dawn* and now *The Garden of Adonis*. "Khuh Dekhta Age" tries to be elusive, classical, occasionally grandiloquent, and everything else that "Al Carthill" is, and revels like the better known author, in paradoxes and posers, which abound in *India To-morrow* as much as they do in *False Dawn*. It is interesting to note that "K. D. A." concludes his Foreword with a reference to "Al Carthill", and indirectly hints that his work is to be a com-

**India Tomorrow*. By "Khuh Dekhta Age" (Oxford University Press, Bombay) 1927.

panion volume to *The Lost Dominion*, in the sense in which *Paradise Regained* is to *Paradise Lost*. If "K. D. A." were not aware of his debt—and his inferiority—to "Al Carhill," he would perhaps not have hesitated to christen his pamphlet *The Dominion Regained*.

Because of his influential friends, the author probably knew at the time of writing his book, when the announcement about the Statutory Commission would be made and also what sort of Commission it would be. His book was published just in time to reach India a few days ahead of the announcement, and its chapter on "The Constitution of the Commission" is really the shadow visible ahead of the coming evil. I think it was this work that first propounded the theory "*rapporteurs*, not judges," which is now being preached by the Anglo-Indian press, and has perhaps also been accepted by the President of the Commission—Sir John Simon.

In the opening chapter—The Problem—the author *seems* to ridicule alike those who stand for a "representative commission" knowing "at heart that the final report would be swamped by dissenting minutes," and those who "insist on an impartial commission whose impartiality shall be emphasized by its ignorance of the problems it has to face." But in the very next chapter he comes round to the "impartialist" view. In his ingenious way he begins by *appearing* to support the "attempt . . . to render the commission truly representative." But then there are practical difficulties and doubts—and some hair-splitting on the meaning of 'representative'—and finally we are told that "a truly representative Commission . . . would be unwieldy and, even if it were a possibility, could hardly consist of less than a score or two of members, whose varied conclusions would be of little value in arriving at any unanimous and acceptable scheme."

II.

Then there is the clever suggestion that India with its variety in everything is a League of Nations rather than a nation. This leads the author to the League procedure in which the *rapporteurs* play an important part. Why not try the Geneva plan in the Indian League also? How natural, how logical, how simple it all appears! The climax in this hoax is reached when in all seriousness the author tells us that the *rapporteur* proposal concedes all that the

Round Table proposal aims at: The author writes:—

"Unfortunately no round table is large enough to afford the necessary seating accommodation, nor would the conflicting voices be heard clearly across its polished surface. The round table theory is, however, the right one, and the conception here put forward is many small round tables, at which the conversation shall be frank and informal, the *rapporteurs* moving freely from one to the other. The guests must not only be those who are bidden to the intellectual feast, but the *rapporteurs* must go into the hedges and highways to gain some insight into the view-point and needs of the man at the plough."

It is doubtful if the Simon team will find even in the 'hedges' some one simple enough to swallow this stuff.

Self-determination is ridiculed by the author as "the right to make mistakes." Let us hear him:

"We claim the right to make mistakes."

So said a great Indian, and he stated a great truth, but who are "we" and on whom will the consequences of our mistakes fall? The toad under the harrow may not appreciate our eloquent dissertations on the subject of contentment."

A simple answer to the poser is that the harrow any way can have no claim to pass as 'we'. 'Impartial' is a charming word. But are not the Britishers in the services here sufficiently impartial? They impartially adjust the claims of province against province, class against class, caste against caste, creed against creed, prophet against prophet, community against community. The Viceroy issues impartial appeals for inter-community peace. The police and the magistracy keep the Hindu and the Mussalman from flying at each other's throats. Wherefore, import more of 'impartiality' from the Parliament? And yet is the 'impartial' butterfly upon the road the best judge of the position of 'the toad beneath the harrow?' And are the Anglo-Indian officials or even the British Tories and Sir John Simon even as impartial as the butterfly upon the road?"

III.

It is possible that the book aims at preparing us not only for the announcement regarding the Commission, but also for the draft of the so-called *rapporteurs*. The reader may be tempted therefore to share the vision of to-morrow with the author. The author briefly discusses the outstanding problems for the Statutory Commission, but characteristically the *Foreword* tells us that the book is not constructive but merely "indicative." In its pseudo-classical grandiloquence the author writes:—"Even before the sower goes forth to sow, the humble ryot has a task to perform in preparing the ground—in ploughing out of existence the weeds that threaten the value of the crop to be. This book has no greater, as perhaps it could have no worthier aim." Prodigious!

The chapter on the communal question tells us:—"To perpetuate communal electorates, without further intensifying communal antagonisms, is a problem which will tax the statesmanship of the Commission to the utmost." Are we to be ready for the perpetuation of the communal electorate? The practical suggestion made in this chapter advocates a device of double election whereby a number of candidates chosen in the first place by the community canvass among the mixed electorate for the final choice. Rather cumbersome that.

In the provincial legislatures "K.D.A." would give us 'autonomy' by reducing the number of provincial subjects—by the time you get to the chapter on provincial councils, you are ready for a paradox in every paragraph. Further the autonomy is to be *safeguarded* by a revising chamber,—a replica of the Council of State in every province. This will be as reactionary as dyarchy, and may prove more fruitful in deadlocks. But the author has special talent for creating clumsy constitutional devices—as clumsy as the Hindustanee *non-de-plume* chosen by him. Consistently with his views about the provincial councils, the author would give us in the Central Legislature, a stronger Council of State! That is the safe way to introduce 'responsibility' in the Central Legislature! If Khush Dekhta Age's book is a fore-cast of the Commission's Report, nobody need expect that the Indian Government 1931

model would be an improvement on the 1927 model.

The Changing East. By J. A. Spender. (Cassell & Co., Ltd., La Belle Sauvage, London, E. C.) 1927.

In this important volume, called *The Changing East*, the outcome of a journey in the winter and spring of 1923-24 Mr. Spender notes and compares the conditions in Turkey, Egypt and India. He sees these countries all trying in one way or another to release themselves from European control or influence, and asks whether they can succeed in this effort. Obviously, the question is one of great public interest. Mr. Spender was at the new Turkish capital, Atqora, in Asia Minor, during the Mosul crisis, and while in India he paid visits to Mahatma Gandhi, to Rabindranath Tagore, and to the Jam Sahib of Nawabnagar, formerly the famous cricketer, Ranjitsinhji. Each of them represents a type—in public affairs, in literature and in sport. All these visits and others are described.

Of Egypt he writes with the knowledge that he obtained as a member of the Milner Mission in 1919, and he takes occasion to make known some hitherto unpublished facts about that Mission. To us in India, of very special interest is part three of the book, which deals with the visit to this country. For reasons which he mentions, Mr. Spender holds that a "loose from Europe" policy is impracticable for India. The Indian problem, he says, is one of fascinating interest, and if it requires some accommodation from those who would solve it, it gives scope as never before to men of original, resourceful and sympathetic minds. Of Mr. Spender's statesmanlike outlook and brilliance as a writer it is unnecessary to say a word. But it is his views which are of great importance. On arriving at Cairo, Mr. Spender found that relations between Englishmen and Egyptians were far more cordial than in 1920, but he still believes that the acceptance of the Milner Report by the British Government would have avoided the subsequent troubles and bitter relations of 1920-25. After four years of Egyptian government, he saw no signs of a breakdown in the administration of the public services, and quitted Egypt convinced that England and Egypt would co-operate more closely in the future to their mutual advantage. On page 84 he writes:—"Western people have fallen into the habit of saying that the East is unable to govern itself. . . . As an unqualified proposition it is manifestly untrue, for a great part of the East has from time immemorial governed itself and not, on the whole, with greater catastrophes and disasters than

have attended government in the West"—a recognition long overdue and a fact which the over-weening pride of Westerners has prevented them from appreciating.

Similarly, on returning to India after an absence of 14 years, Mr. Spender's impression was a feeling of greater co-operation between Indians and Englishmen; while, as a politician, he was able not only to see the weaknesses of Indian politicians, fresh to constitutional government, but at the same time to admire their sincerity and patriotism. He listened to debates in the Central Assembly and found them conducted with the utmost sobriety. He discusses Dyarchy and believes that it has been responsible for much good, but that the fixed date 1929 and the lack of real responsibility of Indian Ministers in the provinces and of members in the Central Legislature may be the cause of future trouble, if officials and members are not given more decisive and wider powers. Herein

he has proved to be right. The present antagonism between Hindu and Muslim he puts down to attempts to convert, on the one side, and to "redeem," on the other. However, Mr. Spender says that it is only Indians who can solve the question of harmonizing faith with the material welfare of the people. In regard to the agricultural and village life, the author writes:—"Formerly the villages were self-supporting and the villagers employed throughout the year. Now most of them are unemployed for four months. The Western civilization has deprived millions of their livelihood without giving them any recompense except peace." Mr. Spender's final judgment would seem to be "that India must advance on Indian lines of which Indians must be the judge," but that Britain can be of assistance, and that, if the two work together, India will be not a mere dependency of the Empire, "but the centre of a subtle and original civilization which will be of value to the whole world."

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

RECENT BOOKS OF REFERENCE.

The Webster-Roget Dictionary and Treasury of Words. (Thos. Crowell Company, New York, U.S.A.) 1927.

This book is a union of the Webster's *Self-Pronouncing Dictionary*, edited by Dr. C. M. Stevens, and Roget's *Treasury of Words*, edited by Mr. C. O. S. Mawson and Katharine A. Whiting, and is intended to serve as a handy and compact desk-guide. This combination of two well-known and standard works will be welcomed by the busy reader and writer. It forms a happy union of two books, which have long since proved indispensable for daily use. Each supplements the other, and together they are an invincible pair. The *Dictionary* gives the correct spelling, pronunciation, and clear definition of words, with self-pronouncing feature and key to vowel sounds on every page; while Dr. Roget's *Thesaurus or Treasury of Words* is a great storehouse of words, grouped together by *ideas*, so that every shade of expression can be correlated with a given subject. Each of the two books is complete in itself, and can be consulted independently, while the two together offer a keen, two-edged tool for every literary toiler,

Other special features are a selected list of foreign words and phrases, a story of the growth of English synonyms, word formations, and abbreviations used in writing and printing. Apart, however, from these great advantages, the cross-word puzzle should be particularly grateful for this book, as it places in his hands a unique and an invaluable aid to many elusive words that a dictionary alone would not unearth, but it is quite as serviceable to every class of reader, writer, and speaker, who likes to know not only how to define a word, but also its nicer shades of meaning.

McDougall's Etymological and Biographical Dictionary. (McDougall's Educational Co., Ltd., 8, Farringdon Avenue, London, E. C. 4) 1927.

Within the compass of some 300 pages, McDougall's *Dictionary* offers much more useful information than any other work of its class or kind. So far as words and their meanings are concerned, it is pronouncing as well as etymological and includes scientific and technical terms also. It is thus comprehensive enough for the requirements of the general reader. Its utility is, however, materially enhanced by reason of its

including a mass of additional information which is highly useful. These comprise lists of current words and phrases, classical names; Greek and Latin roots, prefixes and suffixes, English prefixes and suffixes, abbreviations and contractions; hints on spelling; biographical notes on English authors and their works, also on the great artists, composers, scientists and explorers, besides general information not easily accessible in so compact a form. Thus *McDougall's Dictionary* is a creditable and meritorious work of reference.

The Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs 1926-1927. (The Canadian Review Company, Ltd., Toronto, Canada) 1927.

The Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs was founded by Mr. J. Castell Hopkins in the beginning of this century, and has been edited by him since, the volume under notice being the twenty-sixth annual publication in the series. It successfully does for Canada what the famous *Annual Register*—which was founded in the eighteenth century—does for Great Britain and the other European countries, by recording in detail the public events of each year. As such it is a very valuable contribution to current Canadian history. Covering as it does over 800 pages, the *Canadian Review* is a mine of useful and up-to-date information regarding the political, financial, educational and the industrial conditions of Canada. Mr. Hopkins is ably assisted in his work by an influential editorial committee, whose personnel is a guarantee for the accuracy and the impartiality of the narratives chronicled in the volume. The work is fully illustrated and equipped with all the necessary appliances for ready reference. We wish we had a similar annual publication dealing with India, but that is a consummation not likely to be realized in the near future.

International Year-Book of Agricultural Statistics for 1926-27. (The International Institute of Agriculture, Rome), 1927.

The *Year-Book* issued by the International Institute of Agriculture, Rome, is an authoritative publication, in that it is compiled in collaboration with the agricultural and statistical departments of the various countries, in which detailed data on the subject are made available. The comprehensiveness of the volume can well be realized, when it is stated that it is arrayed with figures for various countries

covering the apportionment of areas and production, trade and prices of the chief agricultural products, livestock, fertilisers and other chemical products useful in Agriculture. The current *Year-Book* is an improvement on its predecessors—enriched as it is with several new tables—and the Institute deserves praise for the publication of an annual which is not only authoritative but also of immense value to the agriculturist, the journalist and the statesman. Now that considerable attention is being paid in India to the development of the agricultural resources of the country and a Royal Commission is actually examining the problem in all its bearings, the *International Year-Book of Agricultural Statistics* ought to find a wide circulation amongst those interested in the expansion, development and improvement of Indian agriculture. Our only friendly criticism, on this highly useful and appreciably meritorious work of statistical reference, is that considering it is a bulky volume of large size, it ought to be furnished with cloth binding and not merely paper covers.

Official Year-Book of the Union of South Africa. (Superintendent, Government Printing and Stationery Office, Pretoria; South Africa) 1927.

In noticing the last edition of the *Official Year-Book of the Union of South Africa*, we commended it as a most valuable compendium of statistical data relating to the South African Commonwealth and as a model book of reference. The new issue gives, for purposes of collation and comparison, the figures for the previous fifteen years and supplies information—mostly of a statistical character—on history and description of the various states and colonies, constitution and government, population, vital statistics, public health and hospitals, education, labour and industrial conditions, prices and cost of living, social condition, administration of justice, police and protection, electorate, "native affairs," land survey, tenure and occupation, irrigation and water conservation, agriculture and fisheries, mines, manufacturing industries, commerce, harbours and shipping, railways and land transportation, posts, telegraphs and telephones, finance and local government. Thus the *Official Year-Book*, is a monument of industry and public spirit. The edition under notice is distinguished from its predecessors by various changes, necessitated mainly by the increased scope of the valuable information condensed and rendered accessible. Separate sections are assigned to the treatment of new subjects now prominent, and several have been rewritten and rearranged and various other features

of interest and utility have been introduced. Altogether the *Official Year-Book of the Union of South Africa*—which includes in its scope also Basutoland, Bechuanaland Protectorate and Swaziland—is a work of reference of which the Government of that Dominion may well be proud. It reflects the highest credit on the editor, on the organization of the statistical department, as also on the resources of the Government Press at Pretoria. There is no work of reference, issued periodically and dealing with India, which can even approach it in utility or comprehensiveness.

The Year-Book of the Universities of the Empire, 1927. (Messrs. G. Bell and Sons, Ltd., London) 1927.

The Year-Book of the Universities of the Empire for 1927 supplies detailed information regarding the Universities in the British Commonwealth, culled from the official university calendars, which will prove of interest to all members of universities and colleges, Government departments, schoolmasters and the public generally. In the chapters introductory to the sections dealing with the universities is collected such information regarding their history, regulations and practice as they share in common. Every section contains a directory of the officers and members of the staff of the university; an account of the equipment in libraries, museums, laboratories, etc., of the university; the degrees, diplomas and certificates which it confers, scholarships open to graduates, university publications, etc.; and, statistics of the numbers of students in attendance and degrees conferred. The volume also contains appendices of great value and interest to those interested in the educational activities, in that they give useful information in regard to professions and careers for which university studies are a fitting preparation; admission of students from abroad to the universities of Great Britain; notes of foreign universities, etc. *The Year-Book* is thus an indispensable publication which those who seek any information or enlightenment on affairs pertaining to education cannot but find it to their profit and advantage to consult.

Soviet Union Year-Book, 1927. Compiled and edited by A. A. Santolow and Louis Segal, Ph.D., M.A. (George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 40, Museum Street, W. C. 1).

We welcome the third annual publication of the *Soviet Union Year-Book for 1927*. Of books of

reference dealing with particular countries or states, it is beyond doubt one of the most useful. Its scope is co-extensive with the group of republics in alliance with that which has its capital at Moscow, and it offers a comprehensive account of the activities in various spheres of the states constituting the Soviet Union. In effect it is a Russian *Whitaker*, both as a work of reference and of trustworthy information of the Soviet republics as they are at present. The compilers are entitled to great credit for the care and industry with which they have brought together their material, which covers the whole range of Russia's political and industrial organization, financial condition, natural resources, commercial activities, trade development, educational progress, and foreign relations. The book is thus a huge accumulation of accurate and sound information, carefully sifted and sedulously verified, and it also embodies an invaluable repository of statistical data, not accessible to the average student of Russian affairs. We have, therefore, much pleasure in commending this exceedingly valuable year-book to all businessmen, publicists, politicians and students of the Soviet affairs, in general. It is a remarkably successful attempt to present a compendious sketch—unbiased and reliable—of Russian affairs and no serious student of Bolshevism can afford to neglect it. It deserves careful study as the one indispensable and thoroughly up-to-date book on the Soviet.

Bombay Industries and Cotton Mills. By S. M. Rutnagar, J.P., M.R.S.A. (The Indian Textile Journal Ltd., Military Square, Bombay) 1927.

Mr. S. M. Rutnagar in his *Bombay Industries and Cotton Mills* has produced an encyclopædic work on a subject of great importance to India. The textile industry of Bombay is the greatest industrial enterprise in this country and its history and present position—such as are set forth in the volume under notice—deserved a permanent record. No one is better qualified than Mr. Rutnagar for such a task. He has brought to bear upon the subject a wide range of knowledge, considerable experience and great enthusiasm, and the result is a work of absorbing interest. In the words of the Governor of Bombay—who has contributed a Foreword—the author "has reviewed the progress of the industry from its inception, dealt fully with the statistics and trade figures, included many interesting pictures and photographs and written a review which is as interesting to the ordinary reader as it is to those who are primarily responsible for the prosperity of this great industry." We agree, and have great

pleasure in commending Mr. Ratanagar's book to all interested in the greatest Indian industry.

The Librarian. Edited by A. J. Philip. (Lodge-wood, Windmill Street, Gravesend, England) 1927.

Mr. A. J. Philip's *The Librarian* is an up-to-date international directory of booksellers, publishers, binders, papermakers, printers, and others connected with literature and journalism. It gives a lot of sound and useful information on these subjects which is not easily accessible, and should be indispensable to book-collectors, librarians, journalists and literary men, in general. The Indian section may be judiciously improved in the next edition.

RECENT LEGAL LITERATURE.

Law in the Making. By C. K. Allen. (Oxford University Press, Bombay and Oxford) 1927.

Mr. C. K. Allen's *Law in the Making* contains the text of the series of lectures delivered by the author on "The Sources of Law" as Tagore Law Professor in the Calcutta University, during 1926. After expounding the nature and origin of custom, as also its interpretation and application, the author handles the subject of precedents—their nature, history, authority and operation. The next topic dealt with is Equity—its philosophical conception, its relation in English system to Common Law and the various forms of equitable jurisdiction. Having exhausted the discussion of these various sources of Law, the author then adverts to legislation and its place among the sources of Law. Naturally the subject is dealt with in detail under various sub-divisions—forms of legislation, its force, scope and duration, and interpretation. Lastly is surveyed the sphere of subordinate and autonomic legislation as a source of law; and the author goes into the details of delegated powers, constitutional checks and their operation and the juristic meaning of present tendencies. Mr. Allen's treatment of the subject is illuminating and his remarkably lucid exposition should instruct a large circle of readers interested in legal and juristic conceptions.

The Indian Succession Act. By Dr. Nares Chandra Sen Gupta, M.A., D.L. (N. M. Ray Chowdhuri & Co., 11 College Square, Calcutta), 1927.

Of the recent Anglo-Indian "codes", perhaps the most important is the Indian Succession Act of 1925. It consolidates a large number of enactments and

gives almost the whole law on the subject of testamentary succession. Since it was enacted a number of annotated editions of its text have seen the light, but the first real commentary to appear is that brought out by that erudite lawyer, Dr. Nares Chandra Sen Gupta. It is a big and bulky volume—rather heavy for portability—covering over 1,300 pages—neatly printed and well bound, and its publishers deserve congratulation on the mechanical excellence of their production. But even more so is the learned commentator's work entitled to commendation and appreciation. His treatment betrays the hand of a master and he has brought to bear upon the work not only a rich and rare scholarship but an originality which merits recognition. His commentaries are elucidative, his notes helpful and his critical analyses of abstruse cases illuminating. The book is a notable addition to the literature of Anglo-Indian law, and should be indispensable alike to the student and the practising lawyer. We offer our hearty felicitations to Dr. Sen Gupta on the production of this truly monumental work.

The Indian Police Act. (Act V. of 1861): By P. Hari Rao, B.L. High Court Vakil, (Triplicane, Madras, S. R.) 1927.

Though there are several annotated editions of the Police Act, yet a comprehensive commentary on it—such as is now made available in Mr. Hari Rao's book—was a desideratum. His commentary brings together in a compact volume the cases decided under the various sections of the Police Acts up to the end of October 1926, and, in the appendices is collected much valuable and interesting information regarding the genesis of the Police Act, such as the Government of India Resolution, of 1860, appointing the Police Commission, the report of the Commission of that year, and the proceedings in the Legislature during the passage of these enactments. The commentator has succeeded in his book to render the study of the police laws useful by bringing within its compass all the statutory provisions on the subject, their interpretations by judicial tribunals and the analogous law applicable to the several provinces. All the cases have been noted under their appropriate sections, and legislative amendments have been shown in the foot-notes to the amended sections. Many extracts from the judgments of the High Courts on important questions have been quoted. The Indian Police Act (III of 1888) and the Police (Incitement to Disaffection) Act (XXII of 1921) have been reproduced. The historical and critical introduction tracing the gradual

growth of the law relating to the police enhances the value of this neatly got-up volume. We have much pleasure in commending it not only to Police Officers but also to Magistrates, Judges and the members of the legal profession.

The Patna Digest 1916—1926. 2 Vols. By A. N. Lal, M.A., B.L. (Lakshmi Press, Gaya) 1927.

Mr. Aditya Narayan Lal, a Vakil practising in the Patna High Court, has rendered a useful and meritorious service to the judiciary, the magistracy and the legal profession in Behar and Orissa, by issuing his *Patna Digest* in two volumes—the first devoted to civil and revenue cases and the second to criminal and revenue cases—the latter finding place in both the notes. The *Digest* is carefully compiled, the head-notes of the cases are judiciously presented, and the work as a whole merits appreciation alike for its comprehensiveness and general arrangement. The decisions on each point are digested with lucidity and with a view to facilitate reference. The book will be indispensable to all connected with the conduct of cases in Bihar and Orissa. The work is neatly printed and well got-up.

The Principles and Precedents of the Art of Cross-Examination. By P. Ramanatha Aiyar, B.L. and P. Raghava Aiyar, B.L. Second enlarged edition, (3 Vols.) by K. S. Venkatarama Aiyar, B.L. (Globe Publishing Company, Madras) 1927.

The first edition of Messrs. Aiyar's exhaustive work on Cross-examination appeared in 1920, and we extend a cordial welcome to the second, enlarged edition, now issued in three handy and well-got-up volumes. Though it is admittedly a compilation from well-known sources, it is nonetheless to be commended as perhaps the most comprehensive work on the subject it deals with. Its scope covers the whole range of Cross-examination—the requisite qualification for becoming an effective cross-examiner, the ways and means of eminent cross-examining Advocates, and the methods employed by masters of the Art in the conduct of trials. Naturally, therefore, ancient and modern precedents of the great tact and skill of distinguished cross-examiners are brought together from reliable sources in the book under consideration, and from them principles which can be deduced are enunciated and elucidated with critical and explanatory comments. The book is thus a store-house of highly useful and very helpful information

to the beginner in the study and practice of law and the book is one which no trial courts practitioners can do without.

The Law: Business or Profession. By J. H. Cohen. Revised edition (G. A. Jennings Co., New York) 1926.

Mr. Cohen's book—*The Law: Business or Profession*—is an American work, written by a member of the New York Bar. It is an authoritative exposition of legal ethics and professional ideals and etiquette as evolved and obtaining in the United States and should be found of great interest by lawyers in other countries as well. Its primary object is to insist upon the high obligations which rest upon the lawyer in all civilized countries because of his acknowledged position as an officer of the court. Equipped as the book is with table of cases, statutes, bibliography, and useful appendices, it is bound to be invaluable to the practising lawyer, the law student, the legal adviser and also to the layman who would like or need to know the function, the duty and the responsibility of the lawyer. It supplements—even if it does not supersede—George Sharswood's famous treatise—*An Essay on Professional Ethics*. It were much to be wished that a work on the lines of these two American treatises were written by some qualified person dealing with the professional conditions in India.

The Law of Gift in British India. By Dr. Bimala Charan Law. Second Edition. (Eastern Law House, 15, College Square, Calcutta) 1927.

We are glad to find that Dr. Bimala Charan Law's *Law of Gift in British India*—which saw the light in 1923—has now appeared, in a second and improved edition, with a Foreword from the pen of Sir Hari Singh Gour. Though but a short treatise on a large subject, it is nonetheless systematic and comprehensive. Of its three parts, part I is devoted to the law of gift as applicable to Hindus, part II treats of the same subject as applicable to Mohammedans and part III discusses those provisions of the Transfer of Property Act which concern the law of gift, while the Hindu and Mohammedan Law on the subject is fully dealt with. Buddhist Law is not neglected. There are four appendices respectively devoted to quotations from Sanskrit texts, and the material sections of the Indian Stamp Act, Indian Registration Act and a short stereotyped form for a deed of gift. The table of cases cited gives the names of the parties but—we note it with regret—not the references; and

massacre as there is a habit in the Indian text-book writers of quoting cases by reference and not by name, it is a pity that this defect partially detracts from the utility of this otherwise excellent book. We commend its study to all interested in or concerned with the administration of the law of Gifts in British India.

Manu's Land and Trade Laws. By K. S. Vaidyanatha Aiyar. (Higginbotham & Co., Madras) 1927.

Mr. Vaidyanatha Aiyar's contribution to Hindu law is not intended for the practising lawyer, but it is to be nonetheless welcomed on that account. The contention of the author that he has "fairly succeeded in tracing the Sumerian origin of the Code of Manu" is not yet beyond the region of controversy or within the pale of accepted facts; but we agree with Sir T. Vijayaraghavacharya, who introduces the book that it "must be welcomed as a valuable contribution to our knowledge of the subject." It is an excellent epitome of the recent discoveries in Sindh and the Punjab, and their bearing on Indo-Aryan civilisation. Mr. Aiyar has opened by his laborious research an attractive vista of historical speculation and his work merits appreciation.

TWO NOTABLE TRIALS SERIES.

The Famous Trials. Edited by G. Dilnot (Geoffrey Bless, 22, Suffolk Street, Pall Mall, London, W.) 1927. "**Indian Trials.**" The Shoes Murder Case. Edited by Mr. Justice Page (Thacker Spink & Co., Calcutta) 1927.

The aim of Mr. George Dilnot's Famous Trials series is to present detailed accounts of the most famous criminal trials not only in Britain but also on the Continent and in the United States of America. The general reader, as well as the student of criminology, will find in these trials a fund of interest not to be excelled by the invention of the most ingenious fiction writer. The utmost care has been taken to ensure their accuracy, so that here the lawyer, the doctor, the police-officer and others, whose professions bring them in contact with crime, will find omitted no essential point to which they may have occasion to refer. In many of these volumes the court proceedings are given in full and amplified by introductions and appendices. In others a laconic narrative account is presented by well-known writers who have expert acquaintance with criminology. The first four

volumes which have so far been published are:—(1) *The Thaw Case*, edited by Mr. F. A. Mackenzie (author of "World Famous Crimes.") (2) *The Trial of Patrick Mahon*, with an introduction by Mr. Edger Wallace. (3) *The Peltzer Case*, edited by Mr. Gérard Harry, and (4) *The Trial of Professor Webster*, edited by Mr. George Dilnot.

Of these four volumes, the first is an account of the great "unwritten law" case which held the tense interest of the Old and New Worlds during its many dramatic phases. Here is set forth the tale of Evelyn Nesbit, an artist's model of great beauty, who, while yet scarcely more than a child, fell under the evil influence of that strange genius, Stanford White, creator of beautiful buildings and "man of the world." The triangle was completed by the advent of Harry Thaw, millionaire and degenerate, who made the girl his wife, and later in dramatic circumstances shot Stanford White dead at one of New York's most frequented roof gardens. The long-drawn out trials that followed; the soul destroying ordeal of Evelyn Thaw, when to save her husband she laid bare the whole story of her life; the fierce struggle between the Thaw millions and the forces of the law—all are presented by Mr. Mackenzie in lucid and thrilling detail, and the book should interest not only lawyers, but a large circle of readers.

In the *Trial of Patrick Mahon*, Mr. Edger Wallace, who has turned his intimate knowledge of crime and criminals to such fascinating account on the stage and in his novels, skilfully analyses one of the most singular murder cases of recent years—the "love experiment" of Emily Kave, with its tragic ending at a lonely seaside bungalow, and the arrest of Mahon at Waterloo Station while collecting a bag which contained the grim evidence of his crime. Mr. Wallace reveals several new dramatic points in this case which have hitherto remained unpublished, and in his penetrating study of this case is added a full report of the trial at Lewes Assizes. This book is a notable addition to the literature of murder trials.

The Peltzer Case, as edited by Mr. Gérard Harry, is one of the most bizarre and famous of all Continental crimes—the strange murder of the Rue de la Loi in Brussels, on which Paul Bourget based his celebrated novel, *André Cornélis*. It is the tale of a beautiful woman's platonic love, and of a sinister murder plot against her husband. The disappearance of the husband—a dead body in an office chair—a crimson footprint—a murderer in elaborate disguise—baffled detectives—and then the unfolding of a complicated drama of passion and crime. This case borders on

romance and its study is as good as reading a work of high class fiction.

The Trial of Professor Webster, edited by Mr. George Dilmot, is the story of the trial that has been called America's classic murder and, indeed, it presents features so unusual as to make it a fascinating study to all interested in the varied facets of criminology. Here was a cultured man, the holder of two chairs at Harvard, the oldest university in the United States, and a man of distinction in the social world of Boston, who planned and carried through the murder of Dr. Parkman, a wealthy philanthropist and a prominent figure in University and Boston society. The drama was accentuated by the fact that the murder was committed in that very Medical College which Dr. Parkman had presented to the University, and the expert evidence at the trial was given by the men who had been friends of both the accused and his victim. Among these was the famous author—Oliver Wendell Holmes. The remains of a set of false teeth found in a laboratory furnace clinched the case for the prosecution and brought Webster to the scaffold.

Several other volumes—notably the Bank of England forgery case, the Landru trial and that of Gillette—are announced for early publication. The series, when completed, will be a notable contribution, to the literature of Criminology.

* * * *

The oldest-established firm of publishers in this country—Messrs. Thacker Sprink & Co., of Calcutta—have done well to inaugurate a series of notable Indian trials. The first to appear is the trial of Gangaram and Sew Prasad (*The Shoes Murder*), edited by The Honourable Mr. Justice Pige—one of His Majesty's Judges of the High Court of Judicature at Fort William in Bengal, assisted by Mr. B. M. Sen, Barrister-at-Law, with four photographs. It is a carefully edited verbatim report of a most interesting Indian murder trial set forth in the same way as in the well-known series of Notable English and Scottish Trials. For many years past it has been evident that the books in that series have achieved wide popularity both with lawyers and the general public. It is natural to assume, therefore, that apart from the technical value that such books have for the lawyer, the psychological and human interest which they excite gratifies the taste of that large circle of readers who are interested in stories of crime and mystery so commonly published in the form of fiction. Hence the appearance of the first volume of "Notable Indian Trials." Known popularly as "*The Shoes Murder*" case this sensational trial contains all those elements of mystery in which the general reader finds so much of absorbing interest.

As a strictly accurate record of facts it surpasses in purely human interest the works of the most popular authors of fiction, conforming as it does to legal methods of procedure in unravelling a mystery which to the lay mind appears impossible of solution. In this respect too, the trial of Gangaram and Sew Prasad presented in such detail, is of particular value to beginners in the study of Criminal Law of India.

RECENT GUIDE-BOOKS AND TOURIST LITERATURE.

A Satchel Guide to Europe. By W. J. Rolfe, 47th edition. Revised and enlarged by W. D. Crockett. (Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston, U.S.A. and Messrs. Gay and Hancock, London) 1927.

The Complete Pocket-Guide to Europe. By E. C. Stedman. Edited by T. L. Stedman. (Robert M. McBride & Co., New York, U.S.A.) 1927.

We welcome once again the new editions of the two highly useful and excellent American guides to Europe, which have passed through many editions. The late Dr. Rolfe's book is a very useful travelling companion for the tourist in Europe. Clear, compact and comprehensive, it gives in its revised and enlarged edition the latest maps and town-plans and freshest information on all matters, including motoring and air-planing, relating to European travel. This guide has now reached its forty-seventh edition. The experienced traveller who may have made its acquaintance before will find in this year's revision some entirely new features—suggestions for motoring and travel by airplane and an important section on Norway, Denmark and Sweden. It has been revised and enlarged by Dr. William B. Crockett, of the Pennsylvania State College, in a very careful and highly judicious manner. The select bibliographies are a very useful feature of the *Satchel Guide*. It is an indispensable companion for the tourist in Europe.

Its competitor, compiled by Mr. Stedman, is also a meritorious work in its sphere. For more than twenty-five years it has been thoroughly tested by wide use among travellers. Its logical arrangement and compactness of information make it of inestimable value throughout those portions of Europe generally covered in a single tour. The present edition has been carefully revised up to date, with entirely new maps especially prepared for the purpose. Further, its scope is more comprehensive and it traverses a larger ground than the *Satchel Guide*. Its convenient size for the pocket—which is its distinctive feature—and its lucid arrangement render it highly useful to

travellers in Europe. It and the *Satchel Guide* usefully supplement each other. It were much to be wished that there was available to the tourists in India a pocket-guide modelled upon these two excellent American hand-books to Europe.

Illustrated Guides to the Cities of Italy: (A) *Venice*, (B) *Florence*, and (C) *Sienna*. By Lt.-Colonel H. A. Newell. (C/o Chartered Bank of India, 38, Bishops Gate, London, E. C. 2) 1924-7.

Having compiled a highly useful series of excellent guides to the cities of India, Lt.-Colonel Newell—whom we once justly described as a born compiler of guide-books—has now turned his attention to the cities of Italy. We have already noticed, in terms of appreciation, his illustrated and exceedingly well-compiled guides to *Venice* and *Florence*. We welcome now the latest addition to the series, called *Sienna and Surroundings*. Like its predecessors it is a notable acquisition to the literature of Italian travel. Furnished with a well-drawn and clear map and several beautiful photographic reproductions, and with text which is lucid and abreast of the latest changes, the book will rightly take its place as the best guide in English to the most mediæval city of Italy, perhaps of Europe. No traveller to Sienna can afford to do without Lt.-Colonel Newell's guidance.

London, 1927. (The Residential Hotels and Caterers Association, 26, Woburn Place, Russell Square, London, W. C. 1) 1927.

A Guide to the Principle Hotels and Restaurants of Great Britain. (Hotels and Restaurants' Association, 11-73, Southampton Row, London, W. C. 1) 1927.

British Hotels, 1927. (R. J. Burrow & Co., Ltd., Central House, 43-5-7, Kingsway, London, W. C.) 1927.

Of the three books enumerated above, the first two are issued annually by the organisations mentioned within brackets, while the third is an annual publication issued by a well-known publishing firm, which specializes in tourist literature. *London 1927*—which is in its sixth annual edition—is a very useful guide to the hub of the universe, since it tells you, in a short compass, what to see, where to stay and what you will have to pay for your accommodation, in London; besides giving full particulars about the hotels of moderate price owned by the members of the Residential Hotels and Caterers' Association. Well-illustrated, brimful of the latest information about the scenes and sights of London, it is for its price—which is but six pence—the cheapest, best and most up-to-

date guide to the capital city of the British Commonwealth. The scope of the second publication in our list is not so extensive as that of *London 1927*. Divided into two parts, its first section deals with the London hotels in which the members of the Hotels and Restaurants' Association (founded 1906) are interested, and the second section is devoted similarly to those in Great Britain outside London. Full particulars, including tariffs, are furnished and the book—which is copiously illustrated—will be very serviceable to travellers in the British Isles seeking suitable accommodation.

Messrs. Burrow's *British Hotels*—which is annually revised and issued—is a handy guide to nearly 3000 of the best hotels in London and the provinces. It supplies much useful information about them, with descriptive notes and tariff rates of all high-class and representative British hotels, each sketch being well illustrated, giving a clue to the position, appearance and character of the hotel. The value of the hand-book is enhanced by the interesting article on "Some Historic British Hotels" by Mr. Charles Harper and "British Hotels and Hydros" by Mr. E. J. Burrow, and particularly by the interesting introduction to the volume by Lord Montagu of Beaulieu, K.C.I.H., C.S.I. The list of licensed and residential notes in London is carefully prepared, and the publishers deserve felicitations on producing this handy volume giving just the information which every traveller in Britain badly needs.

The London Dragoman: A Monthly (8-9, Frith Street, Soho Square, London, W. 1).

London Weekly Diary of Social Events. (G. A. Mate and Son, 130, Fleet Street, London, E. C. 4).

Visitors to and residents in London would do well to keep handy for reference the two periodicals noted above. *The London Dragoman* may well be described as an ever-up-date guide to the what to see, where to go and how to get about in London. Issued monthly, it offers the latest information to the visitor to London, enabling him to see the sights, to enjoy himself with the various amusements and diversions, and also to do his shopping. It is impossible for the average guide-book—which can not be issued more frequently than once a year, if even that—to compete successfully with the *London Dragoman* in the up-to-dateness of its information or its extensive range. *The London Weekly* is mainly confined—as its full title indicates—to social events, but it usefully supplements the *London Dragoman* and its pocket size and arrangement, furnishing space for personal

notes, render it particularly useful for carrying it about in one's jacket pocket.

The Visitor's Guide to Calcutta. (Newman & Co., Ltd., 3, Old Court House Street, Calcutta) 1927.

Messrs. Newman's *Visitor's Guide to Calcutta* is a small, compact volume and is not intended to supersede or replace their earlier publication written for them by (now) Sir Evan Cotton, called *Calcutta: Old and New*. The late Mr. Pat Lovett—editor of *Capital*—commends this work of the anonymous author and it is deserving of praise for its clear arrangement, methodical treatment, and being fully abreast of the latest changes. It is deficient, however, in practical and useful information. Its perusal will convey to the innocent reader the impression that the delirious capital of India was a veritable Utopia, for it had no newspapers and no shops, there being no list of either of them. This defect should be remedied in a second edition.

The Tourist's Guide to Kashmir, Ladakh, Shardo. By (the late) Major Arthur Neve, F.R.C.S., R.A.M.C., Surgeon to the Kashmir Medical Mission. ("Civil and Military Gazette Press," Lahore) 1927.

The late Major Arthur Neve's *Tourist's Guide to Kashmir, Ladakh and Shardo* may be said to have long since attained the dignity of a classic in the literature of Indian travel. Revised now by the compiler's brother—Dr. H. P. Neve—the book has just appeared in its fourteenth edition and deserves a cordial welcome at the hands of the Kashmir tourist. It is fully up-to-date in its practical information and quite abreast of the latest changes in routes, condition of the road, and tariff rates. It is not too much to say that no intending visitor to Kashmir or the neighbouring regions can do without this absolutely indispensable guide. We have only one friendly criticism. The section dealing with books on Kashmir and the other countries dealt with, in the work under notice, should be carefully revised in the next edition and the information given on the subject in the Preface should be incorporated in the proper place.

MOTORIST'S HAND-BOOKS AND GUIDES.

Official "Motor Guides" to Indian Provinces:—(A) Agra and Oudh, (B) The Punjab, (C) Behar and Orissa, (D) Central Provinces and Berar, and (E) Bombay Presidency.

"Motor Club" Guides:—(A) South Indian Motor Union Guide, (B) Western India Automobile Association Hand-Book, (C) Automobile Association of Bengal Guide.

The first hand-book dealing with motoring in India was, to our knowledge, *India for the Motorist*, put together by Mr. Charles Wainey and Mrs. Herbert Lloyd and issued in 1913 by "The Car, Illustrated," Ltd. (62, Pall Mall, London, S. W.). Since then though the literature of the subject has grown apace, no comprehensive manual, covering the whole of India, has been published so far. But in this interval, various Provincial Governments have compiled excellent route and road-books—the earliest of which was that issued by the Agra and Oudh Secretariat, so far back as 1910, and which has since appeared in many later editions. The next Provincial hand-book was Mr. G. P. Hearne's short *Motor-Car Guide* (1917), which was replaced by the more comprehensive *Motor Guide for the Punjab*, issued by Punjab Secretariat in 1920. In 1926 there appeared the *Motor Guide to the Central Provinces and Berar*, followed (in the same year) by the *Motor Guide to the Province of Behar and Orissa*, and in 1927 by the *Motor Guide to the Presidency of Bombay*. Thus five of the nine major provinces now possess elaborate motor guides and hand-books issued by the Secretariats of the Local Governments of the provinces named above.

Of the non-official publications enumerated at the top, all the three have been compiled and published by motoring clubs—the Western India Automobile Association (16, Bank Street, Bombay), the South Indian Motor Union (Madras) and the Automobile Association of Bengal (87-A, Park Street, Calcutta). The South Indian Union's *Guide* was issued in 1916, the Western India Association *Hand-book* in 1922, and the second (revised and enlarged) edition of the Automobile Association of Bengal's *Touring Guide* in 1927. The first two of these deal with Western and Southern India respectively, while the scope of the third is more comprehensive, as it sketches detailed itineraries of the Calcutta—Peshawar and the Calcutta, Bombay through routes, and the subsidiary routes to Simla and Kashmir. It brings up-to-date, in its sketches of the routes dealt with, the information embodied in earlier works like Lt.-Col. Newell's *Ambala to Peshawar by Motor-Car*, issued in 1917. It is also planned on a larger scale than the others and gives much useful information—descriptive, historical and practical. By reason of its range and variety, it will serve to fulfil the purposes of a general hand-book to the motorist, for the greater part of Northern and Western India. Used in con-

section with the latest official route-book—that for the Bombay Presidency—it should suffice to scry the object of the average motor tourist in this country. The *Bombay Motor Guide* is planned on a comprehensive scale. It describes the principal routes and roads and the places of interest thereon, gives detailed practical information and large scale maps of towns, and sketches over four hundred routes. The non-official *Touring Guide* and the official *Bombay Guide* should be kept handy by all motorists as they usefully supplement each other.

RECENT BIOGRAPHICAL AND AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL LITERATURE.

The Empress Marie of Russia and Her Times. By Vladimir Poliakoff. (Thornton Butterworth, Ltd., 15, Bedford Street, London, W. C. 2) 1927.

The biography of the Empress Marie of Russia is a necessary complement to that of her sister, the late Queen Alexandra. Mr. Poliakoff's book depicts a great, good, and charming lady in the marvellous setting of the Russian Imperial Court. A good daughter, a loving wife, a tender mother—the Empress seems to have found the secret of perennial youth in her buoyant and delightful nature. Her tragic and tremendous losses have not shaken her courage or her fidelity to the faithful few. Mr. Poliakoff's book has two outstanding merits. Firstly, it reveals the hitherto underestimated political influence of the Empress Marie and her activities as a worker in the field of hygiene and education, and as a champion of women. Secondly, it depicts with great insight the typically Russian struggle between the Empress Marie, representing Western sanity and culture, and the young Tsarina, who, overshadowed by the infamous Rasputin, stood for fanaticism. Mr. Poliakoff has produced not merely the portrait of an essentially lovable personality, but also a vivid picture of that strangely evolving Russia in which the Empress Marie passed so many chequered years. He is fully qualified to do this. As one of the leading political writers, he is fully qualified for the purpose, while his family has played an important part in Russian affairs for several generations. He has drawn largely on *original documents* made accessible by the Russian Revolution, including the Diary of Nicholas II and his book merits appreciation at the hands of all students of contemporary Russian history.

Experiences of a Literary Man. By Stephen Gwynn. (Thornton Butterworth, Ltd., 15, Bedford Street, London, W. C. 2) 1927.

Mr. Gwynn was a versatile man of letters before he was an Irish politician, and these memoirs cover the period of his life closing with his election for Galway in November, 1906, after scenes which read like something out of Lever's novels. He can recall most of the notabilities, older and younger, of literary London about the turn of the century, but before that he had known the chiefs of his own generation in Ireland, notably W. B. Yeats and 'A. R.' and also earlier celebrities, Malinny and Tyrrell, wise as well as scholars, and the still more famous talker, Father Healy of Bray. This part of the book is distinctly interesting. In London he sketches the Yellow Book set in the last days of their vogue, and Maurice Hewlett from the first rise of his reputation onwards. R. V. Lucas and G. K. Chesterton are seen with very friendly intimacy as young men. Yeats receives criticism (?) and there is much amusing reminiscence of the first descent of the Irish players upon London. Special importance is given to the study of Stephen Phillips, whom Mr. Gwynn knew as a comrade. Another full-length portrait is that of Mary Kingsley, the traveller, most humorous and least feminine of women. Altogether, Mr. Gwynn's reminiscences should attract wide attention and appeal to a large circle of readers.

Chit-Chat. By Lady Augusta Fane. (Thornton Butterworth, Ltd., 15, Bedford Street, London, W. C. 2) 1927.

Lady Augusta Fane is the sister of the Earl of Strathmore, Governor of Victoria; she is also the niece of the famous Admiral Rous who first introduced horse-racing into Australia. In a volume covering a period of over one hundred and thirty years, and crowded with recollections of English sport and social life, she gives an account of her grand-father's visit to France during the Revolution; anecdotes of her father during the Peninsular Wars, and details of social life in Brussels in 1815. Her descriptions of her own life begin with childhood in 1865, and include visits to Miss Agnes Strickland, Sir Samuel and Lady Baker, and other famous people of that period. Lady Augusta Fane's recollections of sporting life are of particular interest. She hailed from Melton, and she gives sketches of Leicestershire sporting life. Reminiscences of the Quorn, the Belvoir, and of Mr. Fernie's famous hounds are included. The book finishes with descriptions of travels in America and Canada.

Though intended primarily for light reading, the book is a useful contribution to contemporary social history.

Four Years Beneath the Crescent. By Rafael de Nogales. (Charles Scribner's Sons, London) 1937.

Rafael de Nogales was Inspector-General of the Turkish forces in Armenia and Military Governor of the Egyptian Sinai during the World War. The account of his career as recorded by himself has been rendered into English from the Spanish and issued with an Introduction from the pen of Lt.-Colonel Edward Davis, formerly Military Observer with the British forces in Palestine. The author has a historic lineage as he is the grandson of the Spanish nobleman who espoused the cause of South American independence and became one of the liberators of Venezuela. The trail of the sword began for Nogales Bey himself when he was a boy, in Cuba, and it has led him through South American jungles; along the border and into the stony hills of northern Mexico; to Port Arthur, where he was wounded; to Korea; and, during the World War, into the Near East. To those who seek excitement in the brilliant exploits of the "soldier of fortune," Nogales Bey has presented adventures which challenge in dash and colour the vivid sketches of fiction. For the serious student of the distressing lapses which feature the progress of civilisation, the offers unbiased and ruthless comment as to racial antipathies and clashes in the Near and Middle East. Especially illuminating are his observations as to the Armenian massacres, several of which he witnessed. The lover of exquisite word pictures, the devotee of tales of travel, the connoisseur of archaeological and historical side-light—all these will find in Nogales Bey a kindred spirit whose remarkable flair for investigation is happily reinforced by a pen which is facile in expression and kaleidoscopic in contrasting brilliant colors. The book is truly a perennial feast.

Indian Statesmen. (G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras) 1927.

Sir John Woodburn. By His Daughter. (Arthur A. Stockwell, Ltd., 20, Ludgate Hill, London, E. C.) 1907.

Indian Statesmen is another of Messrs. Natesan's useful publications. It is an illustrated collection of seventeen excellent biographical sketches of as many eminent Indians, who have distinguished themselves as the Deans or Chief Ministers of various States in

this country, in the last and the present centuries. The administrators dealt with include Sahar Jang, Jang Bahadur, Dinkar Rao, Rangacharya, Seshadri Iyer, Madhava Rao, Shahabuddin, Lakshman Jagannath, Ramesh Dutt, Sashiah Sastri, Parmasundhan, Oodshunker, Pratap Singh and Kishan Prasad. Others will no doubt be dealt with in the next edition. The book ought to find large circulation at present in view of the great interest being displayed in the fortunes of Indian States. . . . Sir John Woodburn was the Lt.-Governor of Bengal from 1898 to 1902. The biographical retrospect of his career compiled by his daughter is a useful addition to Anglo-Indian biographical literature.

RECENT LITERATURE OF DRAMA AND THEATRE.

Literature in the Theatre. By W. A. Darlington. (Chapman and Hall, Ltd., London) 1925.

Mr. W. A. Darlington is a well-known novelist, playwright and dramatic critic of the *Daily Telegraph*. In his collection of essays entitled *Literature in the Theatre* he examines and appraises the various tendencies of the modern stage, examining them not only in the light of contemporary taste and fashion, but also from the point of view of history. There are chapters among others on The Brothers Capel, Personality and Temperament, Stage English, The Stage Actress, Academic Criticism, James Agate and Granville Barker, What the Public Wants, and On Being Criticised. There is much in these essays to interest the general reader as well as the student of the art of drama and the stage. Though they had already appeared in journals, they deserved being given a permanent form and are all the better for their having been altered, re-arranged and in many cases re-written.

The Playgoers' Hand-book to the English Renaissance Drama. By Agnes Mackenzie. (Jonathan Cape, 30, Bedford Square, London) 1927.

A brief study of the Elizabethan drama, written not so much for the man of letters as for the man of the theatre, whether professional or amateur, was badly needed. The *Hand-book* contains an essay on the Elizabethan type of play considered not as a failure to anticipate Ibsen, but as an autonomous art form with qualities of its own: a critical survey of English drama before 1642, and a chapter on

the production of these plays at the present time. The book will be found useful by students of the subject. It is planned on a comprehensive scale and deals pretty fully with the Elizabethan play and with Shakespeare's predecessors, seniors, companions, juniors, and the influence of the Elizabethan play on the modern stage. Five appendices, including one on "some useful books" add materially to the usefulness of the work.

The Twentieth Century Theatre. By Frank Vernon. (G. Harrap & Co., Ltd., 32-41, Parker Street, Kingsway, London, W. C. 2) 1926.

Mr. Frank Vernon's *Twentieth Century Theatre* is an excellent short study of a great subject. Mr. John Drinkwater, who introduces the book, says that in Mr. Vernon, we "at once recognize a critic who knows what he is talking about." That is not a small thing, to begin with. Next, the author seems to possess a thorough grasp of his subject. He is well versed in the literature of the modern stage and has brought to bear upon his treatment a sense of proportion and a critical acumen of no mean order. The result is a study which is at once instructive and interesting. The author's conclusion at the end of his survey is tinged with optimism. He says that "Drama as the characteristic artistic expression of our times puts up a winning fight against its only possible competitor—the novel."

Play Production for Every One. By Monica Ewer. (The Labour Publishing Company, Ltd., 36, Great Ormond Street, London, W. C. 2) 1926.

Monica Ewer's book—*Play Production for Every One*—is commended by the famous tragedienne, Miss Sybil Thorncliffe, in the course of the Introduction she contributes, as one "which gives valuable hints on the technical side and suggestions of every kind for the inexperienced. Apart from the work of the producer, the actor, the stage manager and the property master, the book deals with the subjects of lighting, scenery, costume and effects, and a useful bibliography is appended, which increases the utility of the book. It should interest all votaries of the craft of the stage.

Introduction to the Reading of Shakespeare. By F. A. Boas. (Oxford University Press, Bombay and Oxford) 1927.

Mr. F. A. Boas's *Introduction to the Reading of Shakespeare* is the latest volume in the series of "World's Manuals," a long, critical and appreciative notice of which appeared last year in the *Hindustan Review*. The author disarms criticism by declaring in the Preface that his book "does not seek to compete with Dowden's classic Primer." For all that, it will be found highly useful by the student of Shakespeare's dramas and poems. It embodies much information of very great value and the short bibliography is particularly helpful.

Aristotelian Theory of Comedy. By Lane Cooper. (Basil Blackwell, Oxford) 1926.

Professor Lane Cooper—who holds the chair of English language and literature in the Cornell University—has produced a highly erudite work in his *Aristotelian Theory of Comedy*, with an adaptation of the *Poetics* and a translation of *Tractatus Cothibianus*. Aristotle's *Poetics* is justly regarded as the classical work on Tragedy, but Professor Lane Cooper has extracted from it much valuable information on Comedy and presented it with a rich and rare scholarship and remarkable lucidity. The book is intended, says the author, both for the student and the general reader. Whether the latter will apply himself to the book is more than we can say, but the student will be richly rewarded by a perusal of Professor Lane Cooper's illuminating book.

RECENT FICTION: ORIGINAL, AND TRANSLATED.

An Indian Day. By Edward Thompson. (Alfred A. Knopf, London) 1927.

Mr. Edward Thompson's *An Indian Day* is a work of fiction which may be commended to Indian readers. *An Indian Day* may be described as a counterblast to Mr. E. M. Foster's much-talked *Passage to India*, a true picture of the relationship of the British and the Indians. It tells the story of Vincent Hammar who, having given the verdict in a big case in favour of the Indian, has lost popularity and has consequently been moved to a small up-country station. While delineating the love-story of Hammar and Hilda Mannering, the author shows the actions and re-actions of the British and the Indian against a background of

extraordinary beauty. Here we meet every kind of individual in the service of the country, from the Collector to the missionary in charge of the jungle station, whose wife and child pay fatally for his devotion. The whole book is a vivid and complex picture of modern India, and of the way the country grips the man whose life has been given to her service. It is a work which cannot fail to interest and hold all who have the problem of India at heart. The author's style is charming, and though he develops scenes of pathos and poignancy on the one hand and rollicking humour on the other, he never loses unity in diversity, and the central love theme is steadily kept in view. The election at Vishnigram vividly recalls Rutanawill in *Pickwick*. Altogether *An Indian Day* is one of the best books in the literature of Anglo-Indian fiction.

Tragedies of Eastern Life. By Lin Boon Keng. (The Commercial Press, Ltd., Shanghai, China) 1927.

Dr. Lin Boon Keng—President of the Amoy University—deals, in this book, with conditions with which he is familiar, due to his long residence in the Straits Settlements. The book depicts the lives of the Chinese and other settlers of several decades ago in their relations with the natives of a thriving village on the coast of the Malay Peninsula. In particular, it narrates the life-story of one Ah Fat, a Chinese, who has become a wealthy and influential personage in that coastal village, but whose wealth and influence are very quickly and unjustly reduced to ashes through a series of family misfortunes and particularly through the malignant forces of racial antagonism. The book is intended as an Introduction to Social Psychology. But apart from its scientific purpose, the story as such is thrilling and full of oriental flavor, and local colour. Several threads of love affairs run together and the conflict of interest and prejudice brings disaster to almost all the characters concerned. Mohammedans, Europeans, Chinese and other settlers are among the characters, and they all seem to be doomed to suffer either from their own wrong-doings or from the blind workings of Fate. It is, indeed, a tragic story, but intensely exciting. To those interested in social and racial psychology, and who wish to know the conditions of the Chinese immigrants in the South Sea regions, and why it is that the Chinese are often victimized as the result of racial conflict, the book is invaluable. That the story is actually based upon real life, although the characters are all fictitious, adds still more to the significance of the work as a social document.

The Christmas Heretic and Other Stories. By Rev. J. Edgar Park, D.D. (The Pilgrim Press, 24, Beacon Street, Boston, U.S.A.) 1927.

Dr. Park's collection of three stories glows with the true spirit of Christmas. Slightly reminiscent of Dickens' "A Christmas Carol," the style, however, is more sparkling, delightfully humorous, and refreshing. The characters are the sort of people which make up one's neighborhood to-day in America. Each story leaves the reader in a mellow mood, chuckling, and somewhat thoughtful. Read aloud their beauty and worth are doubly appreciated. Perhaps an outstanding charm lies in the delightful denouement of each story—most surprising and of which no hint is given until it is sprung unexpectedly—or rather one might say unsuspectedly. Dr. Park, the author, is the new President of Wheaton College, going there after a most successful Congregational pastorate at Newton, Massachusetts. He has long been famous for the beauty of his language, and for the spirit and forcefulness of his sermons and stories.

Before Scotland Yard. Collected by Peter Haworth. (Basil Blackwell, Oxford) 1927.

Mr. Peter Haworth—Senior Lecturer in English in the University of Bristol—has brought together in his anthology called *Before Scotland Yard* an excellent collection of classic tales of roguery and detection ranging from the ancient Hebrew and Greek to modern times. There are in all twenty-five very interesting short stories. Of the ancient and medieval ones, we have two from the *Apocrypha*, one from Herodotus, five from the *Gesta Romanorum*, two from Juan Manuel, two from "French Traditionals", one each from Boccaccio, Grimm, Thomas Murner and William Painter. Of the modern ones, there is one each from Defoe, Voltaire, Schiller, De Quincey and two from Dickens. They all deal with knavery, roguery and detection and the book is a fascinating anthology of the subject it deals with.

The Hoptameroun: By Margaret of Navarre; **Sasha:** By Alexander Kuprin; **In Monte Carlo:** By Henry Sienkiewicz; and **Boutshe the Silent:** By I. L. Peretz. (Stanley Paul & Co., Ltd., 8, Endelburgh Gardens, Upper Woburn, London, N. W.) 1927.

The above four volumes are the latest additions to the "International Library" of fiction—the previous issues in which have been noticed by us in terms of appreciation. The first book in the list is a

European classic and has been well edited for the present series: The second—*Sasha*—is the translation of a famous Russian work with a Preface by Mr. J. A. T. Lloyd. *In Monte Carlo* is an equally famous work from the pen of perhaps the greatest Polish novelist. *Montshie the Silent* is a translation from the Yiddish, by one who is described, by Dr. A. S. Rappoport in his Preface, as "the most powerful and most European of Yiddish authors." All these books are notable additions to the "International Library" and should appeal to lovers of good and classical continental fiction.

The Jewel of Malabar. By Donald Sindenby. (John Murray, Albemarle Street, London) 1927.

"The Mopla Rebellion"—as it is generally called—of 1921 is a sad and sorrowful episode in our contemporary affairs in this country, and it were much to be wished that it was not dragged into needless prominence, except in the pages of impartial history. But Mr. Donald Sindenby has thought otherwise and has chosen to weave its incidents in the form of a novel, called *The Jewel of Malabar*. The story is planned on the model of the average Anglo-Indian work of fiction—namely one in which the Indians and the British are both utilized as characters. The plot of the story is simple and interesting, and the local colour of Malabar is prominent. Considering the events dealt with, there are at places things by no means pleasant, but the book as a whole is commendable as a good type of Anglo-Indian novel. Sir John Renneville is the hero of the story and its theme is the hero's love for a beautiful Nayar girl, whose betrothed was killed by the Moplahs while on duty under Sir John. The account of the struggle in the latter's mind between his passion and his racial feeling is well done and it is no blame to the author if he finds it necessary to cut the Gordian Knot at the end in somewhat drastic fashion. Altogether a good story well worth reading.

RECENT TEXTS, TRANSLATIONS, REPRINTS AND ANTHOLOGIES.

Dastur-i-Ushshaq. Edited by R. S. Greenhields, L.C.S. Retd. (Luzac & Co., 46 Great Russell Street, London, W.C. 1) 1927.

Mr. R. S. Greenhields has done well in utilizing his leisure in bringing out a carefully-compiled text of the *Dastur-i-Ushshaq* by Muhammad Yahya-ibn

Sibak, a distinguished Persian writer of the fifteenth century. The *Dastur* is a mazarati (allegorical romance) of about five thousand couplets, with headings in rhymed prose and it deals with the story of Princess Husn (Beauty) with prince Dil (Honor). Husn is the daughter of Lalik (Love) and Dil the son of Akl (Reason) and the poem is a double allegory—simple (based on physical) and mystical (based on spiritual) qualities of the search of the human heart for beauty and love. Lovers of classical Persian literature will be grateful to Mr. Greenhields for his presenting them with so well-edited a text and so well got-up a volume.

Sadi's Tayyibat. Translated by (the late) Sir Lucas King, Kt., C.S.I., LL.D. (Luzac & Co., 46 Great Russell Street, London, W.C. 1) 1927.

The late Sir Lucas King's translation into English prose of the odes of the great Persian poet—Shoikh Mas'udhaddin Sadi Shirazi—will be welcomed by a large circle of readers, Sir Lucas who was a Professor of Arabic and Persian in the University of Dublin was a scholar of distinction. Dr. R. A. Nicholson—who introduces to the reader the book under notice—commends it as follows:—"In my opinion it represents his (the translator's) most original contribution to oriental scholarship and is in itself.....a remarkable achievement." Coming from the Sir Thomas Adams's Professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge, it is high praise, but our own examination of the rendering has satisfied us that Dr. Nicholson's appreciation is none too high-pitched. We agree that this volume is a notable addition to Anglo-Persian literature.

The Ten Princes. Translated by Arthur W. Ryder. (University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois, U. S. A.) 1927.

Following upon the heels of his translation of the *Panchiantra*, Mr. Arthur Ryder's rare translation of Dandin's only prose novel is very welcome. It relates how Rajavahana and nine companion princes set forth to conquer the world. But when Rajavahana disappears, the other nine scatter to find him and each meets with gay adventures in the course of which he gains a throne and a lady. These picaresque adventures are plainly not Sunday-school heroes. They are accomplished rascals who win the reader's sympathy by their lack of the manner vices and virtues. Alive with action, written in a style which

tells with novel charm on western ears, this book "employs the lavish resources of lofty art with no other design except the entertainment of the truly cultivated." The author, who is one of the greatest stylists in Sanskrit prose, flourished in the latter half of the seventh Christian century. He was the master of a limpid style which has not been lost in the translation, and for which we can not be too grateful to the translator. The book is a distinct acquisition to Anglo-Sanskrit literature.

The Renaissance. By Arthur, Count Gobineau. Introduced by Dr. Oscar Levy. (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd. 40 Museum Street, London, W.C.) 1927.

The new pocket edition of Count Gobineau's *Renaissance* is distinctly welcome, as the first and hitherto the last appearance of it, in English, was so far back as 1913. It is written on a novel plan—in the form of dialogues—and it is a work to read and cherish, being the product of the brain of a distinguished French thinker and scholar. Dr. Levy states that "it was left to Gobineau to give us a true historical and poetical picture of the Renaissance, such as none of his or our own contemporaries was able to give to the world. Himself a scholar, a poet, a sculptor, and likewise an ambassador, he was so nearly related to that glorious Italian age and its versatile genius, that an insight into the period and into the character of its leading spirits came to him naturally and instinctively." Nor does this work lack a distinguished English sponsor. After reading the original, none other than George Meredith wrote to a correspondent:—"I have not for long read anything so good." A book so praiseworthy deserves wide appreciation and large circulation and we have much pleasure in commending it to our readers.

A History of Modern Europe (1789-1920). By Sir Richard Lodge and D. B. Horn (John Murray, Albemarle Street, W.) 1927.

Sir Richard Lodge's *Modern Europe* has been the standard text-book for the student ever since its first appearance in 1879. The present reprint of the third and last section (1789-1879), has been successfully supplemented by four new chapters contributed by Mr. D. B. Horn, in which he has covered the period since 1878 to 1920. In a Foreword, contributed by Sir Richard Lodge, he says that Mr. Horn "has achieved a remarkable feat in compressing into four chapters the varied events of so notable a period in European

history." We feel sure that the book in its present form will continue to appeal to students of the period it covers as about the best manual of the subject, for it is exceedingly well put together.

Anthology of Modern Indian Poetry. Edited by Gwendoline Goodwin. (John Murray, Albemarle Street, London, W.) 1927.

The Anthology of Modern Indian Poetry is one of the latest additions to Mr. Murray's excellent "Wisdom of the East" series. It is, we think, the first collection of its kind and the compiler's effort deserves acknowledgment. A large field of great interest has been successfully tapped and the little book comprises much riches in a short compass. It should appeal to a large circle of readers both in India and in countries where there is any interest in the study of Indian literature and culture.

The Bhagvad Gita. By Annie Besant. (G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras) 1927.

Among the priceless teachings that may be found in the great Hindu epic of the *Mahabharata*, there is none so rare and precious as the *Bhagvad Gita*. Innumerable translations of this great classic have appeared since the days of Warren Hastings, but Mrs. Besant's rendering, first issued in 1902 and frequently reprinted since, is designed to preserve the spirit of the original, especially its deeply devotional tone; while at the same time it gives an accurate translation reflecting the strength and terseness of the Sanskrit. Ninety-five thousand copies of this sacred scripture of the Hindus in Mrs. Besant's English rendering have already been sold and now another ten thousand copies of this astonishingly cheap book are issued for the benefit of the public. The text of the slokas is printed in Devanagari character, and the book ought to secure a wide circulation.

Selections from George Borrow. Edited by W. H. Williams (Methuen & Co., Ltd., 36, Essex Street, London, W. C.) 1927.

Mr. W. H. Williams's *Selections* of long passages from Borrow illustrates the qualities which made him one of the most notable and singular of the Victorians. The extracts cover all the phases of his rich and eccentric life; his childhood and youth, his vagabondage with the gipsies, his travels in Spain, and

his later wanderings in Wales; and some specimens are included also of his trenchant and provocative criticism. The introduction includes a biography and an analysis of the peculiar merits and defects of this "unclassifiable genius." Altogether a capital companion for lovers of sorrow.

RECENT LITERATURE OF INDIAN TRAVEL.

Jesting Pilate. By Aldous Huxley. (Chatto & Windus, London) 1927.

Mr. Aldous Huxley's *Jesting Pilate* is a diary of a journey to and in India. It originally appeared as a series of articles in the *London Nation*. But they were worth while being given a permanent form, and we are glad they have now been so issued. Mr. Huxley is a well-known writer—thoughtful and courageous of conviction. The record of his impressions is, therefore, not only suggestive and thought-provoking, but marked by praiseworthy candour, rare freshness of outlook and correctness of perspective. The result is a remarkable work—one of the very best written on the India of to-day. Take the following as a sample:—"Most Englishmen, who love India, will tell you that they love Indians. For peasants, workmen, sepoy, servants, they feel nothing but a benevolent and fatherly affection. They greatly admire the orthodox Brahmin, who thinks it wrong to cross the seas. . . Still greater is their admiration for the Rajput noble—that picturesque survival from the age of chivalry. . . The only class of Indians you find they object to are those who have received a western education—the Englishman's rival and would-be supplanter." This is plain speaking which is truly refreshing but, as stated above, Mr. Huxley's angle of vision is remarkably accurate and his survey of current Indian question is characterized by accuracy and precision. It would thus be seen that *Jesting Pilate* is not a book planned on the model of Laurence Sterne, but rather on that of Arthur Young. As such—apart from its exceedingly well-written descriptive sketches of the scenes and sights of India—the book deserves careful consideration for its strikingly thought-compelling comments on and criticisms of the present political and social conditions in this country.

India By Air. By the Rt. Hon'ble Sir Samuel Hoare. (Longmans, Green & Co., Ltd., 39, Paternoster Row, London E. C. 4 and Bombay and Calcutta) 1927.

As the title indicates, Sir Samuel Hoare (in his book called *India by Air*) describes his flight from London to Delhi, the first ever made between England and India in a civil machine, and points out the great Imperial uses to which civil and military aviation can be put. The Introduction has been written by Lady Maud Hoare, who accompanied her husband, and thus became the first woman to fly from England to India. She describes the flight and the preparations for it from a woman's point of view. The author endeavours to bring before his reader the sense of a great Imperial purpose; the pomp of the princes of the East; the wild life of the desert; the work of the Air Force on the North-West Frontier; and the apparently effortless certainty and efficiency of the British aeroplane which carried the party so swiftly over three continents. The book is one of the first batch of many that will appear before long describing the air route to India and journeys by aeroplane in this country, and it has, therefore, at present all the freshness of a pioneer work. It will be found of great interest by that large circle of readers which is concerned in developing air-route between Europe and the East.

An Uphill Road in India. By M. L. Christlieb. (George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 40, Museum Street, London, W. C. 1) 1927.

An Uphill Road in India is not, strictly speaking, a book of travel. In fact, it is by no means so, collected as the text has been (so the dedication conveys) from correspondence between the author and a life-long friend of hers, who carefully preserved the writer's epistles during a period of over twenty years. The book, we are told, "does not pretend to be a presentment of new facts concerning India," but that "it is a simple human recital of daily experiences among a much-loved Eastern people." Such a statement in the Foreword frankly dismisses criticism. As a record of every-day life of all sorts and conditions of men and women in South India, the book is of great interest. Perhaps the oriental colours of the canvas are the more attractive because the theme of the picture is human nature and aspirations as the writer in her capacity as missionary has met it among village folk and town people. Disappointments, difficulties, and struggles in missionary life are shown to us as well as successes; we meet with laughter and tears, and the simple everyday stuff of which human life is made, both in the East and the West.

RECENT LITERATURE OF INDIAN HISTORY.

India's Past. By Professor A. A. Macdonell. (Oxford University Press, Bombay, 1927.)

India's Past—the work of the Emeritus Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Oxford—is a careful, accurate and, on the whole, impartial and sympathetic survey of Indian languages, literatures, religions, philosophies and antiquities in general. The work of a ripe and erudite scholar, the summary or outline—for such it is—deals fairly comprehensively in about two hundred pages with the spiritual and intellectual history of India from the far-off epoch of the Indo-Aryan immigration till the appearance of the Europeans in the country some four centuries back. The author's success in unfolding the roll of Indian history is clearly due to his complete mastery of the subject he deals with. The book presents the results of the latest research in Indology and is to be commended to the general reader as a compendious sketch of Indian antiquities. We know of no other work in English equally comprehensive, up-to-date and instructive. The value of the work is enhanced by the inclusion in it of the last two chapters which treat of the vernacular languages of India and of their literatures, of the awakening to the importance of the early religion, language and literature of ancient India among the scholars of Europe and of the men to whom this was due—a subject not so fully dealt with in any other book. A large number of excellent photographs add to the utility of this most interesting book, which ought to be carefully studied by all to whom India means something. The author deserves the thanks of all such for presenting the fruits of his long and loving study in so accessible a form, and it is to be sincerely hoped that this exceedingly useful and remarkably helpful work will command in this country the circulation it so richly merits.

Warren Hastings' Letters to Sir John Macpherson. Edited by Henry Dodwell, M.A. (Faber & Gwyer, Ltd. 24 Russell Square, London, W.C. 1) 1927.

Professor Dodwell's edition of the letters of Warren Hastings to Sir John Macpherson is a notable addition to 18th century Anglo-Indian historical literature. Whatever relates to the Indian administration of Warren Hastings is of great historical interest and importance. These hitherto unpublished letters, 100 in number, addressed by Hastings to his friend and confidant, John Macpherson and preserved by the latter's family, are now printed by their permission. They throw much new light on the events and per-

sonalities of the important years 1775 to 1787. They fall into three groups: the first group is mainly concerned with the conflicting claims of the Nawab, the Company, and the Nawab's creditors, which led to the arrest and imprisonment of the Governor, Lord Pigot, by a section of his Council; the second with affairs in England, 1777-1780, when the friends of Hastings were doing everything in their power to support him against the persistent attacks of the Ministry; while the third and longest group relates to the affairs of Bengal, 1781-1784, when Macpherson was a member of the Supreme Council, and when short informal notes were constantly being exchanged between the Governor-General and his friend. Many of these last, so much more revealing than the long despatches by which Hastings is chiefly known, deserve to be set beside the letters to Mrs. Hastings; they show the man as he appeared to his intimate friends, with all external formalities laid aside. Of Professor Dodwell's qualifications as editor of the book there is no need to speak, and his collection deserves careful attention of those interested in the administration of Warren Hastings.

Panipat. By H. G. Rawlinson, I.E.S. (Oxford University Press, Bombay) 1927.

This account of the last battle of Panipat and of the events leading to it is a book of great historical value. Written originally in Persian—the official and court language of that period—by Kashi Raj Panjit, who was present at the battle, the book was translated into English by Lt.-Col James Brown of Dimpore in 1791, and has now been edited with an Introduction, notes and appendices by Professor H. G. Rawlinson of the Indian Educational Service in the Western Presidency. The book is a distinct acquisition to the sources now rendered accessible for the scientific study of the history of India in the latter half of the eighteenth century.

Indians Abroad. (The Imperial Indian Citizenship Association, Petit Building, 159 Hornby Road, Bombay) 1927.

Indians Abroad is a big and bulky volume and contains a carefully-prepared historical sketch of the struggles of the Indians in various parts of the British Commonwealth. The second edition of the book, published recently with a Foreword from the pen of Mr. K. Natrajan, carries the story of the South African struggle to the eve of the Paddison

enquiry. Since then, we have had the Habitation deputation and an agreed, if slightly ambiguous, memorandum of compromise between the South African Government and the Government of India. The book now published is therefore not quite complete. When developments are in rapid progress, it is impossible to keep the record up-to-date in a book. *Indians Abroad* is, however, a thorough collation of the papers relating to the overseas problem. We are given about 700 pages of well-printed matter dealing with the history of various Indian colonies in Africa, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Fiji, and British Guiana. Mr. S. G. Vase, who has handled the papers of the Imperial Citizenship Association, deserves praise for the discrimination and ability with which he has edited the book, which should command a large circulation and wide appreciation amongst publicists interested in the welfare of Indians outside their own country.

The Consolidation of the Christian Power in India.

By Major B. D. Basu, I.M.S. Retd. (R. Chatterjee, 93, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta) 1927.

Major Basu's latest contribution to Indian history is modelled upon his previous work in five volumes, which we noticed last year in terms of appreciation. The condensed sketch now offered should prove useful to a large circle of readers. Like its bulky predecessor, the work should be regarded as a source-book to modern Indian history. One may differ from the author's conclusions, but his collection of data, the author's conclusions, but his collection of data, so carefully brought together, deserves warm acknowledgment.

ON THE EDITOR'S TABLE: MISCELLANEOUS LITERATURE.

In his *Sex Problem in India* (D. D. Taraporevala Sons & Co., 190, Hornby Road, Bombay) Professor N. S. Phadke breaks new ground. He gives straightforward exposition of the sexual question, thoroughly constructive in tone, written in a popular vein, and at the same time scientifically sound and based on researches in ancient Indian wisdom. Practically every phase of the sex question that the average person is interested in is discussed and many important facts and informative features are included that cannot be found in any contemporary book on

India. Among these are the much confused subjects of Heredity, Marriage, Voluntary Parent-hood, Sex Purity, Sex Education and Feminism. Prof. Phadke has courageously handled a delicate subject, and moreover he has done it delicately, which is more than can be said of a good many writers. In the course of the Preface which she has contributed Mrs. Sanger writes:—"He treats the various problems in the light of modern practical science. His chapter on the Vindication of Birth Control is especially sound and clearly stated. The plea which the author makes for Eugenic marriages is the plea of the far-sighted patriot. Various angles of the social side of birth control have been treated by the author in a masterly fashion. The Sex Problems in India are doubtless much the same fundamentally as the problems of other countries. But in the occident an effort is being made to solve such problems fearlessly and honestly. Prof. Phadke has undertaken this task. I heartily recommend his book to those who are seeking guidance along these lines." We agree with Mrs. Sanger and commend the book as a meritorious work which deserves appreciation.

Miss Mayo's *Mother India* has evoked an effective rejoinder from Mr. K. Nataraajan, the very talented editor of the *Indian Social Reformer*. It is called *Mother India: A Rejoinder* (Narasim & Co., Madras). Originally published as a series of articles in the *Reformer*, the booklet is a scathing exposure of the many mendacious allegations of Miss Mayo against the character and aspirations of the Indian people, and their social institutions. Mr. Nataraajan charges Miss Mayo for freely indulging in half-truths and even untruths without any attempt to verify them. The criticisms of Miss Mayo's book by Dr. Margaret Ballour, Lala Lajpat Rai, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyer, Rev. Popley, Sir Rabindranath Tagore and Mahatma Gandhi form valuable appendices to this useful little publication. Sir Rabindranath Tagore accuses her of "deliberate untruthful irresponsibility." Mahatma Gandhi compares her book to the report of a Drain Inspector. The Hon. Mr. G. A. Nutsan, in the introduction to the book, hopes that this exposure of "an atrocious injustice to an ancient people" will go to some extent at least in removing "the malignant contagion of race hatred" that has been propagated by Miss Mayo's book, particularly at a time when the Indian people are fighting for self rule. We commend Mr. Nataraajan's pamphlet to all interested in ascertaining the true state of affairs about India and things Indian. We shall notice later some other books, which have appeared in refutation of Miss Mayo's hysterical publication.

One of the most commendable publishing enterprises in Messrs. Benn's "Sixpenny Library," and about the best contribution to it is Mr. R. Thompson's *History of India*. The quality, style and practical efficiency of these new booklets, each on an important subject lead us to welcome enthusiastically an event in modern publication. Sir Ernest Benn, to whose initiative this useful series is due, has himself contributed a volume of less than a hundred pages on "Trade," in which the urgent problems of Production and Distribution are discussed in a masterly fashion. Other experts write, in simple and direct manner, on their own subject. It was a happy thought to give "Myths of Greece and Rome" to Miss Jane Harrison, one of the best classical scholars and a writer of singular charm. Sir George Aston, the well-known lecturer in Naval History, writes on "Nelson." Father Martindale writes on "The Religions of the World." Mr. Maurice Baring, gives us a lord's eye view of French Literature, which will help both the man in the street and the student. Mr. Hilaire Belloc writes pungently on "Oliver Cromwell" and divides the man from the legend. Mr. Jonko Lavrin, whose psychological studies of Gogol and others have claimed wide attention, surveys Russian Literature. The little volume on Indian history is true to the best traditions of scholarship and we have never read a more remarkable epitome of the history of this country. It is a book coloured throughout with liberal ideas and rich with the imagination of a skilled artist; a book that both Indian and English readers will enjoy. It is a little masterpiece, the cunning art of which deserves a cordial welcome. The research of the specialist will be obvious to the student; and the latest of modern theories and judgments are rendered available. An easy style will attract the average reader who shrinks from anything serious or heavy. Altogether the "Sixpenny Library" inaugurated by Messrs. Benn Ltd. (Bouverie House, Fleet Street, London, E. C.) merits high appreciation and wide circulation.

We are living in an age of literary tabloids and anthologies of prose and verse on all conceivable subjects are the order of the day. The three latest anthologies of English verse composed in different periods are (a) *Lyrics from the Old Song Books* edited by Mr. R. Duncan (George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., Broadway House, Carter Lane, London, E. C.), (b) *Victorian Narrative Verse* edited by Mr. C. Williams (Oxford University Press, Bombay) and (c) the *Cambridge Book of Lesser Poets* compiled by Mr. J. C. Squire (Cambridge University Press, Fetter Lane, London, E. C.). Mr. Duncan's compilation is essen-

tially a collection of the finest "Singable Songs," selected mainly from the poets of the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and is a matchless repertory of the subject it deals with. Mr. Williams's collection is concerned not with lyrics or songs but the best narrative verse of the Victorian age and is a very helpful anthology of the subject. The Cambridge University anthology is designed to be a supplement to such collections as *The Oxford Book of English Verse* and *The Golden Treasury*, from which, for reasons of space, the many good poems by minor poets had to be excluded. Mr. Squire has therefore begun by excluding the work of the greater poets, and confining himself to the lesser ones—hence the title of the book. It is a very useful supplement to the well-known general anthologies of English verse.

The completion of ten years of Bolshevik regime in Russia has seen the publication of many books, of which not the least useful is Professor K. T. Shah's work—based on a series of lectures—called *The Russian Experiment* (Taraporevala Sons & Co., Hornby Road, Bombay). Though not intended as a systematic treatise, these lectures give a compact account of the Russian Revolution since the Bolsheviks came into power, and of their doings since. In spite of the lack of the necessary material, Prof. Shah deals with this difficult subject in a neat, and informative manner. After dealing with the causes spread over a century which brought about the Revolution, he describes the events and circumstances, the men and motives, that made up and keep up the Revolution. He then gives an interesting account of the new economic policy and the striking results achieved in five years by a change of front by the uncompromising communists into something more acceptable to a majority of their countrymen. The last lecture appropriately called the Challenge of Russia to Russia and the World, is Prof. Shah's own contribution. We have no doubt that the book will be read with great avidity by all who are interested in world problems, and particularly by educated Indians who are struggling to frame an Indian constitution and to whom the Russian experiment—by its successes and failures—has much useful lesson to impart.

Preface by Leigh Hunt: *Mainly to His Periodicals*, edited by Mr. R. Brimley Johnson (Frank Holdings. At the sign of Rare Ben Johnson, Great Turnstile, Lincoln's Inn Fields, London, E. C.) contains not only the actual prospectus, address to the Reader, or preface to each of the newspapers or journals Leigh Hunt edited or to which he contribut-

ed, but also the various articles he inserted from time to time, in explanation of his objects and methods. These are followed by similar prefatory matter from three of his books, *Classic Tales*, *A Book for a Corner*, and *Readings for Railways*. This collection thus usefully supplements the selections from the essays written by Leigh Hunt—undoubtedly one of the great essayists of the nineteenth century.

The *Collected Papers of Srinivasa Ramanujan* edited by Messrs. G. H. Hardy, P. V. Seshu Aiyar and H. M. Wilson, deserves a place on the bookshelves of all libraries in India and all mathematical libraries throughout the world as a work of permanent value. Srinivasa Ramanujan, the remarkable mathematical genius whose papers are here collected, was born in 1887 in Southern India and prematurely died in 1920. With no more than the ordinary Indian public education and by his own unaided researches, before the age of 27 he had developed theories of which Professor Hardy writes: "It is sufficiently marvelous that he should have even dreamt of problems such as these, problems which it has taken the finest mathematicians in Europe a hundred years to solve, and of which the solution is incomplete to the present day." In 1914 he went to England; and in 1915 Professor Hardy wrote: "In some ways he is the most remarkable mathematician I have ever known." Before returning to India in 1919 he had been elected a Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and a Fellow of the Royal Society, being the first Indian to attain this distinction. His early death was an irreparable loss to India and to the science of Mathematics. We welcome his *Collected Papers* as a work of genius.

The Europa Publishing Company, Ltd. (5, Duke Street, Adelphi, London, W. C.) are already well-known as the publishers of that highly useful annual—the *Europa Year-Book*—which we have already noticed in terms of appreciation. They have now embarked on other publishing enterprises including a series called "Europa Hand-Books." The first two volumes in it are Mr. C. T. Hallinan's *American Investments in Europe* and Professor Dr. Robert Liefmann's *International Cartels, Combines and Trusts*. Mr. Hallinan's book is an instructive survey—both from the European and American standpoints—of America's heavy foreign financing, and as a compact and useful handbook of the subject it deals with, it merits appreciation. Dr. Liefmann's work is a lucid sketch of a rather complicated subject and contains a record of the discussion on cartels and trusts at the International Economic Conference and also a summary of legislation on cartels in various countries. A more ambitious work is *The Economic Consequences of the*

League which deals with the World Economic Conference—the most successful attempt so far made to achieve economic co-operation among nations. Besides containing the agenda and the final report of the Conference and important documents, the book comprises a number of instructive articles written by experts. All the publications issued by the Europa Publishing Company are highly meritorious and deserve wide appreciation and circulation. We hope to be able to review the new and revised edition of the *Europa Year-Book* for the current year in the next issue of the *Hindustan Review*.

The latest work by Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy—called *History of Indian and Indonesian Art* (Edward Goldston, London) is truly superb and monumental. A more comprehensive pictorial encyclopedia of the subject than the book under notice can not be found in any of the works hitherto published. The reproductions of illustrations are all of the finest quality and most of them have not been published before. Thus four hundred characteristic illustrations are brought together which will convey to the reader a most comprehensive idea of the nature and development of Indian art. The work covers the whole field of artistic expression: architecture and painting, plastic and industrial art—except the Indo-Islamic. The text contains likewise much that is new and interesting to the connoisseur. A special feature of the book is the concise style. The comprehensive bibliographical survey added to the work, is indeed the richest ever compiled on the subject and the book should not be missed on the shelves of any large library. A general index by names, places and subjects conclude the work. The present publication will no doubt establish itself as the standard work on the subject of Indian and Indonesian Art for many years to come. The 128 plates containing the four hundred illustrations mentioned above, and the nine well-drawn maps elucidating the text add materially to the value of the letter-press, and the book will hereafter be justly regarded as classical on its subject.

The C. W. Daniel Company (Graham House, Tudor Street, London, E. C. 4) have started for the general reader an excellent little series of choice selections from the classics—ancient and modern, issued in neat, well-printed, pocket-sized tracts at the remarkably low price of two pence for each. The first nine available are Swift's "Thoughts on Modern Civilization," the *Enchiridion* of Epictetus, Emerson on "Friendship," Socrates on "Love," Aristotle on "Happiness," Swedenburg on "Marriage," extracts from the *Al Karan*, Marcus Aurelius on "Life According to

Nature," and Mazzini's "Thoughts on Democracy." A dozen volumes are in active preparation containing extracts from the works of Rousseau, Browne, Shelley, Montaigne, Seneca, Bacon, Spinoza, Thoreau, Carlyle, St. Augustine, Plato and Schopenhauer. This series thus offers to the reading public in attractive and handy form, at the cheapest price, the richest thoughts of the greatest thinkers, with a biographical preface. It thus comprises the quintessence of the world's wisdom and should command an unprecedentedly large circulation—especially in a country like India.

Though there are many books—large and small—on the subject, yet *First Steps in the Philosophy of Religion* by Dr. Charles Harris, D.D.—Chairman of the Literature Committee of the English Church Union—(Student Christian Movement, 33, Russell Square, London, W. C. 1) deserves commendation. It is issued with a Foreword by Dr. H. Maurice Reiter, Professor of Dogmatic Theology, Kings College, London. The main theme of the book is the transcendence of God and his absolute perfection and sufficiency in Himself. We agree with the writer of the Foreword: "Those who will follow the author in these 'first steps' in the philosophy of religion, will be impelled to pursue the quest still further. A faith tested by reason, a belief held in the full knowledge of the worst that can be said against it, is a precious possession in these days of advancing knowledge and discovery." That is so; and we have much pleasure in commending Dr. Harris's excellent book to those for whom it is intended, as his treatment of the subject is lucid and interesting.

Except for string reasons we do not deal with school books, but the new primers—called "The New Method Readers"—recently brought out by the old-established firm of Longmans, Green & Co. of London (also 53, Nicol Road, Bombay and 6, Old Court House Street, Calcutta)—are so well designed for Indian students that we feel we would be remiss in our duty if we did not draw the attention to them of the educational authorities in this country. In our view, the series should be extensively used in our schools. Two other books issued in Longman's "Geographical Series for India", which deserve commendation as highly useful handbooks for our students are Mr. Dudley Stamp's *The World*—a compendious sketch of

general geography for Indian schools—and Miss Stamp's *First Steps in World Geography*, which is an excellent elementary work. Messrs. Longman's Indian school publications deserve well of the educational authorities.

Prof. H. Sinha's *Early European Banking in India* (Macmillan & Co., 12/6) is an industrious and painstaking production by an able young economist attached to the Calcutta University. Like all researchers into the past, the facts and data need to be carefully collated and sifted; and Mr. Sinha appears to have done his work in an able and scientific manner. His survey of the beginning of the European type of banking relates chiefly to the activities of the General Bank of India (1786-91) and the Bank of Calcutta, later to become famous as the Bank of Bengal. The author asserts that the institution of the General Bank in 1786 was the first example of a joint stock bank with limited liability. This is interesting, for it was not till 1835 according to the author, that the principle of limited liability was made applicable to trading companies in England. We cannot however go so far with the author when he proceeds to deduce from certain religious injunctions of the Hindus—which are really rules for moral conduct—that the principle of limited liability is foreign to the genius of the race. A generalisation of this nature should not be made without careful balancing of the argument, which in Mr. Sinha's version is lacking. We have to offer a similar criticism in respect of several other statements made *ex cathedra*, for which no convincing arguments are adduced in support, as, e.g., "Managing Agency System appears to have outlived its usefulness in India and often puts a premium on fraud,"—a statement which is the opposite of truth as far as Calcutta is concerned, for it can safely be asserted that without such a system the industrial exploitation of the resources of Bengal would not have been possible of such development as we see to-day. Mr. Sinha's reflections on present-day needs follow the general trend of popular opinion on Indian banking, but we recognise the limitations in the scope of his work, and now that the Reserve Bank is on the tapis we hope the author will turn his skilled pen to the elucidation of this most important financial problem facing India to-day. We commend Mr. Sinha's book as a contribution of genuine merit to our knowledge of the past.

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[No. 296

THE BOYCOTT OF THE SIMON COMMISSION.*

By SIR SYED ALI IMAM, K.C.S.I., *Bar-at-Law*.

At the All-India Muslim League in Calcutta last Christmas, I moved the following resolution which was carried by the Conference with but two dissentients:

"The All-India Muslim League emphatically declares that the Statutory Commission and the procedure as announced are unacceptable to the people of India; it therefore resolves that the Musalmans throughout the country should have nothing to do with the Commission at any stage or in any form."

The most important point which comes to one's mind with reference to the Commission is that there has been on the part of His Majesty's Government an express exclusion of Indians from its membership. In regard to procedure also, it is abundantly clear that the position of Indians has been reduced to that of petitioners.

One of the excuses put forward for the exclusion of Indians is the plea of the statutory bar. It is not claimed by the advocates of this plea that the Government of India Act has by one word anywhere laid it down that the Commission should be a purely Parliamentary one; but it is urged that although the statute does

not specify it, the intention of its framers has been fulfilled. From my reading of Section 84A of the Act, I can assert that a meaning has been read into it which it cannot bear, and this legal excuse cannot commend itself to any just and reasonable construction of the statute.

Another excuse seems to be: "How can we put any Indians on the Commission when India has so many sectarian interests?" Muslims would stand up for their rights and Hindus for theirs. Surely, if this were a real difficulty, it was not beyond the capacity of British statesmanship to solve it. It was open to the Government to leave the task of selection to the different Legislatures. The responsibility would then have rested entirely on the people of India. I am compelled to draw the conclusion that it was a deliberate decision on the part of the Government not to include a single Indian in the Commission.

I must protest against the suggestion that Indians would have carried with them their political prepossessions as a gross imputation against our national character. Prepossessions are not the monopoly of any race, whether Indian or British. But I am sure that an Indian, once he takes the oath of office and enters upon the discharge of his duties, would bring to bear upon any question before him an impartial mind. My countrymen have held the highest judicial positions in the land and given unquestionable proofs of their abilities and integrity.

*[Sir Ali Imam was Law Member of the Government of India during the Viceroyalty of Lord Hardinge and later was prominently connected with certain important administrative reforms in the Hyderabad State. In politics, he is "a Moderate," as he described himself at the All-India Muslim League at Calcutta. His views, therefore, on the Simon Commission will be read with great interest].

I have given most careful thought to the problem created by the appointment of a purely Parliamentary Commission. I am a Moderate in politics and have even been described by some as "a sun-dried bureaucrat"; but I find it impossible, in all conscience, to accept this Commission. I do not say this merely on the ground of sentiment, though sentiment has its value in human affairs. But I advance a much bigger reason. The real issue is, what is to be the relationship between England and India? Is it that India being a conquered land, a country of serfs, she should be grateful to pick up any crumbs that might fall from the master's table?

During the War, when the enemy was knocking at the door and the Empire was in danger, we were lavishly entertained with assurances of equality and partnership. I fully believed then that a change had come over the angle of vision of England towards India. But now, after the lapse of a few years, England tells us: "You are not fit to sit at the same table with us." This is the real significance of the Statutory Commission. The whole scheme has been deliberately planned right through to impress on us that in the Empire we have no place of equality with our masters.

It has been said that the Committee of the Central Legislature will perform the high function of presenting its views before the Commission. Is this partnership? A member of the British Cabinet has declared that these members of the Legislature would be the colleagues of the Commission. Misuse of language could not go further; for they would no more be colleagues than petitioners in a court of justice are colleagues of the judge.

What we, Hindus and Muslims, have seriously to consider is whether we are going to subscribe to this arrangement which takes away from us the rights of citizenship of the Empire and relegates us to a position of petitioners. This is the thin end of the wedge. The whole idea now is to impress on our minds that in the scheme of the Empire we occupy a subordinate place. We must resist this and assert our right to be treated as equals of the other parts of the Empire. Let us not be led away by the consideration that since there is no chance of this claim being heard, it is no use putting it forward. It may not be conceded to-day, but if the British Government is made to realise that there is the force of assertiveness behind it, we are bound to achieve success.

SIR JOHN SIMON'S OFFER AND THE BOYCOTT MOVEMENT.

By SIR P. S. SIVASWAMY AIVER, K.C.S.I.
(Ex-Member, Government of Madras).

My attitude towards the Commission has not been modified in any way by Sir John Simon's proposals embodied in his letters to the Viceroy and Sir C. Sankaran Nair and they do not affect the views I have already expressed. We have been under no misconception with regard to the powers and functions of the Commission, or as to the limits within which it is open to its Chairman to meet the wishes of Indians by the procedure he may choose to adopt in the conduct of the inquiry.

Our position all along has been that, by no possibility, could Indians be admitted to participate in the enquiry on equal terms or status with the members of the Commission. It is absurd to suggest that any person who is not a member of it can be placed on exactly the same footing as a person who is a member. The Prime Minister made it perfectly clear in his speech in the House of Commons that the discretion which the Chairman of the Commission would exercise as regards the pro-

cedure must keep within the framework and essential principles of the Commission as constituted by Parliament. As the British Government decided that it should be a purely Parliamentary Commission, it is not competent to the Chairman to do anything to confer upon any outsiders, whether Indian or otherwise, the same privileges as would belong to the members of the Commission. The utmost that he can do consistently with the framework is to place any Indians with whom co-operation is desired in the position of assessors. Assessors might be allowed to suggest questions to be put to witnesses and to state their views and discuss the evidence with the Commission. But, after duly considering their opinions, the responsibility of framing a judgment could not possibly be shifted from the Commission to the assessors. We are familiar in India with the position of co-opted members in Royal Commissions. It is simply the position of assessors. The "Joint Free Conference," which is referred to by Sir John, does not really change the status of the Committee of the Indian Legislature from that of assessors, whatever latitude may be allowed in practice to the assessors either in the matter of examination of witnesses or exchange of views with the members of the Commission. The Royal Commission can insist upon the production of any evidence, oral or documentary. The Committee of the Indian Legislature would have no powers of this kind, and cannot, as a matter of right, require the Commission to call for any evidence which it may desire. The Committee would have no right to claim to be present at any enquiry which may take place in camera. The members of the Commission are under no obligation to discuss their conclusions or recommendations with the Committee.

The Joint Free Conference has no real analogy to the Conference between two bodies in matters of industrial or political controversy referred to by Sir John Simon. There the two bodies have an exactly equal status, and the members of each body may meet separately for the purpose of consulting the persons whose delegates they are, and the whole object of such a Conference is to arrive at some kind of a binding agreement. The object of such a Conference is primarily negotiation rather than investigation. Here, neither the Royal Commission nor the Committee of the Indian Legisla-

ture has any power to offer terms or come to a settlement. The fundamental inequality of status between the Commission and the Committee of the Legislature is one of the realities of the situation, which we are accused of being unable to realise. By no form of words or procedure can this fundamental inequality be removed. The British Parliament may have a legal right to adopt any method of investigation which it may choose. But we deny its moral right to adopt a method which we contend is not required, though not forbidden, by the statute, and which deprives Indians of the privileges they would have as members of a mixed Commission. The Viceroy passionately disclaims any intention to insult or affront, and wishes us to take him at his word. We contend that the fundamental inequality of status was in itself not unavoidable, and is therefore an insult to the people of India, which cannot lose that character by the repudiation of any intention to insult. It reminds me of the conduct of many magistrates in camp who keep only one chair for themselves and compel lawyers who may have to wait for their cases to stand or squat on the floor or sit under a tree in the compound and plead that they have no intention to insult them, and that it is merely due to the absence of chairs.

In my opinion, the Commission should have included six Indians, and this would have raised its strength to thirteen, a number which could not be considered unmanageable. But even if three or four Indians had been appointed and if they were not the most suitable, it would still have amounted to a recognition of the principle that Indians have a right to participate on exactly equal terms with the British Parliament in determining the future Constitution of their country. The question of principle involved is a very substantial one though the advantages to be immediately derived might be minimised by the number and the character of the Indian members chosen.

I do not believe that there is any danger of substantial loss in refusing to co-operate, or any prospect of material gain to be secured by co-operating with the Commission. I do not care for any Reforms which do not touch the Central Government or the subject of the Indianisation of the Army. I do not believe there is the least likelihood of the Commission

making any liberal recommendation for advance in these directions. My reasons for this belief are the attitude of the British Government in regard to questions of Army organisation, and the forecast in English papers and by English publicists of the Reforms that might possibly be expected. The Government has announced its decision on the recommendations of the Sken Committee which have practically been all rejected. It is now certain that no Indian Sandhurst will be allowed to be established, that the Eight Units Scheme will be adhered to, that there will be no King's Commissions granted to Indians, that the number of Dominion Commissions to be annually granted in future will be only 25, that the strength of the Territorial Force including the University Training Corps and the new urban battalions will not be allowed to exceed twenty thousand. This policy means a practical refusal to allow India to train herself for Self-Defence, though strangely enough our inability to defend ourselves is cast in our teeth as one of the fundamental obstacles to full responsible Government. If this is the policy of the Government in the matter of military organisation, we can easily judge as to whether the Government would be disposed to make any real advance in the sphere of the Central Government. It may be said that, if we do not co-operate and some sections do, the Commission may be induced thereby to make recommendations of a harmful character, because we fail to supply information to correct and supplement such evidence as may be placed before them. The directions, which may be taken by reactionary recommendations, are the following: (1) They may recommend the abolition of Dyarchy and the restoration of the *status quo ante*. I do not believe this reactionary step will be recommended by the Commission, or will commend itself to Parliament; (2) They may strengthen the communal forces now doing so much harm, by applying the communal principle on a larger scale in the Legislatures and in the administration. The evils of communalism are patent, and no responsible Royal Commission will recommend the introduction of the communal principle or the encouragement or perpetuation of communal differences and jealousies by measures calculated to achieve that object. The policy of "divide and rule" is not unknown

to our rulers. But I can hardly believe that the Commission will make recommendations of so retrograde a character. I doubt also whether the communal situation can be rendered worse than it is already.

Under the terms of the statute, there are certain matters into which investigation has to be made. But I do not think they will be of much use for the purpose of determining whether the country is or is not ripe for advance. So far as the wishes and aspirations of the people are concerned, they have been set forth in resolutions in the Legislatures, as well as outside. As regards the progress which may have been attained during the last seven years, inquiry into such matters will be of little use in determining our fitness for a further advance. Let us take the subject of education. Is it reasonable to expect any great advance in matters of education, etc., in the seven years during which the Reforms have been in operation? If the British Government, which has been ruling the country for the last one hundred and fifty years, have been unable to make any remarkable progress, how can it be expected that the Ministries should have made any great advance? It would be most unfair to them especially when, during a considerable part of the period, the Provinces were all laboring under financial stringency. The object of the inquiry may perhaps be to find out reasons for refusing to make a further advance. When these are disclosed, we may be in a better position to deal with them.

Perhaps the Commission have selected Madras and the Panjah as the Provinces to be visited during this cold weather because these are the two Provinces in which communalism has been most rampant, and it seems to have been represented to the Commission that political life has been developed and a definite two-party system has been evolved in these two Provinces. The party system that has developed has proceeded on unhealthy communal lines, and perhaps the Commission wish to study the merits or defects of this kind of party system.

I have never been in favour of a *hartal*, but in my speech at Bombay (in moving the resolution for boycott of the Commission at the National Liberal Federation) I made it clear that I was in favour of non-co-operation with the Commission.

A CALL FOR THE BOYCOTT OF THE SIMON COMMISSION.*

By PANDIT MOTILAL NEHRU (Leader, Congress Party).

The lecture announced is entitled simply "India." It represents a complexity of problems which it is not possible to deal with in one lecture. I will therefore confine myself to the question of self-government in India. Now the Indian Statutory Commission has been recently appointed to go into the question. It has given rise to a greater controversy in India than here. I should explain why an attitude, hostile to the Commission has been taken up. I think we should bear in mind the two stages of British rule in India. As you know, the first is that of the East India Company, and the second that of direct sovereignty assumed by the British crown. The latter sub-divides itself into pre-reform and post-reform stages, using the word "Reform" not as I understand it, not in the dictionary meaning of it, but as it pleases our rulers to use it.

The British went to India to trade and remained there to govern. It is unnecessary to go into details. That is admitted on all hands. The earliest adventurers had not the slightest intention to govern that country. The conditions then prevailing were convenient to them, not only to remain there as citizens, but to remain as a part of the government which they ultimately secured. It was all in the interests of capitalism. A few quotations which I have noticed will illustrate that. Lord Macaulay observed:—"The East India Company was in charge of Directors, who gave the following instructions to Hastings: 'Govern leniently, send more money. Practise strict justice, send more money'."

Pretty but very significant are these instructions. That policy has never for a moment been changed, and is still being pursued. That is why India cannot come into her own. That was at the earliest stages.

Then we come to what we Indians love to call "The War of Independence" but what the English call "The Mutiny" perhaps because it

failed; had it succeeded it would have been differently named. Every Indian cherishes with fondest memory the declaration of Queen Victoria. Till her death she was revered all over India. The principal part of the Proclamation, namely that of equality of Indians with other races, was written at her special dictation. It has ever since been considered as the charter of Indian Freedom. Equality of all was its sum and substance.

But succeeding generations of governors—large and small—have most irreverently ignored the Royal pledges and followed the policy of the East India Company.

INTEREST OF MANCHESTER.

Sir John Strachey observed as follows:—"We are often told that it is the duty of the Government of India to think of Indian interests alone, and that if the interests of Manchester suffer it is no affair of ours. For my part, I utterly repudiate such doctrines. . . The interests of Manchester, at which foolish people sneer, are the interests, not only of the great and intelligent population engaged directly in the trade of cotton, but of millions of Englishmen. I am not ashamed to say that there is no higher duty than that which I owe to my country." Thus the policy of putting England before India was again pursued. At a later date, Lord Salisbury uttered these words:—"India must be bled" to suit British purposes.

Thus right from the earliest times down to our Secretary of State, exactly the same policy has been followed.

NATIONAL CONGRESS.

Now the question arises how the matter of self-government for India could have arisen under these circumstances. India is a part of the world, however isolated it may be. There are influences that penetrate all human barriers.

*A lecture delivered in Essex Hall, London, on 15th December last.

The Indian National Congress was ushered into existence towards the end of the nineteenth century and began to work, not for freedom, but for such favours as were possible to obtain from their rulers. A policy of petitioning, begging favours, and offering co-operation, was followed. It was only in 1918 or 1919 that the policy was changed and we began to ask for full responsible government or Swaraj or self-determination. The Government had followed, along with aggrandizement, a policy of extending some reforms. It was in the days of Lord Lansdowne and Lord Ripon that anything substantial was done. They thought of allowing us some hand in the government and did so in local self-government—municipal and local councils. Indians were allowed to sit in these councils, but the presiding deity was the British District Officer. The Indians were nominated and were of little value.

The Morley-Minto Scheme (1909) introduced a representative element into the existing Councils, Municipal and District Boards. That was the second stage.

THE 1917 ANNOUNCEMENT.

Then comes the third stage. The clamour of Indian National Congress and the public generally became louder; it was felt that something more should be done; then came the War. The great response of India struck the imagination of even those who would fain have withheld the Reforms. Now the Indian public opinion, in fact the world public opinion, was roused. An announcement was made in the House of Commons in 1917; it was declared that full responsible government was to be the goal for India, but the measure and pace of its progressive realization were to be determined by the British Parliament. When this declaration was made it was received with mixed feelings. Even those who subsequently worked the Reforms were not enthusiastic about it. Sir Surendranath Banerjee, who later accepted the ministership, I quite remember, observed and repeated his favourite phrase, "Very harmonious it is but there is a rift in the lute."

In 1918 the Montagu-Chelmsford Report was published. In 1919 the Government of India Act was passed by the British Parliament. It reproduced the Announcement of 1917 as Preamble, and added that after ten

years there will be an enquiry, whether there was to be further advance or no advance, and if a proper case were made out, what is given may even be taken away. Under this Act, new Councils were inaugurated; it instituted a system of dyarchy, some subjects were to be under Ministers and others to be under Governors-in-Council. The departments under Ministers could not possibly be efficiently administered, when the power of the purse was in other hands. Pandit Malaviya observed in the Assembly: "The Ministers were no more than wet nurses who had run dry."

DIFFICULT TIMES.

And then these were difficult times. There was the Jallianwallah Bagh massacre, Khilafat agitation and the Congress adopted non-violent non-co-operation. Thus for the first three years of the Reforms there was no representative of the Indian National Congress in the Councils. Even the franchise was not availed of to the expected extent, in certain constituencies not even one per cent. voted. But in a big country like India, some got into the Councils and filled them up, and worked in hearty co-operation with the Government. Any popular demand that ever found an echo in the Councils, was promptly rejected by the majority of "elected" members. An absolute reign of terror prevailed. There were indiscriminate arrests, various methods of oppression, which it is impossible for me to go into details. You may read the Congress reports, where full references, with chapter and verse, are given. That was the period when I had the honour of being the guest of His Majesty, and so Mahatma Gandhi and others. When some bold spirit introduced a motion in the Assembly for the release of Mahatma Gandhi, it was rejected by a majority.

NON-CO-OPERATION WITHIN LEGISLATURES AND NATIONAL DEMANDS.

Some of us thought that it was better to go into the Councils than stand outside. The Swarajya Party came into existence. It was thought that non-co-operation should be introduced into the Councils. We had to contend with two difficulties. (1) Opposition from those who had gone into the first Councils. (2) Opposition from those who still adhered to

the original programme, the no-changers. Under all these handicaps, the Swarajya Party came out in large numbers, not in majority in any Council but as the largest single party. However they went in and worked. The Swarajya Party put forward the national demands: I had the honour to do it. We said the Reforms provided for were insufficient. A round table conference should be convened, representing all interests. A Constitution should be framed and adopted by the New Assembly, and then passed by the House of Commons. Many Government Benchers approved of it but they insisted upon a trial being given to the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme.

Then Lord Birkenhead threw down his challenge. He said there was no use of a round table conference and asked: "Have you any constitution?" As conceded in Montford Report, it was not possible for the people to draw up any constitution unless they worked for some time on their own lines. We wanted a Declaration of Rights—the right of equality, the right to govern ourselves. When Lord Birkenhead repeated the challenge, we made out a Constitution in 1925, making suitable provision in favour of the Army and Indian States, but otherwise demanding full responsible government. When that is admitted, then a convention may be held to devise the details. That was in 1925. But the powers-that-be considered that much too vague. We replied that nothing better could be framed till the opinions of all classes were ascertained. The Indian Legislative Assembly and the Council of State never budged for one moment from that position, never accepted the preamble or the provision referring to the Statutory Commission. We simply cannot allow ourselves to be subjected to a periodical examination of schoolboys. The Government says: "Well, if you are good boys, we will give you something more." We are prepared to discuss, but we are not bound by this section or any other. Lord Winterton was pleased to say that more than five resolutions of the Assembly were passed requesting the Government to accelerate the date of appointing the Commission. Miss Wilkinson challenged him on the floor of the House. The so-called resolutions refer to those occasions in the Assembly when I, on behalf of the Nation, demanded a Declaration of Right, and suggested a round table conference. We wanted to carry out in practice what was conceded in principle. That was interpreted to be

a request for accelerating the date. Lord Birkenhead observed: "Wise men are not slaves of dates." My reply is "Wise men are not slaves of preambles either." We want to go into the whole question.

The Statutory Commission, appointed under the India Government Act, 1919, is bound to carry out its provisions. So long as the Act stands, its terms of reference cannot be dictated; that is a perfectly legal argument. But it should be remembered that we were not parties to it. If you accede this principle, all goes by the board.

LABOUR'S STRANGE ATTITUDE.

The wonder of wonders is that the Labour Party has approved the appointment of the Commission, Lord Winterton practically says this:

"We appoint the Commission and give an opportunity to the Assembly to appoint a Committee, we allow you to take part in a Parliamentary Joint Committee and send a deputation from India to England if you will. You have exactly what you want."

Well, but we are not children, and cannot be deceived. Lord Birkenhead is a lawyer of repute, but I also have been at the mill for 45 years. Though there is the Statutory provision for the Commission, it has no sanction of any kind, Statutory or Parliamentary. The right to make representations and send deputations is nothing new. Is it necessary to "grant" that right? Is it not the bounden duty of the Commission to hear all who want to say something? It is not the first time that Indian witnesses are expressing their views before a Parliamentary Committee. It is different altogether for a country to be represented and have effective voice.

We have decided not to accept the Commission. I am not the mischief-maker. For at the time when the cry of boycott was raised I was in England. Only yesterday, or the day before, the cloven foot was shown by the Government. Another Committee, under Sir Harcourt Butler, was appointed to investigate the relations of British India, with those of the Princes. Here is another Committee.

THE BUTLER COMMITTEE.

Can you conceive any system of Government which does not include the Indian States? Are the States to form a separate

subject of enquiry? It is impossible to conceive that, as it was made perfectly clear by the Montford Report. The Indian Princes themselves know it that when the existing Government will give place to Swarajya Government or whatever else you call it, their relations will be the same as those with the present Government. That shows the cloven foot. The truth is that there is no honest intention of giving an iota of real power. The so-called Commission will take two to three years in its investigations. These are simply meant to stave off the evil day. When the public clamour is very strong, a Commission is appointed, it takes its own time to investigate and report, many things may take place by then and then the public attention is diverted to something else. We believe that the Simon Commission is calculated to keep 320 millions of people in perpetual bondage.

Miss Mayo's *Mother India*.

Now, in passing, I refer to another matter. I ask you to consider, as reasonable men and women, why should an American woman take into her head at the psychological moment, of writing such a book, just when a powerful nation, who held another in its grip, showed some signs of relenting? Why did she want to snatch the cup from the lip? Miss Mayo, be it remembered, was the author of "Isles of Fear." When something was about to be done by the United States for the Philippines, she wrote that book and spoiled the whole thing. Now it is the turn of India. Here is a woman to whom such a task comes quite congenial. She repudiates that she was not subsidised by the Government. We all know that there are more powerful interests than the Government, which can and do subsidise people; those are the interests of British Capitalism and Imperialism—in whose hands even the Government is a mere tool. It is the same spirit and what is the reason? It is written with the professed object of keeping India in bondage. Full of abuses, the book ends with a chapter ridiculing the demand for Self-Government. It is full of references from Government Reports and other sources. A whole secretariat working for a year will not be able to find so many extracts, but this lady finished the job, with the help of two secretaries in few months. She adopted the

meanest of all mean tricks. She gives dreadful stories, e.g., those of evils of child marriages, founded on Abbé Dubois who wrote 125 years ago. Who was this Abbé Dubois? He was a refugee of the French Revolution; who sought refuge in India at a time when others of his kidney were being guillotined in France. He wrote it under the auspices of East India Company when charges were being made in England against its servants who naturally wanted a seemingly disinterested person to defend their case. And then she gives no other authorities, except unnamed persons. In the concluding chapter, she says: "These are the living things of India to-day." She cites opinions of leading medical women of India, and mentions fourteen cases of thirtysix years ago of barbarous treatment of child-wives by husbands. I do not know if any of those here present are interested in criminology. One can find more cases in London alone in one year. Even husbands have been and are criminal. Then she quotes some Indian reformers, whose business is always to impress the people and they are naturally expected to overstate their case. She cites Gandhi, Tagore and others. She was in Delhi when the session was in full swing. A member of the Assembly she quotes was accused in the Assembly of reading a speech, prepared by the Government whip. She did not honour me for an expression of views, though I have been chosen as the leader of the strongest Party in the Assembly. I had never the honour of any intimation from her. In the Punjab, we now know it, she met people through the C. I. D. Then there is the repudiation of Mr. Gandhi. There is not one man I have met, not one man who has challenged his honesty, integrity, or even the sanctity of his person. He wrote an article the "Drains Inspector's Report." That is how he styles it. There are numerous other incidents. I could take many hours over it. Then she refers to the attempt made by the Government to raise the age of consent. It is the barest falsehood. The Government propose that the age of consent be raised within the marriage tie from twelve to thirteen, outside to fourteen. The elected members proposed that it should be raised within the marriage tie to fourteen and outside to sixteen. The motion of the elected members was carried; but at the motion of Sir Alexander

Muddiman, it was not pressed at the third reading. But what do I find in the House of Commons, to which I have been a frequent visitor? If I shut my eyes, I find each member talking as if Miss Mayo were talking one after another. The so-called evils are fast disappearing. We do claim to have removed them, fifty per cent. in all, and 100 per cent. in selected communities. For instance in my community, we are all in all about 10,000 the class of Brahmans to which I belong, there is not a single child marriage. The untouchability question is stronger in the South than in the North. I have four untouchables in my house, many Assembly members even from the South, have untouchable servants. Many social reformers and institutions are doing splendid work which has not been hinted at all.

A SIGNIFICANT COINCIDENCE.

The appearance of this book and the appointment of the Commission is a significant coincidence. The Commission is simply an eye-wash. I attribute no motives to its members, especially to Sir John Simon. I have asked him privately and publicly: what is it he wants to know? Illiteracy, child-marriage and other evils are there. What has it to do with the desire for self-government? We had long talks, perhaps more are to come. So far as the Indian Political Parties representing 320 millions of people are concerned, it is foredoomed to failure. Of course it will be easy enough to find 200 to 500 persons to surround these Commissioners.

Now the question is: Does India deserve any advance? I for one hold that no governing nation ever gives a gift of self-government to another. It is against human nature. It is not reasonable why one country should wake up one fine morning and say:—"These poor people we have governed so long, now let them have their liberty." There is one condition, however, when an alien government may concede, what is the birth-right of all, self-government. And that is when it is convinced that it is better to do so for its own interests. Those who think that the interests of India and England differ, are utterly blind. There are many conferences being held about the danger of war. I maintain that there is one cause of war, and that is the subjection

and exploitation of India and China. Make them independent and then what will the European countries fight for? What will Geneva conferences do? Sir Austen Chamberlain talks of "our great responsibility" of keeping India. Well then India instead of being a millstone round your neck, it will be a help to you. The Government is always dreading some danger in India, even in peaceful times, quite apart from communal riots. It is trying to maintain an army for internal disorder and for battle-fields too. It is not easy even for the mighty British Empire to do so.

EXPLOITATION THE CAUSE OF WARS.

Those who stand for peace, it is up to them to do away with this exploitation. It is not this or that Party. It is always Fleet Street or Leadenhall Street, these are the masters. When I was a child, we were told that Conservatives were no good; let them go and Liberals step in and then there was hope for India. Then Liberals came in and we were sorely disappointed. Then we pinned our faith to the Labour Government. The first thing they did was the Bengal Ordinance. Even now our best men are sitting in the jail even without knowing what they are charged for. Recently they passed a Resolution at Blackpool for Indian self-determination. And now, quite comfortably and without compunction, they helped the Commission. The latest is that Mr. MacDonald wants thanks for what he has done; and quite the latest of Mr. Macdonald is: "I am not going to receive instructions from India." Once the principle of self-determination is conceded, it cannot be called "receiving instructions." If he maintains that he is not prepared to take instructions from us, our reply is that neither are we prepared to take instructions from him. We are told to co-operate with a Commission wide awake.

A CALL FOR BOYCOTT.

If the result be not satisfactory, it surely will do no harm. But I should prefer forced slavery than be a party to forging the chains to bind us. In this Commission there is nothing but a machine to forge the chains. Personally I am in favour of its boycott and I am glad that all Parties have done so. It is

for the Congress and not for me to frame the Constitution. Then we declare: Here is the Constitution, either accept it or else you go your way, and we go ours. I do not abhor violence, nor does my heart fail within me when I have to see it. But we cannot do it. I believe in non-violence as a matter of necessity. A large number of people in India are bound to the creed of non-violence on principle. The other day, persuasive arguments were used so that I may become a Communist. I however consider it a great mistake to apply these terms to Indian conditions. We have to act according to our own circumstances, and in a way that suits the genius of our people. I cannot bodily import these things

into India. I merely do not believe or disbelieve in Communism. I have been in Moscow, a good many things impressed me deeply; I am not prepared to say that their methods are correct. Theirs is an experiment, first and gigantic but merely an experiment. I do not know if any counter-revolution will rise before the last revolution has attained its object. My business is that of a student and observer. If anything can appeal to my people, and they desire to adopt it, I shall certainly side with the people, without any hesitation whatsoever, even though it be high treason; so long as it is not dirty, whether it answers the description of loyalty or not, it does not matter.

THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY'S VERDICT ON THE SIMON COMMISSION.

By MR. JOSEPH BAPTISTA, *Bar-at-Law*.
(*Ex-Member, Indian Legislative Assembly*).

I have retired from politics. But it would be criminal neglect of a citizen's duty to play the sphinx at this critical moment. I wonder whether British statesmen will realize the significance of the Assembly's verdict on the Statutory Commission. Sir John Simon dismisses the majority of six very light-heartedly. But it is really more significant than the non-official vote at the passage of the Rowlett Act. India is about to embark upon a new national movement without the restraining doctrine of *Ahimsa* or non-violence, espoused and enforced by the unparalleled leadership and personal influence of Mahatma Gandhi. The psychology of mass movements is indeterminate. No politician can foresee the career and culmination of the nascent movement. But there is no doubt that things will worsen every month, and the British Raj may find itself perched on a volcano exploding violently and as unexpectedly as the French Revolution—a catastrophe that is bound to be disastrous to all concerned.

The most pressing problem before British

statesmen now is how to arrest the coming movement, and divert it into peaceful and profitable channels. The first thing to remember is that a good number of the recognised leaders of the people no longer put trust in the word of honour of British statesmen. This is the most deplorable feature of the situation. Every effort should be made to recover the lost faith. One way is to consult those who have in the past borne the heat and burden of the day and to give due weight to their advice. It is futile to denounce those who differ from the Executive as malcontents, seditious, irreconcilables and revolutionaries. Nationalism is always latent in a race. It is no longer latent in India. Western contact and Western literature and Western struggle for liberty, equality and fraternity have stimulated the growth of nationalism and patriotism into a factor that must now be reckoned with.

PRINCIPLE OF SELF-DETERMINATION.

Things endured in the past have ceased to be endurable. Take the preamble of the

Government of India Act. Parliament claims the right to determine the time and manner of each advance towards the progressive realisation of responsible government in British India as an integral part of the British Commonwealth of Nations. This claim is not sanctioned by the Law of God or the Laws of Nations. Ultimately it is founded on force and enforced by British bayonets on an emasculated people deprived of arms and martial training. It ignores the principle of self-determination vociferously proclaimed during the Great War and conceded to the defeated enemies. This attitude of British statesmen has become painful and humiliating to Indian patriots, and the pain and humiliation is aggravated by the conviction of their utter impotence for a physical combat. No wonder, Mahatma Gandhi pitted soul force against brute. Both statesmanship and righteousness demand that a resolute effort should be made to eliminate the removeable factors of discord and discontent. It serves no useful purpose to declare in season and out of season that Great Britain cannot be intimidated into concession of reforms by threats and violence. Having regard to these circumstances it seems to me that Sir John Simon's famous letters to the Viceroy and to Sir Sankaran Nair, embodying his proposals, were very ill-conceived in parts. It confused, more than clarified, the situation.

SIR JOHN SIMON ON THE COMMISSION.

The Commission is essentially a Royal Commission. The names of the Commissioners were submitted by the Secretary of State for India with the concurrence of both Houses of Parliament simply because a British Statute made this obligatory. But once approved by His Majesty the Commission becomes the instrument of the King-Emperor absolutely independent of the British Cabinet or British Parliament. It was therefore improper for the Chairman to analyse its own composition and describe it as "truly representative of all parties in Parliament." The Commission is or should be above all parties. The members cease or ought to cease to be representative of their respective parties. It has nothing to do with the blunder of the British Cabinet in not recommending Indians for the constitution of the Commission. It has nothing to do with what

has to be done after it has reported—nothing with the subsequent Joint Parliamentary Committee or delegations to England to discuss the recommendations with the Joint Parliamentary Committee. But in alluding to these matters Sir John Simon created the impression that he was defending the action of the Cabinet. Thereby he belittled the grievances of the very men whose co-operation he solicited. It was alleged that Indians would be biased and would not get rid of their preconceived self-interested notions. Yet Sir John Simon spoke of "seven" to be elected by the non-officials of the Assembly and the Council of State as constituting "the Indian Side" of the Joint Free Conference. Evidently the Joint Free Conference would consist of two sides—the British side and the Indian side—predicating a tug-of-war between the two sides. What a lamentable misconception of the duty imposed, and the trust reposed upon the Commission by His Majesty the King-Emperor! And with this conception of their duty and trust, to reserve the right of taking evidence *in camera*, is the last thing any self-respecting member of the Legislative Assembly could accept, especially if it is to be forced upon India by the Indian Executive. And this is exactly what the Executive strive to do. Sir John Simon simply suggested to the Viceroy to invite the Assembly and the Council of State to elect seven members representative of all parties from among the non-officials to constitute the Indian side of the Joint Free Conference. The Viceroy ought to have invited the non-officials, preferably the elective element to elect seven and left it entirely to them to accept or reject the invitation. But the Executive went further, and made it the occasion of a battle royal between the Government and the representatives of the electors in the Assembly. *Cui bono?* The Government whips must now be weeping over their incapacity to fathom the feeling of the Assembly. The Moslem majority and the Hindu solidarity must be regarded as a staggering blow to the prestige of the Government.

DRAFTING OF THE CONSTITUTION.

The Congress is drafting a constitution. Mrs. Besant has drafted one already. If it were not for the lost faith and prevailing

distrust I have not the slightest doubt that, despite the injustice and indignity of excluding Indians from the Commission on terms of perfect equality, there are many who would suffer indignity and insult to serve their motherland with all their ability and earnestness, and who would have placed instructive proposals supported with facts and arguments, although it seems superfluous after the inquiry by the late Mr. Montagu and the Muddiman Committee.

There is one point I have not discussed—the Commission is to inquire and report upon the matters specified in Section 84-A, of the Government of India Act of 1919. The Com-

mission must say what reforms are desirable with the objective of responsible government in British India as an integral part of the Empire. The inquiry must extend to Great Britain to ascertain what they have to say about the transfer of political power from Great Britain to India. We shall then know exactly what the British people think and where India stands. I cannot see why the Civil Servants or Military Servants of Government should have any voice by way of evidence upon this aspect of the question. Their evidence would be legitimate so far as "the working of the system of Government" is concerned.

LORD BIRKENHEAD'S LATEST DECLARATIONS ON INDIA.

By MR. M. A. JINNAH, M.L.A.
(*Leader of the Independent Party*).

Many precedents are there of arbitrary pronouncements made by Secretaries of State for India; but Lord Birkenhead's speech stands unique in its insolence and shortsightedness. The Commission, which has been inaugurated, comes to India in the guise of benefactors, just as their forbears came many years ago in that commercial guise which, to quote Lord Birkenhead's proud boast, "has frequently in history been the earliest approach to future dominion." The meanest psychologist could tell you, however, that that which has been gained in commercial guise may not indefinitely be retained by political guile, and since his lordship seems to entertain an historical frame of mind, I would refer him to a land of his own clime, whose shores are laved by the waters of the same seas, which through the pursuance of just such an attitude of mind, as was evinced in the Lords' debate, was lost to their country by the purblind policy of jaundiced politicians, and further he may recollect that this very same policy is culminated

in the imprisoning of those very men, whom the Cabinet later on were to invite to London to settle the terms of peace.

Ever since the Commission heralded by the Viceroy's statement was announced, we have been accorded a series of distorted arguments interspersed by fulmination and cajolery. The Premier in his speech prophesied an era of darkness for India should she be so ill-advised as to resist the decision of Parliament, and then we were asked to suspend judgment until the full exposition of the case by the Secretary of State for India in the House of Lords. A breathless wait followed. The climax, however, has proved as disappointing a hoax as was the rest. But neither by the menace of their threats nor by the blandishment of their honeyed words can they lure us into any concurrence. All kinds of iniquitous indictments have been made against India, and imputations cast to discredit her leaders and statesmen, and all this in order to defend the exclusion of Indians from the Commission. Neverthe-

less, when it came to securing representation for six hundred and odd members of Parliament so as to placate the various parties extant Lord Birkenhead had to collect two peers, a brace of Tories and a couple of Labourites from the Commons and a Liberal in the person of Sir John Simon as an adjunct to temper the fine balance. And yet we are blandly told that the greatest difficulty to the inclusion of Indians arose out of the numerous parties and various minorities whose interest it was their sacred duty to safeguard, and that in order to secure them an adequate representation the increment would be such, as would make the Commission unwieldy!

TENDER SOLICITUDE FOR DEPRESSED CLASSES.

Lord Birkenhead's tender solicitude for the depressed classes is most touching. How heavily the calls and duties of office must rest on his sentient conscience, he alone must know. But we who have read his stirring plea on behalf of the untouchables of India also know that when it suits them, Government are able to find an Indian fully to represent the vast territories and multitude of peoples of India. For instance when the delegate is annually selected to represent India on the League of Nations, the untouchables are neither consulted nor considered. No more are their preferences ascertained regarding the Imperial Conferences which recur so regularly. On such occasions Lord Birkenhead's outraged sensibilities are inarticulate, as the proverbially dumb millions and apparently it has never so far occurred to him to invite a member of that class, "the real India" as he terms it, to represent their country. His lordship has gone into hysterics over the tragic lot of the depressed classes, but the process of reasoning by which he seeks to help the untouchables through the entire exclusion of Indians is beyond comprehension. Besides, when the committee of the Central Legislature, to which this scheme subscribes, is to be formed, I should like to know by what manner of means this self-appointed champion of the depressed classes proposes to secure their representation. For surely even a Secretary of State should know that the high standard of the prevailing franchise in India debars them from any voice in the Central Legislature.

A HOPELESSLY WEAK CASE.

Having thus exhausted one plea in disparagement of the inclusion of Indians in the Commission, his lordship shifts his ground and proceeds to picture for us the confusion that would result, were such a suggestion accepted. "Imagine Parliament being assisted by a disclosure of dissenting views of this kind," says he. I fear his lordship's imagination is altogether too spirited to be wholesome, though it may sound plausible in the ears of the British public for whose consumption it was doubtless intended. To impute that there is such a museum of communities and interests in India that it would be impossible to find a few representative Indians whose views would not be so diverse as to preclude them from arriving at a common decision, is grotesque. Besides, does his lordship apprehend that this conflict which he seeks to avoid at the initial and formative stage—if his contention be correct—must arise at a later stage when the committee from India are to sit *vis-a-vis* the Joint Parliamentary Committee? That even a lawyer of Lord Birkenhead's established reputation should be so hard put to it that he has perforce to apply such futile, decrepit arguments to sustain his position only helps to reveal the downright weakness of his case.

"UNBIASSED JUDGMENT."

We are told that a Commission consisting of men of such high calibre as have been certified by Lord Birkenhead will command the confidence of all sections of the British Parliament (whether it is likely to command the confidence of any section of the Indian public does not evidently concern him) that their impartiality and ability is beyond doubt; that they will judge and report according to standards known to Parliament, and that the report which they will submit will be such as "Parliament will be in a position to understand." Does Lord Birkenhead seriously wish to convey that Parliament would be incapable of appreciating a report from any other source but that of its own members? And finally we are told that their recommendations will be regarded by Parliament as instinctively its own. Nevertheless, it has been suggested that a committee of the Central Legislature, when they meet the Joint Parliamentary Committee, will have the opportunity

of "developing any criticism and objections they may feel to the report" and that thereby they are likely to over-ride and substantially modify the recommendations of such a commission. If perchance the function assigned to the Indian committee succeeds, then Parliament would indeed have acted against its own instincts, for it would have abrogated recommendations, which according to Lord Irwin, "it must recognise as 'instinctively its own.'" Moreover, it has been declared by the Viceroy and the Secretary of State and further affirmed by the Premier and Lord Reading that Indians would be incapable of pronouncing an unbiased judgment in the framing of a constitution for their own country, as they would be carried away by *a priori* reasoning, and the ex-Viceroy, drawing from his past experience, further averred that it would be difficult to find an Indian who "had not already committed himself to some definite views, whereas "the selection made is of gentlemen who have had no special experience of India." Of course, I admit that it would be a task amounting almost to the inconceivable to find an eligible Indian of such rare qualifications and never, certainly, would it be possible to unearth one quite so suitably equipped from among the members of the Legislatures, albeit such considerations did not prevent Michael Collins along with Arthur Griffiths and others from being invited to settle in conjunction with the members of the British Cabinet the constitution of what is today known as the Irish Free State. And not even Lord Reading can claim for them those rare attributes, on the absence of which he founds his justification for denying Indian participation in the framing of a constitution for their Motherland.

'A DANGEROUS PRECEDENT.'

Lord Birkenhead's inferences are so closely allied to his preferences, that even while speaking as a constitutional lawyer he has no doubt whatever that the framers of the original Act, when they spoke of a Commission, contemplated a parliamentary commission. Surely, Lord Birkenhead has not forgotten that elementary canon of construction that a statute is governed by its words and its words alone, and though it is admitted that "they did not so state in the terms," Lord Birkenhead

drawing upon that imagination of his, to which I have already referred above, maintains that "they did not so state it, because they thought it so obvious." Apart from its illegality this is a dangerous precedent to create. If in future statutory Acts are to be interpreted not according to the sense of the words therein, but by vague surmises as to what was presumably in the minds of its authors, it would be importing a possibility such as would permit of every existing statute in the realm being travestied. And as a constitutional lawyer, Lord Birkenhead should be the first to realise the folly of taking his stand on such premises.

REAL REASON FOR EXCLUSION OF INDIANS.

Having unarmed us, we are asked whether we should like the British army to be withdrawn. Having debarr'd us from any part in the navy we are asked whether we would like the protection of the navy to be withdrawn. Having after a struggle of fifty years allowed us a third share in the civil service, we are asked whether we should like the civil servants to be withdrawn. As Lord Birkenhead is so anxious to know our desires, we may mention that we would like the Secretary of State and the India Office disbanded and it would be highly appreciated, were the irremovable executive to be withdrawn and replaced by elected representatives responsible to the Legislatures. The absurdity of such an argument confounds itself. Lord Birkenhead has fitfully forgotten having penned the foreword to it, that the Sandhurst Committee's report dated the 4th November, 1926, remained on the shelf until end of March, 1928. Our difficulty is not that we want to retain them, but how to remove them, even gradually. (I take this opportunity to express my gratitude for the recent generous announcement *re* the Indian navy, whereby a vacancy had been allotted to *one* Indian boy). We want to Indianise our services and we want to know whether instead of the main question, which on his own admission he seems to have made a habit of putting to all those Indians "who are at all critical of their (the Government's) attitude," he asked them if they wished for rapid Indianisation. But we are not taken into his lordship's confidence with regard to this matter. The real reason why Indians are excluded and this parliamentary Commission is decided

upon is to be gleaned from those few sentences of a long speech answering the question as to what guarantee there is that these seven men will be unanimous. Lord Birkenhead proceeds thus: "There may not be a unanimous report now, but at any rate we shall have a report which proceeds upon the same general point of view and principle." This jury, advisors or rapporteurs as they have been described at different times as it suited the occasion or the person, have at least a general point of view and principle notwithstanding their "admitted integrity and independence."

It is a pity that the Secretary of State for India did not further dilate upon what was that general point of view and principle of these gentlemen, which have been such a determining factor in the decision of His Majesty's Government. But the British newspapers have fully explained the inwardness and true meaning of it. It is that they have to see that British domination is maintained and continued. I wonder whether this will come or fall within the formula of a *priori* reasoning or coloured judgment. But it is certainly a task for 'God's Englishmen.'

SOME CANDID COMMENTS ON THE SIMON COMMISSION.*

By COLONEL JOSIAH WEDGWOOD, M.P.

This Commission business is, I fear, a good deal worse than even you expected. I am such an incorrigible optimist that I always expect my countrymen to do the right thing; it seems impossible that Birkenhead and Co. can be moderate, decent and sensible in private and so deadly and stupid in public. What response did they expect from Indians who have, for eight years, hoped so much from a Commission? The bitter disappointment seems to me to make reconciliation impossible in our life-time. Never shall you and I sit together trying to shape the frame-work for the new commonwealth and to bring peace and friendship between two free peoples. For it is not one Party in England that has done this thing; it is all Parties; and our work has all to begin again, from a basis of complete distrust.

One must just shrug one's shoulders and go on with the work of education,—you to teach the Hindus to make themselves respected, and I to teach the virtues of trust and liberty. The prospect is a little grim by contrast with what we hoped, but history is full of prece-

dents. I remember that during the South African war a Boer rode in off commando to see his family in Kirmela, only to find the town destroyed and his family deported. "Het is nook nix" he said as he gazed round at the empty houses staring roofless to the sky. "A little thing like this doesn't matter," and he turned his horse and rode back to the commando.

I am assuming that the Commission will be boycotted, that the Assembly will refuse to vote the money, and that the various Councils, wherever possible, will refuse to set up the consultative committees. That is probably the best thing, for we shall never get on unless you are respected. Petitioning for little scraps of liberty is a dirty business and there has been too much of it. You lose your self-respect, and you only get despised. I was always against non-co-operation as you know, and I am so still. Take what share in governing India you can; use every power and every opportunity offered by the Government of India Act. That is not "crawling" but worth-while fighting, and, incidentally, may help to wipe out some of those curses of "Mother India." But this Commission does

*A letter addressed to Lala Lajpat Rai, M.L.A.

not require your help. There is no need to stand in the witness box and be cross-examined by persons of no great importance who have not before shown any interest in your views or feelings. They can easily get the case up from the evidence and reports laid before the Muddiman Committee. Officials can supply all the facts, and are likely to do with more impartiality, not less, if the victims are dumb. Or, if they like, they can read the newspapers. "Open, (or empty) minds" can easily get food, and they as easily forget it.

In the Punjab I presume that the Mussalmans and Sikhs will not boycott and that the consultative committee will be set up without you. I can imagine that the prospect fills some of your friends with terror,—Hindus and the Arya Samaj will be maligned, traduced, betrayed, and all the rest of it. They make me tired,—and what does it matter? All the seven Commissioners are very decent English gentlemen. The blackguarding of one Indian by another is likely to have the effect of turning them against the blackguarder, nor was Sir John Simon born yesterday. If you gave evidence, your 'anti-Mohammedan bias' would have been long before whispered into their ears; and when Sir Mohammad Shafi gives evidence his 'anti-Hindu bias' will be whispered just the same. It is what the officials say that will matter; and even that will not matter much.

For you must be conscious that this is an Advisory and by no means an Executive Commission; and the advice has to percolate through so many sieves before some far distant Parliament is shown a draft Bill on India.

First the Government of India; then the India Office here; then a Joint Committee of Lords and Commons, overwhelmingly Tory; then a future Cabinet; then a future Parliament—by that time what has to be in the Bill will certainly not depend on evidence given by you or anybody in 1928. I cannot see a Labour Government finding time to press through a Bill that India does not want; that they should find in the report a good reason for avoiding the thorny subject altogether is much more likely. You are not so accustomed to Royal Commissions in India as we are in this country; they are known here as a convenient way of shelving inconvenient questions indefinitely.

I have been asked what Sir John Simon's views are on Communal Representation. I do not know, but you may do him the justice to believe that no evidence by interested parties will have any effect upon his intelligence. I have heard him speak eloquently for Proportional Representation, but only because it gave all points of view fair representation;—and in any case constituencies in India are too large already. It is said here, I know not with what justice, that the Viceroy is not enthusiastic about this Commission and, indeed, I cannot imagine anyone who wanted to make the two races freindly, being implicated. Anyway, my dear friend, you and yours may be sure that many here still understand you, still sympathise to the full in your disappointment, still share your views and hopes, and still have the courage necessary to put the cause before political career. We confidently expect the the same courage in you.

THE SEVEN "GOD'S ENGLISHMEN" ON THE SIMON COMMISSION: LABOUR AND INDIA'S RIGHTS.

By MR. H. N. BRAILSFORD.

God's Seven Englishmen have been appointed. They will draft a constitution for India, and nothing that any of us, who are merely secular and uninspired Englishmen, may say or think can now affect the course of destiny. I confess that my first impulse on reading Mr. Baldwin's quotation from Milton was to laugh at its arrogance. The Puritans had the sincere belief that they were tools in the hands of a Creator, who continued to intervene in the daily course of history; it made for modesty and a grave seriousness. I doubt whether Lord Birkenhead and Lord Winterton have this belief: they lack the humility that should go with it. But on second thoughts I came to understand why Mr. Baldwin had referred to the hand of Providence in the choice of this Commission. Rarely has our destiny seemed to work so visibly and with a grip so imperious. The events of last week have settled the relations of our country with India for years to come. We have clothed ourselves, deliberately, consciously, in the eyes of the Indian people, in our rights as conquerors. We have done it, moreover, as a unanimous nation. The Labour party, under Mr. MacDonald's guidance, has taken its stand against the Indian people as an Imperialist party, and the consequences of its action will pursue us. This is destiny, but destiny, as usual, is character.

THE MINORITY VIEW.

This is a hard saying. I am one of a small minority within the party, and I realize that this is an opinion which I must justify by quiet argument. I will state the case of the majority as fairly as I can. The point at issue seems at first sight a small one of procedure: Should the Commission which is to report to Parliament on the Indian constitution be a purely Parliamentary Commission? Lord Birkenhead and Mr. MacDonald, after consultation, agreed that it should be drawn solely from the two Houses

of the British Parliament, and should include no Indian members. (Note, by the way, that a Parliamentary Commission might still have included Indians. Lord Sinha, who would have been a good choice, is a peer, and it would have been easy to satisfy formalities by raising two other Indians to the same rank.) There were two reasons for this decision on which the chief speakers have dwelt in almost identical words:

(1) It is said that Parliament cannot divest itself of its responsibility for determining India's future. Therefore, it is argued, the Commission which advises it and reports to it must be composed of its own members.

(2) It is argued that Indian opinion is so sharply divided, and includes minority views so numerous and distinct, that if Indians were to be fairly represented on the Commission it would have to be of an unwieldy size, and would never reach a unanimous report.

This, then, was the British view, the view of Government and Opposition alike. Labour spokesmen have complained that the Government reached it without consulting Indian opinion. I think the Labour party stands exposed to the same criticism. I will deal later with the mitigations of this decision which the Government itself offered, and with the compromise which the Labour party afterwards proposed.

The arguments advanced for this decision are, it seems to me, more important than the decision itself. They define the Imperialist attitude. The first argument cloaks a confusion of thought which an alert Opposition should have exposed. It is rightly said that Parliament cannot divest itself of its ultimate responsibility. But does it follow that the Commission which advises it must be exclusively or even mainly Parliamentary and British? The principle invoked is a commonplace which no one can dispute. Even if we were to recognize India's absolute independence, and to sanction her quitting the Empire, the decision must formally

and constitutionally be taken by Parliament. For that matter, if India were conquered by an enemy after a disastrous war, only Parliament could cede the territory. Or, again, if we decided to bow voluntarily to India's wish, and to let her go and arrange her future as she pleased, once more Parliament would have to make and record the decision. There is no controversial issue here.

NO RIGHT TO DICTATE.

What is controversial is a moral, not a formal matter. How far does India's will (if she has a general will) count with us, and with Parliament, in deciding her future? In plain words, do we recognize for India any right of self-determination? That issue, it seems to me, we have evaded, by confusing it with the formal and legal responsibility of Parliament. Let us at least strive to think clearly about this all-important issue of self-determination. Personally, I think the doctrine has often been stated very rashly, alike by President Wilson, by the Russians, and by our own and other Socialist parties. No nation can have an absolute right to take decisions without regard to the common good of the whole human family, or even without regard to the interests of another nation, or Empire, with which it has been associated. But equally no Empire has the right to dictate. But it was exactly this right to dictate which Lord Birkenhead claimed, when he described us as the trustee who must decide how far his ward is to be trusted with any measure of self-government. The Socialist answer should have rung out, sharp and clear, to that challenge. We are not disinterested trustees. We took India for purposes of trade. The most imperious considerations of power, prestige and material interest influence us to retain it and to prolong our direct rule. When we claim to be God's Englishmen, we assume that we are superior to these motives of self-interest. No 'jury' (as Lord Birkenhead called it) of average Englishmen can judge this matter impartially. That is the basis of the case for giving at least equal status and weight to an Indian report which embodies India's will.

We may dismiss briefly the argument that the formal, or even the moral, responsibility of Parliament forbade an extra-Parliamentary Commission. Parliament is always responsible. Does that preclude it from calling in extra-

Parliamentary advice? It is responsible for the British coal-mines. But it did not lessen its own ultimate responsibility when it appointed the Samuel Commission (which included no members of Parliament) to report to it. Its responsibility will come into play when it has to pass a new Government of India Act. It can keep that responsibility intact whomever it may invite to advise it or report to it. Here again the Opposition succumbed to a confusion.

PERPETUATING DIVISION.

The second of the two decisive arguments, which Mr. MacDonald developed with as much unctious as Lord Birkenhead, is no less Imperialistic. Certainly there are divisions in India. Whether in this connection they are so numerous and important as the two leaders urged is another matter. I should have thought that from one reasonable Hindu, one moderate Muslim, and one Indian sympathetic to the workers and the depressed classes a fair representation could have been obtained. By stressing these divisions we encourage and perpetuate them. While we stand inviting every minority to come to us with its case against the majority, we delay and frustrate the formation of a nation. That, if we desire to prolong our own direct rule, is the obvious strategy. Consciously or unconsciously, Mr. MacDonald, like Lord Birkenhead, by treating these divisions as the central fact of the Indian situation, was helping those who would 'divide to conquer.' Our duty, as Socialists, is rather to discover the common Indian view, and to plead with our countrymen to face it and respect it, even when it is opposed to our own cruder interests and our racial pride.

Under the influence of these two arguments, both governing parties rejected the idea of appointing a Commission composed jointly of Englishmen and Indians. The Government has, however, devised a machinery by which Indians may present their own draft of a constitution to the Commission, and afterwards, before a Parliamentary committee at Westminster, criticize the Commission's report. It is easy to understand why Indians rejected this plan. The 'jury' remains exclusively English. Indians may give evidence; they may offer suggestions and criticisms. But the report—the only report which will go to Parliament—will be an English report. The draft of a constitution, and the

only draft which will be laid officially before Parliament, will be an English draft. Mr. Baldwin begged Indians to believe that this procedure places them in no position of 'inferiority.' There Mr. Baldwin deceived himself. If only one report, and that the report of God's Seven Englishmen, goes to Parliament, it is dishonest to profess that India has equal rights.

THE BRITISH 'JURY.'

The Labour party knew and saw this clearly. It devised a compromise which in this one vital matter differed from the Government's proposals. The essential point in this compromise was the provision 'that the report of *both* Commissions (i.e., the British and the Indian) should in due course be presented to the joint committee of the two Houses of Parliament.' On this condition the party was prepared to support the Government and to permit Messrs. Walsh and Attlee to serve. Mr. MacDonald did, indeed, in rather tepid language, put forward this proposal, not as a condition, but as a suggestion. He knew before he spoke that it has been rejected. For on the previous day Lord Birkenhead had said: "We must take no step which would lead to the risk that we should have two reports proceeding from two Commissions."

The Labour party made no attempt to use its powerful strategical position to insist on this vital condition. Stripped of this condition, the Government's proposals leave the British 'jury' supreme. India is not even so far an equal that she may present to Parliament a constitution which Parliament might amend or reject. Not a vestige of self-determination do we recognize.

In this matter of immense moment, the Labour party, it seems to me, under Mr. MacDonald's guidance, has become the complacent partner with the Tory party in a policy of imperialism; it has betrayed its Socialist principles and forfeited its claim to the confidence of the Indian people. We have accepted solidarity, in the face of passionate protests from India, with Capitalist parties. We shall be bound, under the conventions of continuity which we have recognized, by this report of the English 'jury,' and our task in office will be to impose it on a nation which has neither shared framing it nor enjoyed the right to present its alternative at Westminster. Our prospects of guiding India to a friendly and peaceful solution are immeasurably less because we have acted in this unworthy manner. Not India only, but all Asia, will see in us, and justly see, a party committed to Imperialism.

THE STATUTORY COMMISSION ON INDIAN REFORMS.

By MR. BERNARD HOUGHTON, I.C.S. (*Retired*).

So far as words go, the present crisis in India results directly from that phrase in the India Act of 1919, "the time and manner of each advance can be determined only by Parliament." The intent of the whole preamble, (drafted, it is said, by the late Lord Curzon) is indeed quite definite. If it is accepted, there is an end to all equality of Indians, to their settling on equal terms the provisions of the new Constitution or of any other Constitution until that dim, distant and ever-receding day when India shall have "responsible govern-

ment." If it is accepted, Indians have no claim to sit on the Royal Commission. Parliament being the judge, the Commission is quite naturally composed of members of that body.

But does India accept this preamble? Hitherto, deceived by the cloud of pious platitudes which form the stock-in-trade of British statesmen, Indians have believed that the latter would be better than their word. In spite of the sinister wording of this preamble they hoped that the professions of high ideals so often repeated would be translated into deeds. Alas!

for any such dream! Indians now find these sounding phrases to be but the sugared coating of the pill, and the pill is very bitter.

A little consideration will make clear the vanity of these hopes. The essence of Imperialism, it cannot too often be repeated, is domination by finance capital. At the present day finance capital is before everything concerned in finding fields for investment abroad under the aegis of its own Government. Then only does it obtain the privileged position essential for monopolies and high profits. Already in 1919 that was the key to world politics, but it is even truer now than then. What was the position in 1919? Germany was in the dust, her colonies at the mercy of Britain (which promptly absorbed them), whilst America was not considered a serious rival. In the interval much water has flowed down the Thames. The United States, with startling suddenness, have stepped forward not only as the premier Power of the world but as an imperialist Power. With a gigantic army and fleet it has begun to export capital in large quantities and to clash with "British interests." Both Germany and France are industrial rivals, and, most serious of all, many colonies and other nations, once profitable markets for British goods, have now developed factory systems of their own. Burdened with war debt, Britain has become definitely decadent.

All the more feverishly, therefore, does the British ruling class clutch in its grip the territories it already owns. Here alone it occupies a privileged position; here alone may great people yet be won in a sadly changed world. In Kenya, Egypt, (for Egypt, "independence" notwithstanding, is a vassal country), Palestine, Iraq, China and elsewhere it fights fiercely to retain its sceptre. In the struggle in China it has already spent more than three millions. To

hold Iraq upwards of three hundred millions have been poured forth. Whilst thus striving feverishly to keep control of other lands, is it reasonable, is it even sane to imagine that it will voluntarily release its hold over the millions of India, India, the very apple of the eye of the imperial system? Certain it is that the British rulers have no such intention. In spite of the display of fireworks with which the Montagu Constitution was launched, that was pretty obvious in 1919. The subsequent events have fortified ten-fold this resolve. With their backs against the wall, the great bankers and industrialists mean to contest to the last ditch every assault on their supremacy, in India or elsewhere. Every reservation, every word of caution in the preamble of 1919 is now underscored. These men sit enthroned on gold, on the golden profits flowing from the subjection of India. Under no circumstance will they voluntarily abdicate. If, however, India is united, if she is resolute and unflinching in the fight for freedom, the British ruling class, like those in other countries, may find it expedient to yield, at least in part. But it will yield on grounds of expediency only. "Better half a loaf than no bread." It yields only to pressure. Events in the past few years have given little promise that India could exert such pressure. Not only has she been distracted by insane religious quarrels, but her leaders have fawned and cringed, hoping for doles. From these follies the appointment of the all-white Commission has roused them. They begin to understand the validity behind the fine phrases of their masters. The futility of recent tactics has become manifest. Henceforth we may hope that even the Moderates will follow a more manly if a harder path—the path of the struggle for power. That way only does freedom lie.

THE INDIAN STATES COMMITTEE: A STUDY.

By "POLITICUS."

The Simon Commission has thrown into obscurity the Butler Committee, but the latter is no less important and deals with issues no less vital to the interests, progress and prosperity of the whole of India. Though the constitution of the latter body has not been subjected to such severe denunciation and vociferous vituperation as have centred round the unlucky Commission, it should not be regarded as perfect. In the first place, a committee of three does not strike one as very impressive or dignified. Larger membership would at once touch the imagination, enhance its utility by giving freer scope to a division of labour and be in conformity with the worldly notion that there is more of accumulated wisdom in half a dozen heads than in a smaller number. A second and more serious criticism that has been and can legitimately be levelled against it is its exclusion of the Indian element, as in the Simon Commission. One would have expected that a body with functions so delicate and comprehensive in nature as the Indian States Committee would consist of persons representative of the numerous interests at stake, so as particularly to minimise the chances of subsequent disagreement. Those who read even cursorily the terms of reference to the Committee have their attention arrested by the fact that the prime party concerned is the Indian states and *per se* a gentleman with first-hand experience and knowledge of states either as ruler or administrator, as Prince or minister, would have been not merely a valuable acquisition but almost an indispensable element. It may on the other hand be contended that the duty of such a body does not lie so much in collecting additional material such as would enable them to come to correct conclusions or in listening to the advocacy of members of the fraternity to obtain fresh light on the various problems that confront them, as in pronouncing opinions and tendering advice on the matter that is placed at their disposal. So far as the states are concerned they have laid all their cards on the table, and have ample confidence

in Sir Harcourt Butler, the Hon. Sydney Peel and Mr. W. S. Holdsworth. But, there is also another, and a by no means negligible, party whose interests come within the purview of this Committee, a party, too, whose right of opinion and criticism cannot be denied. It would perhaps have been more desirable had the Secretary of State chosen to nominate an eminent Indian from British India whose presence would at least lessen the risk of the findings of the Committee being at once impugned. The states themselves would have welcomed such an appointment as they are fully aware of the advantages of co-operation between British and Indian India whose interests are really common and not divergent. Such a step, however, was probably rendered impossible in the face of the exclusion of Indians from the Simon Commission in spite of persistent agitation. At all events that is a defect which, sad as it may be, is not so serious as to vitiate the findings of the three wise and learned gentlemen.

The task of Sir Harcourt Butler and his two colleagues is grave, and the field to be explored very large. Apart from the fact that the questions arising are as varied as they are unique, as urgent as they are baffling, as inconsistent as they are apparently irreconcilable, there is the additional circumstance that the material which they have to probe into is wide in range and technical in detail. The Indian states—to whose affairs the gentlemen are called upon to give their best attention—are six hundred in number; have sizes varying from over 82,000 square miles such a Hyderabad and Kashmir to a territory covered by hardly twenty square miles such as Lawa (Rajputana). Their educational condition represents extremes of regrettable backwardness and of a commendable advancement (like Travancore, for instance, which perhaps is ahead of the most literate province of British India). In point of population and revenue also there are considerable differences.

A mere mention of these facts would, however, constitute a gross understatement of

the position, which has been rendered thorny by the complexities, uncertainties and contradictions of the policy which has been pursued from time to time by the officials of the Government of India towards the various Indian states in their internal affairs and external relations. The history of the question of the sovereignty of the Indian states may be said to have assumed prominence from 1723 when the first treaty was entered into by the East India Company with an India state, *viz.*, the Treaty of Anjengo with the Raja of Travancore, which declared, amidst other things, that the Government of the Raja would be in league and united in good friendship with them. And during the two centuries that have elapsed since then a mass of political practice, precedent and theory, almost labyrinthine in intricacy and puzzling in inconsistency, has grown up in the archives of the Political department of the Government of India, the last document of importance being the famous letter by Lord Reading to His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad. The nature of the powers, privileges and responsibilities of the East India Company had itself undergone a steady change correspondingly affecting the policy governing the relations between the indigenous rulers and the foreign power-seekers. And on the interpretation of that policy itself opinions have grossly and almost grotesquely differed. The chief difficulties which beset the path of a student of this subject have been mentioned by Lord Olivier. First is the vagueness of the term Indian state, which brings under one category a fullpowered treaty-state, like Hyderabad or Gwalior, and a chief holding a fief under a grant from the paramount Power and the lord of a petty estate in Kathiawar. Though it is, as he says, impossible to find anything like common ground between the Chief of Ichalkaranji or the Nawab of Banganapalle and the Nizam of Hyderabad or the Gackwar of Baroda, the rulers are, according to popular notions and the general practice of the Political department, members of the same class and stand in very nearly the same relation to the Government of India. But the very noteworthy fact has to be borne in mind that the relationship of no one state with the Government is like that of another, though 'a broad differentiation based on similarity of historical circumstances may be traced by which it would be found that the princes and chiefs

fall into three distinct classifications—'those whose treaties entitle them to full and absolute sovereignty within their states, those who, though treaty states, enjoy criminal and civil jurisdiction and legislative powers only under supervision, and those whose rights are based on grants and *sauads*'. The second and no less insuperable difficulty is the absence of any regular sources of information. The political law of India is not governed solely by treaties or by agreements but by a complex code which is the accumulation of practice in the Political department. It is too delicate to codify and too complex to be analysed and it is difficult to characterise its nature as law, in the language of political science. Strictly, it cannot be viewed as constitutional law in the Austinian sense, nor as part of international law. Tupper, indeed, holds that the 'practice of the Political department is positive law, as it can be enforced by the paramount Power'. No Indian state with full internal autonomy, 'would accept this view or even concede the right of the Government to enforce its political practice, though on the basis of superior force the states have often to yield to the dictates of Simla.' Nor is there any show of agreement on the agency that can be spoken of as the 'paramount Power'. These are facts which, even according to the eminent ex-Secretary of State for India, make comprehensive and authoritative study, except by one who has occupied responsible positions in the Political department, absolutely impossible. If the Committee's labours will at least throw light upon such obscurity, they will not have been in vain.

II.

While the terms of reference and the personnel of the committee leave, generally speaking, not much to be desired, there is indeed one feature connected with it which must be regarded as unsatisfactory. The three members are asked to finish their task in three months. It is not difficult for one to realise the utter inadequacy of this period for the committee to grapple even with the many ordinary problems that crop up almost daily in the routine of political and administrative life. How much more insufficient, then, is it for them to tackle the momentous and contentious questions that have remained unsolved for nearly two centuries, whose complexity is but aggravated

by every passing day, and on whose correct and satisfactory solution, it can be remarked without exaggeration, depend the integrity, safety and prosperity of two empires—the British and the Indian! The public are not aware of the material that is placed before the body, or of the procedure that is to be adopted for obtaining it. It is to be hoped the committee will not be satisfied with visiting a few States like Patiala and Bikaner or holding discussions with the members of the Chamber of Princes in their individual or collective capacities. It is equally to be hoped that the members will not concentrate their attention on or confine it to the political secretariat of the Government of India. Even if they take into minute consideration all the references that have been from time to time made to that august institution, which may in turn be now passed on to them, it would seem that but a tithe of the work has been done. If, however, either over and above this, or in itself, they choose to spend some time in ransacking the old records that have been diligently preserved by the hardworking clerk, albeit the moth and the worm may not recognise that frail human being's toil as does the researcher, historian, antiquarian, politician, administrator or statesman, they will have done a lot of good. But it is of the greatest importance that Sir Harcourt Butler and his colleagues should see things for themselves, unaffected by the minutes, many or few, long or short, that may have been prepared by the Government officials for their consumption—for who dares to assert that they are not one-sided and based on the generally wrong angle of vision of the Political secretary or his worthy subordinates, whose lack of sympathy and of broadmindedness is a matter of universal knowledge to all those whose unfortunate necessity it is to be equipped with it? Whether the committee can or cannot compress into the limited span of the assigned time activities of that kind it is difficult to say. Whatever it will do or will not do, there is one point which strikes even a layman or a common-place observer as of fundamental importance. If it is the common endeavour of the various states to see that their sovereign rights should be maintained, respected and promoted, there is no gainsaying the fact that every State has for solution problems peculiar to it. In order that the fullest opportunity should be given to the States to say all that

they have to say, they must be allowed all reasonable time for the preparation of their representation and encouraged to bring forward everything they regard as a hardship, whether it is in the nature of restrictions on their legitimate development or of policies which deprive them of their just dues.

There is, indeed, one supreme reason why the committee should get into close touch with the States and obtain first-hand knowledge of existing conditions. The impression prevails that the subjects of the Indian rulers are oppressed and unhappy and that the methods of administration are arbitrary and high-handed. This impression is not merely widespread but is often given expression to with a certain amount of bitterness and in the language of hyperbole chiefly engendered by lamentable ignorance. It is therefore imperative that these questions should be thoroughly examined by the committee whose duty it is to obtain a first-hand knowledge of the political conditions prevailing therein.

Two circumstances generally make it difficult for one to get an exact notion. One is the absence in most of the states of representative institutions which are by some regarded as the only means of gauging the public weal. Whether the stormy politics, sensational outbursts and the party passions that characterize the typical Western representative institution of to-day, are an inevitable result and an evil to be tolerated, or whether they deflect too much the hand of the clock of progress to give one a correct perspective, is a question which cannot in this connection be regarded as wholly irrelevant. The second factor that clouds the issue is the absence of a written constitution for the States, from which the inference is generally drawn that every act must be inspired by the ruler, which leads to the further inference that it must be arbitrary, so much so that even the law courts cannot be independent organisations for the dispensation of justice. They are all important questions, of which an elucidation is necessary. Especially is this so in view of the fact that the law courts in the States are the highest tribunals in the land and that no appeal lies from their decision even to the Privy Council, the only competent authority to review being the ruler, whose sweet will and pleasure would be the only guiding factor. 'Give me,' said a political

writer, 'the state of the law courts and I shall give you a state of that country.' Where the administration of justice is contaminated by personal considerations and tarnished by the necessity of bending to the caprices of him who has made them, there human life and human rights cannot be said to be regarded as matters worthy of serious consideration. It is, therefore, absolutely indispensable that the committee should acquire first-hand knowledge of the varying conditions of the different States, and judge for themselves whether the sum total of circumstances being taken into account, the average subject of an Indian ruler labours under a greater load of unhappiness than his brother in British India, teeming with representative institutions and a whole structure of judicial machinery, or breathes the thought that his lot is luckily cast in a place where he is blessed with greater contentment and happiness. Incidentally, the committee may have to help the States in framing constitutions or advising about popular and representative institutions, too. The expression 'representative institution' has become a shibboleth of modern politics and cannot be of uniform connotation. The types of such assemblies vary with different times, places and temperaments of the people, and the task is the most onerous one of discovering a suitable institution for every country or State. All this is work of considerable complexity and responsibility such as requires thorough investigation, patient and skilful handling, and it would indeed be a pity if, owing to the three months' time-limit, the committee is compelled to hurry through it.

III.

If the political aspect of the Butler Committee cannot be too strongly stressed, there is a financial and economic one also which is not less important. The public are not informed what the committee proposes to look into, but in order to inform the world at large of the real conditions obtaining in the States and thereby to do justice to them and to rehabilitate their reputation the committee ought to make it their business not only to examine but to report on their moral and material condition. The States have no superfluity of wealth, do not indulge in excessive taxation—States like Gwalior dispensing with even income tax, which constitutes such a large contri-

bution in British India—and have to incur a certain degree of expense in order to make the administrations efficient and up-to-date so as to keep pace with those of the civilized world. Improved administration is, however, a question of money, and it does not seem to be more easy for any State to increase its revenue than it is for a provincial Government in British India to do so. The States cannot levy many more taxes in their territories without forcing down the standard of life in their dominions, preventing the growth of saving, encouraging emigrations to British India, which already is supporting an ample population, and generally disorganizing the economic life of their own people. They have not the benefit of possessing any seaboard or many trade centres. In some places industrial development though it is extensive, has not substantially, if at all, enriched the exchequer of the State. Public utilities like roads, railways, ports, posts and telegraphs and irrigation, have, in spite of handicaps, been developed with conspicuous success, but the achievement is but a drop in the ocean. The time is ripe for carefully reviewing the fiscal and economic relationship of the States with British India and examining whether a readjustment in connection with customs, salt, excise and opium, railways, posts and telegraphs, etc., is not possible or desirable compatibly with the interests of fairness or justice to the States. In the past they have suffered from a lack of the requisite machinery to put forward their case as well as from a faulty and inadequate knowledge of the elementary principles of economics. No attempt has been made to touch any complicated economic issues and no collective statement of the general economic grievances of all the Indian States has as yet been put forward either for public or private consideration, whereas individual representation by particular States does not seem to have much availed. 'It is possible that several Indian rulers may view with apprehension the extensive economic problems that are already pressing for solution, because in the past their States have fared badly in many a fiscal negotiation with the Government of India. The archives of any State could produce at least one case where a claim considered just and put forward with moderation has remained unanswered or has been decided against the claimant State by the sheer exercise of political power.' As a conse-

quence such matters have too often been allowed to drift.

The question may be asked, if as a result of the enquiry now being conducted justice is done to States by conceding to them their economic, fiscal and financial rights and by a relaxation of the insidious control maintained by the Political Department, will any injury necessarily be done to the interests of British India? The answer is an emphatic 'No.' There seems to be a suspicion that the States will be used as a lever to curtail the Reforms or concessions that would otherwise have to be made in favour of British India. This is a *non-sequitur*. If, in the promotion of British Indian interests, those of the States have not suffered, the British element in the Government of India of to-day can safely be trusted to see that no injury is done to British interests. The British Government can further be trusted to disregard the mere expediency of conceding to the States anything to which they are not entitled. If, on the other hand, in the combined processes of the consolidation of British power and the development of the economic resources of the country during the last 125 years, it has come about that the interests of the States have been ignored, it would appear to be common justice now to make a tardy reparation to those interests if only to promote contentment in the country as a whole and in the States in particular.

A modest and an humble attempt has been made, in the above few lines, to give one an

idea of the complexity and the importance of the various political and economical problems that will have to be solved by Sir Harcourt Butler and his two colleagues. To any one who approaches the subject in a spirit free from partiality or prejudice and who is not obsessed by the notion of the inutility of the States and of the absence of any justification for their existence as independent entities, the following words of Lord Olivier will appeal as being particularly relevant and forceful. 'At this present time,' says he, 'no elaborate plea for the existence of Indian States or even a justification of their existence is necessary. They are political facts which, whether we like them or not, stare us in the face and to a large extent govern the course of our political evolution. While their faults are many and the difficulties that their position raises grave, there can be no doubt that they add greatly to the richness and variety of India's national life and fill a position which has practically and culturally a value of its own.' And, as Sir John Malcolm, whose knowledge of Indian States was unique, said, 'the tranquillity, not to say the security, of our vast oriental possessions is involved in the preservation of native principalities which are dependent on us for protection. These are also so obviously at our mercy, so entirely within our grasp that besides other and great benefits we derive from their alliances their co-existence with our rule is of itself a source of political strength, the value of which will never be known till it is lost.'

THE INDIAN FINANCIAL PROBLEM.

By MR. DEBI PRASAD KHAITAN.

(President of the Indian Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta).

1927 is a momentous year in the realm of finance—but not for India. A study of the tendencies and events of Indian trade and finance in the past year and of their underlying causes and inner forces in comparison

with the tendencies and events of international trade and finance and their underlying *motifs* will form the most poignant commentary of the painful fact that is day in and day out rubbed in into us—the fact, namely, that India

is only a subordinate branch of the British administration; that we can have no rights apart from what suits British interests, no prerogatives except when graciously tolerated by the benign Secretary of State; that, in a word, we are but hewers of wood and drawers of water in the much-vaunted British Commonwealth of Nations.

The sunset of the old year and the dawn of the new were marked by a profusion of utterances by British statesmen, bankers, financiers and officials, in which, a retrospect of 1927 and a forecast for 1928 were the principal theme. 'British trade and finance have not only recovered from the post-armistice slump but attained a level of activity and prosperity which was better as compared with any year since 1919'—this was the one great *slogan*. '1928 will witness the re-establishment of Great Britain's supremacy'—this is the confident hope.

UNDULY APPRECIATED CURRENCY.

Reviewing 1927 so far as India is concerned, what can we say? The evil effects of unduly appreciated currency, as anticipated by those who have studied this intricate science, have unconsciously been felt by all concerned.

The monsoon was, on the whole, propitious and fairly free from any of its periodical vagaries; but jute fetched poor prices and the farmers of Bengal could not obtain anything like a reasonable margin between the costs of agricultural operations and the selling price of jute—though jute mills have thriven during the period; cotton has brought no prosperity and the movement of the produce to foreign countries has been tardy and anaemic; wheat has fared no better; and the numberless tillers of land have had a very arduous year.

Secondly, money market appeared to be free from stringency; but the principal Indian industries, like the cotton mill industry, were in 'doldrums'; Indian export and import merchants could make hardly any profits; money was easy but credit restricted; company liquidations went on merrily and not one new company of any importance was floated; Indian joint stock banks show standstill conditions, and there is an all-round lack of confidence and of hope for the future which is the basis and the indispensable preliminary condition of a healthy trade activity.

Thirdly, India has maintained a stabilised international exchange but we saw the unusual spectacle of repeated deflations and consequent heavy sized contractions of currency in the midst of the busy season at the end of 1926-27 and the beginning of 1927-28; the overseas demand for our staple products has been delayed; the favourable trade balance, though slightly better than in 1926-27, is still very poor, so poor as to make the remittance programme of the Government a hazard; and stability of exchange has in no sense eliminated the feeling of uncertainty, the possibility of surprises and the upsetting of plans and calculations.

Fourthly, our national budget has been balanced; but how many of the individual budgets for 1927 of Indian businessmen and Indian business-houses could claim to be balanced budgets; and the misery of unemployment is being widely felt.

Fifthly, we are told that the internal prices have been stabilised; external exchange has been stabilised; our currency and credit machinery is being reorganised; and we are rapidly advancing towards the ideal of India placed on a gold basis, but what has been the actual record in regard to the essentials preliminary to the adoption of a gold standard.

GOLD STANDARD.

Have we increased our gold assets? Is there any real addition to our stock of gold? In April 1926, we had the equivalent of Rs. 21 crores in sterling securities—by the end of the year our Government had dissipated 15½ crores of sterling securities. And by the middle of 1927, there was practically nothing of gold securities in Paper Currency Reserve. Towards the close of the year, however, some purchases have been made and the year ends with a small holding of sterling securities.

Round about March 1927, just over 2 millions worth of gold was bought for the Gold Standard Reserve; and we were asked to hope that this was the beginning of a wholesome policy of converting a portion of the securities of G. S. R. into gold. But as though ashamed of being discovered while doing so good a thing, the Government have reverted to the old policy and no more gold has been bought on account of our reserve in

the remainder of the year. And yet this was a period in which the most significant feature of international finance was the free and large movement of gold.

Greece was able to secure gold necessary for the adoption of Gold Standard—and the new Greek Central Bank will be inaugurated in the course of a few months. Bank of Poland got her supplies of gold mainly from America and to a small extent from England though the bank authorities had to make a bitter complaint against the attitude of London market and financial papers for the hostile remarks made on Poland's purchases in London. Italy not only secured all the gold she wanted but with that meteoric dash and brilliance which one has come to associate with her actions, she has at one single stroke established Gold Standard. France has fortified her gold resources and it is anticipated that after the General Election in April, the adoption of Gold Standard will be given formal effect to. Germany has gone ahead in her policy of strengthening her stocks of gold. The Bank of England has greatly increased her gold holdings.

A PASSIVE AND HELPLESS SPECTATOR.

It is only India that has had to remain a passive and helpless spectator of all these significant movements of gold. We are told that 'the Federal Reserve authorities look with favour on gold exports, being sympathetic to the restoration of the Gold Standard throughout the world and probably would continue to co-operate, as far as might be practical, with fresh efforts to stabilise on a gold basis.' In a book received by a recent mail, entitled *The Reserve Bank and the Money Market*, Dr. W. R. Burgess says: "the machinery of the Federal Reserve system has provided a way for storing the gold ready for the use of other countries, when they have reached sufficient stability." This statement is specially valuable as the author is the Federal Reserve Agent in New York and may be said to speak with some authority. I may also draw attention to a significant statement made in the Exchange and Money Market column of the *Statesman* in a recent issue: "The U. S. A. was so far the world's biggest reservoir of gold; it is now certain that she is emerging

as the world's biggest supplier of gold." The three extracts I have quoted from three distinct authoritative sources agree in this—that the Federal Reserve authorities are keen on helping those countries which are able and willing to establish themselves on a gold basis.

Is India the Cinderella of this family of countries aspiring to establish themselves on a gold basis? In November 1927—when the highest watermark of America's outflow of gold was reached—the States sold 93 million dollars worth of gold. India did not secure one cent of it. Did the Indian Government make any *bona fide* attempt to secure gold from America—to get a little slice out of the big sales which were made in the latter half of 1927?

It is necessary to obtain a definite answer to this question. Surely it cannot be that America, which is co-operating with all the countries trying to go on a gold basis, singles out India alone for the invidious distinction of ineligibility to make any purchases of gold. One can understand the anxiety of the Secretary of State to refrain from buying gold in London. The wrath of the Bank of England is such as would turn to ashes even the all-puissant Secretary of State. The alarm and bitterness caused by Poland's purchases will be intensified a hundred-fold if India were the offender. But why not try America? Do the Government of India feel diffident about approaching America? Do they apprehend that because the silver interests in that country might raise a hue and cry in case India builds up a necessary stock of gold, America may not be willing to co-operate with India in stabilising on a gold basis? Let us know where we stand.

If the resultant position would be that we cannot buy in London because it won't suit the Bank of England nor in New York because it won't suit its silver interests, then it is easy to realise the force of the remark with which I started my speech that a comparative study of Indian finance and its underlying forces with international finance and its underlying forces would be the most eloquent commentary on the subordinate position which India occupies and on the way in which her interests are lightly brushed aside unless and until our mentors and masters are pleased to tolerate them.

RESERVE BANK BILL.

The Reserve Bank Bill is dead and buried—unwept and unsung. At the moment it is difficult to say what developments can or will take place in the near future in connection with the Reserve Bank proposal. Whatever such developments may be, it is certain that the necessity for India strengthening her stocks of gold remains as imperative as ever. How all-compelling is this necessity will become apparent from a careful analysis of the position of our Reserve. The return of the Currency department for the week ended February 7, 1928, gives the total of 'notes in circulation' at Rs. 177.45 crores (I have not taken the emergency currency into account). The assets held in the Reserve as against these notes in circulation are:—

| | | | | |
|------------------------------|-----|-----|--------|---------|
| Silver Rupees | .. | Rs. | 97.89 | crores. |
| Silver bullion under coinage | " | | 7.47 | " |
| Gold coin and bullion | .. | " | 29.76 | " |
| Rupees Securities | ... | " | 37.80 | " |
| Sterling Securities | ... | " | 4.44 | " |
| <hr/> | | | | |
| Total Rs. | | | 177.45 | " |

I do not take the Gold Standard Reserve into consideration as it is admitted by Government and the Currency Commission that the amount thereof is required as a backing for the silver rupees that may return from circulation.

On a scrutiny of each of these items in the Reserve, it will be found that (a) silver rupees and bullion to the amount of Rs. 105.36 crores can at best be valued at Rs. 58 crores as the silver contents of each silver rupee are worth only 55 per cent. at current market prices and (b) the rupee securities are of no value. It will therefore, mean that the value of the assets in the Reserve against Rs. 177.45 crores worth of notes is:—

| | | | | | |
|-----------------|-----|---|-----|-------|---------|
| Silver | ... | " | Rs. | 58 | crores. |
| Gold | ... | " | | 29.76 | " |
| Gold Securities | ... | " | | 4.44 | " |
| <hr/> | | | | | |
| Total Rs. | | | | 92.20 | " |

This leaves a kind of deficit in the Reserve of Rs. 85.25 crores, assuming that silver can be converted into gold whenever needed—which is, more or less, an impractical proposition.

THE FIRST AND FOREMOST NEED.

Now there is another important consideration. The percentage of metallic reserve is stated to be 76.15 per cent. in the last week. This is misleading. The metallic reserve here mentioned is really no metallic reserve as it is made up in the main of silver and that too of silver rupees which are shown at a value which is 85 per cent. in excess of intrinsic value. The metallic reserve, in the sense of the percentage of gold to notes in circulation, is only 17 per cent. It will be admitted on all hands that a currency system which shows a deficit in reserve of Rs. 85.25 crores and whose real gold metallic reserve is only 17 per cent. is by no means anything near a satisfactory currency system.

The first and foremost need, therefore, is that the Indian Government should buy gold—and keep on buying gold at every suitable opportunity. And the plea that no such suitable opportunity has so far presented itself or may not present itself cannot hold any water. Such a plea, if raised by the Government, would be a sure token of the total absence of genuine solicitude for India's welfare and interests.

COTTON MILL INDUSTRY.

Another instance where the Government have all through the past 30 years and more shown a callous indifference to the interests of India's industrial welfare is the cotton mill industry. This industry is possibly the most outstanding example of what Indian enterprise can do solely relying on itself and entirely dispensing with any extraneous aid. During the last four years, however, owing to the high exchange and owing to what may be described as world factors affecting the cotton mill industry, the Indian cotton mills have been passing through difficult times. They had finally to appeal to the Government for protective tariffs. They did not get protective tariffs; on the other hand, they got endless homilies and pompous sermons on the need of "setting one's own house in order."

Apart from the bad taste involved in this sententious pose, the real issue is: "does the cotton mill industry satisfy the conditions laid down as the essentials of any claim for a protective tariff?" The Tariff Board answered this query in the affirmative: the Government

choose to answer it in the negative. The Government cannot give any support and do not want to give it. They have, however, given us a powerful sermon on self-reliance. Let us take that sermon to heart, and let us develop a programme in which we can by our own strength re-establish the industry on a sound basis. Let us demonstrate that there is still life in the old dog.

A SUGGESTION.

In this connection, I wish to make a suggestion. Just as the Tea Association propagates the cult of 'drinking more tea', and the Fruit Association the cult of 'eating more fruits' and just as the Indian Insurance Companies are now conducting a group advertisement propaganda appealing to the public to insure only with Indian companies, so should all the Indian cotton mills join together and carry out an intensive and extensive propaganda with a view to bringing round the Indian consumer to buy only Indian cloth. Except for a brief period in the anti-partition days, no propaganda of any magnitude has been conducted on right lines or on an adequate scale to inculcate *Swadeshi* in cloth. If all the Indian cotton mills join together, the financial aspect of this propaganda cannot present any difficulties. A central organisation will be able to study and appreciate the psychology of the Indian consumer; it should from that knowledge devise propaganda by pamphlets, lectures, posters, advertisements

articles in journals and papers, etc.; it should chalk out a comprehensive programme and execute it with zeal.

I am confident that if this is done, within one year striking results will be achieved in the sense that Indian goods will begin to move freely, and the problem of accumulated stocks will no longer be a nightmare. I would also propose that this committee should work in collaboration with the Indian Insurance Companies' Association of Calcutta and Indian Insurance Delegation of Bombay, and these should form the nucleus for propaganda of *Swadeshi* in every department of commercial and industrial activity in which India can hold her own as against any foreign competitor.

I have deliberately confined myself to the bigger issues of the Indian financial problem. It is not practicable, nor even necessary, to deal with the various individual questions. But the one conclusion which emerges from a general appreciation of the financial situation is this: the interests of India are to us, who are connected with Indian business, the sole consideration; the interests of India are, so it seems to me, to the Government of India a subsidiary consideration, as the Secretary of State and through him, the powerful British commercial interests have always a strong say. It will be our duty to keep a careful watch to ensure that India's interests are always kept in the forefront whether in the broader policies and principles or in their more detailed application.

THE EXPORT DUTY ON HIDES AND SKINS.

By MR. B. RAMACHANDRA RAU, M.A., I.T.

(Lecturer in Economics and Commerce, Calcutta University).

The appointment of a Committee to investigate on the advisability of abolishing the export duty on hides and replace it by a slight cess is to be hailed as a welcome measure as it clearly proves that proper consideration is to be paid to our leather export trade and the leather industry in the fiscal policy of the country that is being

revised in the light of the recommendations of the Todhunter Committee.

ADVICE OF ECONOMISTS.

Export duties are justifiable on the ground that raw material can be detained in the country

for the benefit of the home consumers thus leading to the industrial progress and economic prosperity of the country. The origin of the export duties might also be due to financial reasons and even now several of the countries think it wise to levy an export duty on commodities over which they have a complete or semi-monopolistic control so as to augment the revenue of the country at the expense of the foreign industrialists desirous of possessing the raw material. The reasoned criticism of the economists which aims at the abolition of all export duties is based on the fact that such duties are in direct contravention of the principles of the economic unity of the world. Economic interdependence of the nations is a higher ideal than mere economic self-sufficiency based on a low standard of living. In most cases export duties tend to destroy foreign markets and when once they are lost it is impossible to regain them so that they act as an injury to all the producers who are the chief sufferers in this respect. Exports pay for imports. Any unwise limitation of the volume of exports would seriously restrict the ability of the country to purchase the same volume of imported commodities as before. The levying of an export duty is the most clumsy and unscientific way in which protection can be granted to any industry. Beside this argument there is the task of collecting the export duties which is always a difficult one. It generally leads to the unnecessary detention of shipping at the ports. Hence export duties are often tolerated only in the case of complete or partial monopoly of export articles. Even then the duty is generally fixed at a low figure so that it might not hurt the foreign consumers as well as the domestic producers.

A LITTLE HISTORY.

A detailed historical resumé of the export trade in raw hides prior to the year 1919 is not necessary.* The Government of India evidently with the object of protecting the tanning industry of India which did yeoman service during the period of the recent war and in their anxiety to ensure the tanning of hides and skins such as could not be tanned in India by the

British tanners alone or those of the Empire levied in 1919 an export duty at the rate of 15 per cent. on a tariff valuation basis with a rebate of 10 per cent. in respect of hides and skins to be tanned within the British Empire. The first part of the duty was meant to protect the Indian tanning industry of Cawnpore, Agra, Madras, and Calcutta by diverting trade from Germany and retaining the hides and skins within the country so that they could now be bought for less than before. Not one of these cherished desires has been realised. The Indian tanning industry has failed to absorb the whole of the raw material. The Empire tanning industry has not been benefited to any extent by this duty. During the years 1919 to 1923 this export duty was not reduced even though the Indian Fiscal Commission, numerous commercial bodies and private individuals protested against this measure. Financial reasons must have stood in the way of completely abolishing this duty and even in 1923 the duty on hides alone could be lowered to 5 per cent. *ad valorem*.† The export duty on skins still remains at the original figure of 15 per cent. *ad valorem*.

REASONS FOR ABOLISHING THE DUTY.

This export tax has been fetching the Government very little revenue and as the present prosperous financial condition of the Government of India warrants the abolition of this tax the revenue needs cannot clearly stand in the way of the abolition of the export duty. If it can also be proved that the abolition of the duty would not injure the tanning industry this *prima facie* case for its abolition can be strengthened to a great extent. Has the levying of the duty reduced the export of hides and skins to any extent? How far has the Indian tanning industry succeeded in availing itself of the high quality hides and skins retained in the country? The following table shows the export figures of raw hides and skins.*

†The duty that is actually imposed is not strictly on *ad valorem* basis but a schedule is adopted and modified from time to time as prices change. This affords approximately the same return as an *ad valorem* duty would produce.

*See the Statistical Abstract for British India, 4th issue—p. 305. The figures for the years 1923-26 and 1926-27 are taken from the Review of the Foreign Trade of India—1926-27—see tables 42—p. 202.

*See my monograph on the "Economics of the Leather Industry"—pp. 35 to 48.

Value in 1,000 Rs.—

| Year. | Raw Hides. | Raw Skins. |
|---------|------------|------------|
| 1919-20 | 82,524 | 151,246 |
| 1920-21 | 20,015 | 32,350 |
| 1921-22 | 18,136 | 41,560 |
| 1922-23 | 21,769 | 35,124 |
| 1923-24 | 28,547 | 40,571 |
| 1924-25 | 53,979 | 34,268 |
| 1925-26 | 32,058 | 39,885 |
| 1926-27 | 25,733 | 45,602 |

It can be gathered from the above table that the export trade of raw hides and skins has fallen in value. Firstly it may be due to the inability of the foreign consumers to demand the raw material as before. If this were to be true there would be an all-round decrease in our trade figures. It is not the exporters of hides alone that would be chief sufferers but exporters of others commodities would also feel this acute depression. The economic bankruptcy of our European customers and the collapse of European exchanges have caused a general shrinkage in the volume of our exports. Even the economically stronger countries have reduced their demands for Indian goods on account of the general fall in prices and their correspondingly reduced purchasing power. These were the years of uncertainty due to the non-settlement of such important international topics as the reparations and the allied debts problems. Although peace has been effectively established in the continental countries during the last seven years the inflation crisis did not end with the conclusion of the Armistice and currency reorganisation and a satisfactory settlement of the reparations problem and the Allied Debt question are being slowly worked out. Hence the real reason for diminished exports might after all be due to the lack of purchasing power on the part of our buyers. It might not after all be due to the increased activity of the Indian tanners.

Secondly the Indian tanning industry might have absorbed a portion of the raw hides leaving only a small quantity for export out of the country. In the absence of a reliable industrial census of production for the country nothing definite can be stated as regards the progress of the domestic tanning industry. From an examination of the import figures of tanned hides and skins into the country something can

be stated as regards the progress of the domestic tanning industry. Any decrease in the import figures of tanned hides and skins must be due to the competition of the home manufactured product. The following table shows the decrease in the value of the imported tanned hides and skins into our country.*

| | Value in 1,000 Rs.— |
|------------------|---------------------|
| Pre-War average | 1,283 |
| War average | 1,540 |
| Post-War average | 1,059 |
| 1925-26 | 767 |
| 1926-27 | 612 |

But this table relates to the value of the imports. What is relevant to our purpose is the quantity of the imports. There is an increase of the total stock of high grade tanned hides imported into the country.

| | Quantity (cwts). |
|--------------------------|------------------|
| 1919-22 | 95 |
| 1925-26 | 107 |
| 1926-27 (10 months only) | 287 |

If again it can be proved that the quantity and value of the exported dressed hides and skins have increased it decisively follows that the tanning industry has received some impetus during this period. The following table shows the gradual increase in the value of exports of tanned hides and skins.†

| | Value in 1,000 Rs.— | |
|---------|---------------------|---------------|
| Year. | Tanned Hides | Tanned Skins. |
| 1919-20 | 78,793 | 46,606 |
| 1920-21 | 11,483 | 20,241 |
| 1921-22 | 14,582 | 24,626 |
| 1922-23 | 23,148 | 27,423 |
| 1923-24 | 31,678 | 27,308 |
| 1924-25 | 33,504 | 36,314 |
| 1925-26 | 30,418 | 39,336 |
| 1926-27 | 27,783 | 45,986 |

It is not however essential that the export of dressed or tanned hides and skins should increase. A portion of the tanned hides and skins might have been absorbed locally by the leather manufacturers. As there is no general

*See the Review of the Trade of India, 1926-27, p. 149 to 203.

†Ibid.

Census of Production undertaken in this country no figures indicating the increased use of tanned hides and skins by the leather manufacturers can be cited. The Dominion Bureau of Statistics gives a comprehensive view of the leather industry in Canada. Australia and South Africa are also well-served in this direction and reliable statistics on leather production are available. There is no reason why India should lag behind the Dominions in this respect. India must be well-served in her official statistics before a historical review of any industry can be undertaken.

It might be true that the Indian tanning industry might have undoubtedly derived some impetus from the levying of this duty. The Indian Fiscal Commission points out that the better quality hides have been exported out of the country as before.* But the Administration Report of the Province of Behar and Orissa says that the easy availability of hides and skins has led to the prosperity of the few tanneries existing there.† The Administration Reports of other Provinces are however silent on this topic.

The little improvement as evidenced by increased export of tanned hides and skins that has taken place in the tanning industry might be due to an improvement in the quality of tanned hides and skins as a result of the increase in the scientific skill on the part of our tanners and the establishment of organised tanneries on a sound business-like basis. That there has been an increase in the quality of exported hides and skins can be seen by the increased price of the exported unit. The following table shows the price paid for the exported article.

HIDES (cwt).

| | Pre-war average | | | | 1924-25 | | | | 1925-26 | | | | 1926-27 | | | |
|--------|-----------------|----|----|-----|---------|----|-----|---|---------|-----|----|----|---------|----|----|--|
| | Rs. | A. | P. | | Rs. | A. | P. | | Rs. | A. | P. | | Rs. | A. | P. | |
| Raw | 66 | 4 | 1 | 36 | 8 | 10 | 36 | 8 | 1 | 46 | 1 | 11 | | | | |
| Tanned | 83 | 10 | 10 | 128 | 6 | 0 | 125 | 9 | 7 | 122 | 9 | 8 | | | | |

SKINS (cwt).

| | Pre-war average | | | | 1924-25 | | | | 1925-26 | | | |
|--------|-----------------|----|----|-----|---------|----|-----|---|---------|----|----|--|
| | Rs. | A. | P. | | Rs. | A. | P. | | Rs. | A. | P. | |
| Raw | 68 | 0 | 6 | 108 | 11 | 0 | 111 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| Tanned | 109 | 12 | 3 | 302 | 3 | 4 | 304 | 0 | 0 | | | |

*See the Report of the Indian Fiscal Commission, p. 108.

†See the Administration Report of the Province of Behar and Orissa, 1925-26.

‡See the Review of the Trade of India, 1926-27, p. 215.

The advocates of protection to the tanning industry might argue that sufficient time has not been allowed for the export duty to show its full benefit to the tanning industry.* "The abnormal nature of the times" and the after-effects of the war might have counteracted its useful effects. Almost all tanneries of the world had to feel the after effects of war and a temporary depression set in as the accumulated war-stocks of leather were released by the belligerent countries. Some of the tanneries in America had to temporarily close their business during these days of depression. It is indeed true that in every walk of life including business endeavour it takes a long time for any given cause to produce its good effects while the evil results are reaped in a comparatively short time. Sir J. Strachey rightly says "the export duty enjoys the credit of having ruined the Indian trade in Saltpetre." In 1860 revenue considerations forced Mr. James Wilson to levy a duty of two Rupees per maund on export of saltpetre. This duty was taken off in 1868 "when it was too late to repair the mischief." Hence a period of eight years is sufficiently long for the export duty to produce its baneful effects on the trade of the country. When we notice that roughly half the volume of the trade has fallen away it can safely be concluded that it has imposed a burden on the export trade. It is the essence of economic statesmanship to strike while the iron is hot and any timely action in reducing the export duty at present when there is an intensive enquiry on the part of the foreign manufacturers for our hides would give the needed fillip to our trade. The Government of India is evidently anxious to catch the tide of affairs in our favour and by the removal of the export duty at this nick of time give an impetus to our exporters to re-establish their trade on a prosperous footing.

The removal of the export duty would undoubtedly stimulate the export trade. This is the experience of Nigeria. In 1919 a period of high prices a duty was placed on the exportation of hides and skins. When the period of depression came the duty was very severely felt by the interests concerned and the export duty was reduced and this fact accounted at any rate partly for the increased exports in that

*See the Report of the Todhunter Committee, p. 130.

year. The export duty was again reduced on 14th February, 1921 and it exists even now as shown in the following table.*

| | | |
|----------------------------|-----|-------------|
| Raw Hides | ... | ½d. per lb. |
| Raw Sheep Skins | ... | ½d. " |
| Raw Goat Skins | ... | 1d. " |
| Tanned Cattle Hides | ... | ½d. " |
| Tanned Goat or Sheep Skins | ... | 1d. " |

Kenya and Uganda also levied an export duty of 10 per cent. *ad valorem* on hides and skins during the boom period. They were removed in April, 1922. It does not follow from these instances that the export duty should be entirely removed. It must be remembered that no tanning industry or any appreciable scale exists in any of these countries.

The advocates of protection to the tanning industry are of opinion that by the removal of the export duty the grant of protection would be removed altogether. They erroneously conclude that those who urge for the abolition of the export duty do not wish that protection should be granted to the Indian tanning industry. What the Indian tanners at present are doing is evidently unwise. They export the tanned hides and depend for sale on the foreign markets where they come into competition with the foreign producers. They seek to have protection by the retention of the export duty. It would be more rational if the small-scale tanneries attach a manufacturing side to their business so as to be able to work up their product into a finished stage ready for the home market. Boots and shoes, leather bags, trunks, harness and saddlery, and leather belting for machinery and other leather requirements can be successfully manufactured in this country and a glance at the import trade shows that an increased quantity of boots and shoes is being imported into the country while the import of leather belting for machinery has not diminished to any appreciable extent. The following table shows the facts in this connection.†

(Value in 1,000 Rs.).

| | 1922-23 | 1923-24 | 1924-25 | 1925-26 | 1926-27 |
|---|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| Boots and Shoes | 1,801 | 2,545 | 2,927 | 4,040 | 5,718 |
| Belting for Machinery (includes price of cotton belting also) | 8,320 | 8,812 | 9,424 | 8,222 | 8,129 |

Herein lies the scope for the absorption of Indian tanned hides and skins and the import duty of 15 per cent. might not give the exact amount of protection needed but so long as it exists the chance protection that is afforded by it cannot be ignored. If the protective element of the duty is not sufficient the case might be brought to the notice of the Tariff Board and the Indian tanners who also combine leather manufacturing as a part of their business need not feel aggrieved at this situation.

Before the example of other countries can be studied the oft-quoted statement that India is the chief exporter of raw hides and skins has to be examined carefully. So far as our situation with reference to raw goat skins is concerned there is no controversy. The necessity of the retention of the export duty on skins can be justified on this ground and the exporters also do not question this conclusion. We can hope to hold the world in fee and this supremacy would remain for a long time. Coming to the matter of raw hides there is a difference of opinion between the Indian tanners and the exporters. The Indian tanners opine that the present low duty of 5 per cent. *ad valorem* would fall on the foreign industrialist who cannot hope to forego this important source of supply of raw material from India. The exporters contend that India's position is not so strong in the matter of raw hides*. Before believing the biased and interested statements of either party reference must be made to the world's supply of raw hides and India's share in it. A reference to the volume on leather in the Resources of the Empire series would give the necessary and sufficiently accurate information on this topic. A tabular summary of the forty Empire countries and eighty foreign countries with reference to their supplies of cattle, sheep and skins is given on page 18.

*See "Leather"—by Dr. Snow, Resources of the Empire Series edited by the British Federation of Industries.

†See the Review of the Trade of India, 1926-27, p. 10.

*See the Evidence of the Calcutta Hides and Skin Shippers Association before the Indian Fiscal Commission.

LAST PRE-WAR FIGURES (IN MILLION).

| | Cattle. | Sheep | Goats. |
|--------------------------|---------|--------|--------|
| Empire Countries | 304 | 418 | 46 |
| Foreign Countries | 553 | 372 | 76 |
| Total | 557 | 584 | 122 |
| India's Share (in 1,000) | 157,205 | 31,407 | 30,694 |
| Australia | 11,484 | 85,937 | 462 |
| S. Africa | 5,797 | 30,657 | 11,763 |
| Canada | 6,656 | 2,119 | — |
| New Zealand | 2,020 | 23,996 | — |
| England and Wales | 5,757 | 17,207 | — |
| Ireland | 4,993 | 3,621 | 240 |

LAST PRE-WAR FIGURES (IN MILLION).

| | Cattle. | Sheep | Goats. |
|--------------------------|---------|--------|--------|
| Empire Countries | 454 | 290 | 45 |
| Foreign Countries | 117 | 309 | 30 |
| Total | 569 | 599 | 95 |
| India's Share (in 1,000) | 177,395 | 34,957 | 31,446 |
| Australia | 13,580 | 77,898 | — |
| S. Africa | 8,557 | 31,730 | 7,837 |
| Canada | 10,206 | 3,676 | — |
| New Zealand | 3,473 | 22,020 | — |
| England and Wales | 5,553 | 13,907 | — |
| Ireland | 5,197 | 3,708 | 261 |

It is evident that in the case of raw hides India's position is not so predominant as in the case of goat skins. While it can be seen that India is the chief supplier of goat skins to the Empire, Australia, South Africa, and New Zealand can compete with India in the matter of providing raw supplies. New Zealand is pre-eminent as the source of supply of certain classes of sheep and lamb skins which are in great demand. India is the chief supplier only for certain class of raw hides and we have to face a far more equal competition and perhaps in future a competition in which the dice will be loaded heavily against us. India at present produces a large proportion of "light hides" as distinguished from "heavy hides." So long as light hides cannot be profitably replaced by heavy hides the advantage would be on our side. In commercial parlance there is a distinction drawn between raw hides and skins. By hides are meant the pellicles of buffaloes, cows, horses, bulls and camels. By skins are meant the undressed skins of smaller animals as calves, goats, deer and sheep. The term "East India Kips" refers to the half-tanned or crust hides exported from the Presidencies of Bombay and Madras. These are used in Great Britain after proper currying and dressing in making boot upper leather or laces or bags, etc.

It was the development of chrome tanning that has seriously affected this trade in crust hides. Vegetable tanned leather is now sought for chiefly for making heavier class or working man's boots. The term kips refers to smaller skins of Indian animals of the bovine class. Of the total exports of raw hides from India the buffalo and cow-hides form the major portion as shown in the following table.*

Quantity—

| | 1913-14 | 1920-21 | 1921-22 |
|---------------|---------|---------|---------|
| Buffalo hides | 1967018 | 547728 | 236432 |
| Cow-hides | 8967518 | 3345796 | 542235 |
| Calfskins | 809350 | 529995 | 385093 |
| Other hides | 5200 | 223 | 7 |

Value Rs. (000)—

| | 1913-14 | 1920-21 | 1921-22 |
|---------------|---------|---------|---------|
| Buffalo hides | 42037 | 2638 | 1214 |
| Cow-hides | 30055 | 16248 | 16286 |
| Calfskins | 1831 | 1128 | 636 |
| Other hides | 37 | 1 | — |

South Africa is another Empire country which exports largely ox and cow hides. The foreign or Empire leather industrialists would not be forced to depend always on Indian raw-hides. But so long as Indian tanned hides and skins and leather manufacturers cannot be admitted duty free by these countries "there is no reason", say the protectionists, "to complain that the foreign industrialist is unfairly treated."

The improving standard of comfort would undoubtedly increase the demand for leather products and finished leather. This would tend to increase the price of the raw material of the industry. In the past we have witnessed such a general rise of prices of our raw hides and skins and if this upward tendency in their price level is to persist as it would if outsiders also have free access to our raw material the position of the Indian tanners would become awkward. It is not only necessary that our raw material supplies should increase but they must be available at a low price to our manufacturers if they are to compete successfully with the foreign industrialists. It is not however possible to increase the supplies of raw hides and skins for they are obtained as a by-product and it is impossible to contemplate a

*See the Volume on Leather by Dr. Snow.

sudden increase of raw material so as to satisfy the increased demand for them. The following table which shows the available quantity of cattle of all classes—bovine,* ovine and others—would make this point clear.

| 1919-20 | (Nos. in Thousands) | |
|---------|---------------------|---------------|
| | British India | Indian States |
| Bovine | 146498 | 30057 |
| Ovine | 45357 | 16306 |
| Others | 3566 | 811 |

| 1923-24 | (Nos. in Thousands) | |
|---------|---------------------|---------------|
| | British India | Indian States |
| Bovine | 146495 | 38256 |
| Ovine | 46151 | 19982 |
| Others | 3563 | 1006 |

In spite of the general inelasticity of supply it may also happen that higher prices would cause hides to come forward from remote areas which would not otherwise become available. But broadly speaking if prices were to rise steadily and if the export duties were to be removed the position of the Indian tanners would become precarious.

Australia, South Africa, and New Zealand have like India quite recently built up or enlarged their existing leather industry including the tanning industry. What are the methods employed by them in this connection? Protective import duties have been established in Australia. The following are the tariff regulations with reference to importation of hides and skins and leather.

| Hides and Skins— | British | Inter- | General |
|--|--------------|-------------------|------------|
| | Preferen- | mediate | tariff, |
| | tial tariff, | tariff, | tariff, |
| Sheep skins raw, goat skins raw | Free | Free | Free |
| Hides lined or fleshed or split | | | |
| per side | 35 | 35 | 35 |
| Chamois leather | 30% | 30% | 30% |
| Croast goat skins <i>ad val</i> | 30% | 30% | 30% |
| Patent and enamelled leather | | | |
| per sq. ft. or <i>ad val</i> | 3d. or 35% | 4d. or 30% | 6d. or 25% |
| Glaze Kid per sq. ft. or <i>ad val</i> whichever returns the higher duty | | 9d. or 11d. or 15 | or |

*See The Agricultural Statistics, Vol. I, p. vii, pp. 32 and 33. Vol. II, pp. 68 and 69. The increase is purely for the Indian States and it is quite probable that this increase is more indicative of defective returns at the earlier date than any real increase in numbers.

| | | | |
|--|------------|----------------|------------|
| | 25% | 30% | 35% |
| Boots and Shoes <i>ad val</i> | 35% | 40% | 45% |
| N. R. (not elsewhere included) | 25% | 30% | 35% |
| Belt buits <i>ad val</i> | 45% | 30% | 35% |
| Leather manufactures <i>ad val</i> | 35% | 40% | 45% |
| Harness and Saddlery each or <i>ad val</i> whichever returns higher duty | 75. or 35% | 75. 6d. or 40% | 75. or 45% |
| Mangrove bark (Tanning agent) | Free | Free | Free |
| Tanning Extract | Free | 15% | 25% |
| Slipper forins, etc., suitable for boots <i>ad val</i> | Free | 5% | 15% |
| Boots and shoes <i>ad val</i> | 35% | 40% | 45% |

In 1914 it was only 30 per cent, and it was soon raised to 35 per cent, and not content with this high tariff wall the leather manufacturers are now agitating for the reduction of the tariff on materials not procurable in Australia which now ranges from 45 to 75 per cent. To help the tanners an Act known as the "Branding and Marking of Stock" was passed in 1922 to minimise the evils arising out of branding of cattle. Penalties are imposed for violations of this Act.

New Zealand like Australia has developed leather manufacturing as an adjunct to the tanning industry. Import duties are levied on many classes of leather and leather goods and the tariff ranges up to 45 per cent. *ad valorem*. As in Australia preference is given to Empire manufactured products and a lower duty is imposed on them. 26 per cent. *ad valorem* is now levied on boots and shoes imported from the Empire countries.†

South Africa has been developing the tanning industry and leather manufacturing industry by means of protective tariffs. Adulterated leather can be imported on payment of 6d duty per lb. Imported harness saddlery, and leather manufactured articles have to pay 25 per cent. *ad valorem* with a rebate of 3 per cent. for Empire manufactured articles. Boots and shoes are subject to 30 per cent. general tariff and 3 per cent. rebate is allowed on Empire products.*

Even taking the United Kingdom into consideration a heavy import duty is levied on the leather gloves under the new procedure adopted by the Safeguarding of Industries Act in the year 1925. A duty of 33½ per cent. is imposed for five years from 22nd December 1925. The

*See the Volume on Leather by Dr. Snow—for recent duties see the Balfour report on Overseas Markets p. 281.

†*Ibid.*, p. 281.

*See A. J. Bower—Protection in South Africa, p. 147, also the Balfour Report on the Overseas Markets, p. 281.

preferential rebate on Empire manufactured leather gloves is fixed at 11 2/9 per cent. of the value of the article.†

From the above examples it can be clearly argued that unless a satisfactory protective tariff import duty exists the retention of both the present export duty and the present import duty must be advocated so that the leather industry including tanning can be developed. Elsewhere I have clearly demonstrated the possibilities of success which would attend the scientifically organised Indian leather industry if adequate protection to overcome the comparative disadvantages is granted in the beginning.‡ Unless a scientifically organised tariff is imposed favouring the tanning industry which attaches to the manufacturing side also the removal of the export duty cannot be looked upon with favour by the tanning industry.

The advocates of *rs. 4d.* rate for the rupee would point out that a higher and steadier exchange is bound to reduce the price of the imports and an increased quantity of them might be sent to this country in which case domestic manufacturers not only leather manufacturers but others also would be in a position of disadvantage. To remove the export duty under such circumstances would evidently tend to place the domestic manufacturers at an unfair advantage.

The levying of a slight cess as in the case of tea, jute, cotton and lac to benefit both the exporters and the tanners is contemplated by the Government. This means that raw hides as well as tanned hides would have to pay a cess for the tanning industry to be a beneficiary must pay cess accordingly. The cry has already been raised that in course of time the cess might be imposed as "to form a levy on the raw material of the domestic tanners and that the story of the cotton excise duty would be repeated in the near future." There are others who do not wish to see the export duty to be removed but they wish it to be raised to the same old level of 15 per cent. *ad valorem* and that the proceeds be utilised for the improvement of the tanning industry.

The solving of technical problems involved in tanning by undertaking industrial research

experiments, the establishment of business connections between the leather trade in India and firms in the Empire, the discovery of new, cheap and economical processes of tanning which would be useful to local tanners working under our climatic conditions, the removing of pox-marks on hides coming from Rungpore and Dinajpore, the demonstration of tanning processes leading to production of sole leather and the tanning of other skins which would be of great commercial use, the securing of special concessions such as same rates from railways in the matter of carrying dry as well as wet-salted hides and special rates for finished leather, the granting of facilities for finishing leather by machine process in Government factories and the reduction of the Anthrax evil arising chiefly from goat hair which has either to be thoroughly disinfected before being exported out of the country or the problem of regulating the Indian tanners using the hides and skins—these are some of the most urgent problems facing the leather industry of Bengal.* Other provinces will doubtless have their own peculiar problems. So far as Madras is concerned the Leather Research Chemist is trying to solve the technical problems facing the local tanners and leather manufacturers.† Coming to the Punjab the disease known as the Surra is attacking the camels, the equines and other domestic animals. The efficacy of the tartar emetic cure in the eradication of the disease has yet to be tested. The spread of contagious diseases such as rinderpest and great mortality due to the spread of the enzootic diseases are the main problems facing the cattle breeders and good hides and skins can never be attained out of diseased animals.* Can a central department of scientific research hope to cope adequately and efficiently with the diverse problems affecting the leather industry of the different provinces such as Bombay, Madras, the United Provinces and the Punjab. With the small sums that would be collected by means of this cess much cannot be affected and even any infinitesimal part of the scientific problems facing the leather industry cannot be solved. Taking the United Kingdom into consideration there are at present two research associations connected with the boot and shoe industry and leather manufacture. Both the

†See the Report of the Balfour Committee on Industry and Trade, 1927, pp. 450 to 454.

‡See my monograph on Leather Industry, pp. 133 to 144.

*See the Administration Report of the Province of Bengal, 1924-25.

†See the Administration Report of the Province of Madras, 1924-25.

British Leather Manufacturers Research Association and the British Boot and Shoe and Allied Trade Research Association are making substantial progress. About 20 per cent. of the British firms engaged in the Boot and Shoe industry are members of the above association and 60 per cent. of the leather manufacturers are members of the second association. A grant for five years was originally made by the British Government and a renewal for these grants has been sanctioned for a further period† Thus a system of co-operation in industrial research has been organised and if the Indian leather industry is to progress such co-operation is essential.

By the levying of a mere cess the revenue obtained would not be sufficient to procure the needed resources required for solving the scientific and commercial problems facing the industry. The securing of foreign markets for our tanned hides and skins or finished leather so as to remove the dependence on the limited home market in India‡ and the improving of the flaying processes of hides and skins from the carcasses of animals can be secured by concerted action among the Indian tanners but there is no such Association of Indian tanners

formed as yet. Any further action on the part of the state to improve the quality of raw hides is desirable. Such action was taken during the war-time and after and in the United Provinces the flaying and curing processes have been improved to a great extent thus increasing the price of the hide itself. The branding of cattle in most of the provinces deserves our early attention. Though effective measures on the Australian model cannot be undertaken at present vigorous propaganda carried on in the vernacular would have the desired effect. Proper methods of flaying hides and skins can be demonstrated as has been done at Rangoon and other up-country centres in Bengal. Proper management of the important slaughter houses in the municipalities as has been done in the Bandra slaughter house in Bombay would improve the hide. It would fetch better prices for the producer and ensure good material for the tanner.

A change in the tariff, i.e., a complete abolition of the export duty on hides or skins solely on revenue considerations should not be made at present without adjusting the import duty on leather manufactures on a scientific basis to grant the needed protection to our tanning industry which should at the same time undertake leather manufacturing business also. These have received artificial stimulus owing to the disorganisation of competing industries elsewhere and freight difficulties. Now that these advantages are surely to be removed within the coming year we cannot leave the recently established leather manufacturing and tanning industry to bear the full brunt of competition.

The levying of a mere cess would not produce the needed resources for carrying on scientific research work in order to help the tanning industry. A modest start can however be made in this direction. The Central All-India Leather Committee must establish an excellent liaison with the Universities and individual research students in colleges. Private associations should also donate funds to carry on this industrial research. Our industrial efficiency not only in leather but in other products as well depends on the progress of scientific research.

*See the Administration Report of the Province of the Punjab, 1923-24.

†The following table shows the grant made by the British Government to the above Associations, see pp. 113 to 126, Ballant Report on Industry and Trade.

| Name of the Research Association. | Date of formation, years. | No. of subscription raised during the period. | Total subscription during the period. | Total grant given during the period. |
|--|---------------------------|---|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| The Br. Boot Shoe and Allied Trades Research Assn. | 185-19 | 7 | £2975 | £2005 |
| The Br. Leather M. R. Assn. | 17, 7-21 | 5 | £11851 | £12051 |

‡Both the Dominions of Canada and Australia have each 16 or 17 Trade representatives or Commissioners in foreign countries for the purpose of promoting Canadian and Australian Trade. India has only one Trade Commissioner in London. India must send Trade Commissioners to other countries to promote her trading interests for she produces several articles for which there is no extensive internal market.

ARCHAEOLOGY IN GWALIOR STATE.

By MRS. E. ROSENTHAL F.R.G.S.

The life-story of the Gwalior Archaeological Department bears close resemblance to the history of the Archaeological Department of H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions. In age, the two departments run each other very close, for both were founded in 1913, and suffered in their infancy from the effects of the World War.

Long before 1913, however, the antiquities of Gwalior attracted the attention of archaeologists, but it was not until the foundation of the Archaeological Department that a systematic conservation campaign was commenced. Between 1862 and 1883, Sir A. Cunningham visited various places in Gwalior State, and his notes on the treasures discovered there appeared in his Archaeological Survey Reports Vols. II, VII, X and XX. It was His late Highness the Maharaja Sir Madhavo Rao Sindhia who furnished the requisite influential support for the inauguration of the Gwalior Archaeological Department. The new institution was placed in charge of Mr. M. B. Garde, who had enjoyed the privilege of training under Sir John Marshall, and Mr. Garde's preliminary care was to compile a comprehensive list of the monuments deserving of conservation. Such an undertaking, demanding the expenditure of both time and patience, was accomplished successfully during the first years of the Department's existence. Of the thousand odd buildings listed, only two hundred and thirty were considered worthy of repairs and conservation, but owing to the wide scope of the lists an enormous amount of valuable information was accumulated, which is being utilized as the basis for the comprehensive Archaeological Directory of Gwalior, now in course of preparation. All the monuments listed were visited by the Superintendent of Archaeology and his assistants, and the copious notes made during inspection tours, coupled with the study of local cults, place-names and traditions, have brought fresh light to bear on many ancient sites, buildings and sculptures hitherto unknown in modern times.

The particulars thus obtained will enhance the value of the Directory, which promises to develop into a monumental work capable of supplying many missing links in the chain of archaeological evidence.

Gwalior State is exceedingly rich in historic relics, some of which are over two thousand years old. They include Buddhist, Hindu, Jain and Muhammadan buildings in juxtaposition, and illustrate the truth of the lines of Omar Khayyam:

"How Sultan after Sultan with his Pomp,
Abode his destined Hour, and went his Way."

First and foremost, in Gwalior City itself, there is the great Fort. This magnificent edifice dates back to the sixth century A. D., according to inscriptions, and to pre-historic days, according to traditions. The earliest record is preserved in a temple of the Sun, erected on Gwalior hill about 523 A. D. Chronologically, the next archaeological documents consist of two Sanskrit inscriptions of 875 and 876 A. D. They adorn the Chaturbhuj Temple, and prove that this sanctuary, in the eastern face of the rock fort, was excavated by Alla, keeper of the stronghold under Ramadeva, King of Kanauj. Like all other structures that are part and parcel of Gwalior's historic pile, the Chaturbhuj Temple is carefully conserved. The shrine contains a clean-cut image of Vishnu, four-armed and erect, set well back under the shadow of the rock. Now that it is freed from undergrowth, weeds and dump, the sculpture reveals the fine artistry of the early Hindu workmen.

At a somewhat higher elevation than the Chaturbhuj Temple we come upon the finest building in Gwalior Fort, the Palace of Raja Man Singh (1486-1516). This monarch showed his love of architecture in a practical manner, by constructing a castle which will hold its own in the first rank of India's monuments, so long as it is maintained in the excellent state of repair in which it is at present. True, some years before the creation of the Archaeo-

logical Department, the Man Mandir was restored by the Gwalior military authorities under the supervision of Colonel Surve, but it is thanks to the constant care exercised by the archaeologically-minded of Gwalior State, that its external wealth of coloured décor, and its internal perfection of carving, are not permitted to deteriorate.

The enclosed courtyard round which the zenana apartments are grouped is small, but very beautiful, with its lace-like sculpture, which has mellowed to the soft hue of old ivory. Above the pillars, there are several bands of tiles, which lend just the suggestion of colour necessary to relieve the limestone interior of monotony.

The Telika Mandir or Oilman's Temple, restored in the eighties of the last century, is another building over which the Archaeological Department watches with loving care. It is a tenth-century Vishnu temple and illustrates, in a uniquely interesting manner, the blend of Northern and Southern architectural influences. The *sikhara* or spire is Dravidian in shape, whereas every detail of the decoration is purely Indo-Aryan and of the North, Northern. The Telika Mandir is the loftiest building in the Fort, and its value is enhanced by the gateway constructed from architectural fragments, which Major Keith discovered while engaged upon repairs to the temple. The compound contains an interesting collection of archaeological relics, which convey some idea of the wealth of antiquities inside the Fort area.

A most useful piece of propaganda work accomplished by the Department is the publication of a volume entitled "Gwalior Fort Views" which, with its excellent illustrations and terse historical notes, combines the charm of a photograph album with the utility of a guide book.

Permits to visit the Fort are no longer required, and this concession on the part of the authorities is much appreciated by travellers, who can only dispose of a few hours in which to do their sightseeing.

As soon as the Department had completed the listing of monuments, a scheme for repair and preservation work was submitted to the *Darbar*. The project was sanctioned in a slightly modified form and, after the War, the grant allocated to the furtherance of archaeological interests was increased from Rs. 10,000/- to Rs. 25,000/- per annum.

The conservation campaign commenced in earnest in 1920-1921 with the restoration of the *Gujari Mahal*. This palace, situated within the confines of Gwalior Fort, was built by Raja Man Singh for his favourite wife, *Mriganayana*. It was adopted and adapted as the venue of the Archaeological Museum, and is well suited to this purpose, with its broad courtyard and numerous alcoves, which set off the exhibits to great advantage. The carved brackets and arched doorways offer much food for architectural thought, and serve as a fitting introduction to the study of the archaeological treasures within.

The establishment of a museum was proposed at the same time as the foundation of the Archaeological Department, but seven years elapsed before suitable premises were secured. Once that the *Gujari Mahal* was placed by the *Darbar* at the disposal of the Department however, the classification of exhibits went on apace, with the result that the Gwalior Museum was ready in February 1922, when it was opened by H. R. H. the Prince of Wales. An illustrated catalogue of exhibits is in course of preparation and will figure amongst the most useful of departmental publications. Each year sees an increase in the number of visitors to the Museum, and many tourists from England and America find their way to this dream palace where the past becomes infinitely more vital, more important than the present, where Ancient India whispers secrets to ears intent to hear. In 1923, Sir John Marshall, Director-General of Archaeology, inspected the Museum, and wrote the following sympathetic and encouraging appreciation of the work accomplished by the Gwalior Department:—"It is a very great pleasure to me, who remember the *Gujari Mahal* in its old ruined state—dilapidated, covered in jungle and half filled with débris, to see it in its present well-cared-for condition, and it is no less a pleasure to see to what excellent purpose its courts and chambers have been put by Mr. Garde, the State Superintendent of Archaeology. The task of collecting, arranging, setting up and labelling so many antiquities must have been a difficult one, and Mr. Garde deserves the thanks of every one interested in the monuments of India, for the manner in which he has discharged it. I congratulate him as well as the Gwalior State on this excellent achievement." The majority of the exhibits come

under the following important headings, Inscriptions, Capitals of Monolithic Pillars, Buddhist Railings, Figures of Hindu Deities, Architectural Fragments of Paintings. A few sculptures are placed in separate rooms for, in common with many Western authorities, Gwalior archaeologists hold the view that the individual importance of great statues is emphasized when the masterpieces are isolated.

Possibly one of the most attractive sets of exhibits in the Gulari Mahal consists of replicas of the frescoes, which adorn the Bagh Caves. These grandiose rock temples are to Gwalior State what the Caves of Ajanta are to Hyderabad State. Towards the end of 1927, the India Society of London, in co-operation with the Gwalior Archaeological Department, produced a most attractive volume, entitled "The Bagh Caves in Gwalior State." His Highness the Maharaja Sir Madhavo Rao Sindhia together with Colonel C. E. Luard took keen interest in the preparation of this work. It is a source of profound regret that neither His Highness nor Colonel Luard lived to see the completion of the book which they had planned. The volume is obtainable from the office of the Superintendent of Archaeology, Gwalior State, and is priced at £2.0.0. net.

The Department has initiated a publicity campaign with a view to attracting tourists and, to this end, notices indicating the monuments of interest within easy reach of the railway are being affixed at various stations within the State. The exhibition of photographs in Railway carriages, and the publication of picture post cards, are other means favoured by the Department for the general diffusion of archaeological knowledge. Conservation first, excavation second, is the appointed order to work in the Department, for the authorities fully realize that monuments exposed to the destructive forces of nature have a prior claim on their attention.

Bhilsa District has proved exceedingly rich in archaeological finds, and one of the most important pieces of restoration undertaken in this area is the re-creation of the former glory of the great Siva temple, known as *Nilakanthesvara*, or *Uddyesvara*. Possibly, this sanctuary is the best preserved example of a mediaeval Hindu temple in Central India and, as numerous stone records are extant, it is relatively easy to ascertain that it was built, between 1059 and 1080 A.D., by Paramara King of

Udayaditya. Thanks to the efforts of the Archaeological Department, the temple precincts have been cleared of jungle and, where necessary, repairs have been executed in conformity with the original masonry. Large blocks of red sandstone lend a welcome patch of mellow colour to the structure, which is mentioned in Fergusson's "History of Eastern Architecture." Near the temple, is an extraordinarily interesting mosque, built by Muhammad II Ibn Tughlaq, with material taken from a Hindu temple. The latter, probably, was a companion structure to the *Nilakanthesvara* cathedral.

Five miles from either Bhilsa or Sanchi railway stations, the traveller comes upon a magnificent series of eighteen Hindu and two Jain caves excavated in the Udaygiri Hill. They are embellished with some exquisite sculpture, and the inscriptions which have been deciphered convey the information that they were excavated in the Gupta period from 400 to 600 A. D. The *pièce de résistance* amongst the carvings, and one of the most precious discoveries of archaeologists, is a colossal *Varaha* or Boar Incarnation of Vishnu, perchance the largest in India.

In the same locality as the *Nilakanthesvara* Temple is a gigantic unfinished recumbent statue which, by its huge dimensions, is suggestive of the mammoth figures so often seen in Egypt. It represents Siva executing his mystic dance. Six-armed, twenty-six feet tall and four feet six inches thick, if it ever stood upright, this stupendous figure must have been hauntingly, devastatingly, impressive. It is carved out of a single rock boulder, and is one of those art works which bites into the brain and, once glimpsed, is never forgotten.

Badoh, also in Bhilsa District, is possessed of a magnificent temple, upon which the Department has concentrated its attention for some considerable time. The repairs were not easy, but the work has been accomplished in a most artistically-satisfying manner. For example, the facade of the high platform on which the main building is situated has been restored with ancient carvings, that were discovered buried near their original positions. Thanks to this reconstruction, the facade appears as it did in the first flush of youth, rich in mouldings and sculpture. The utilization of old stone has proved extraordinarily effective, and the

ancient carved slabs introduced into the compound wall are both useful and ornamental.

A quarter of a mile from the Gadarmal temple at Badoh, there is a fine Jain temple which, but for the Archaeological Department, might never have been heard of. It comprises nineteen cells, arranged on three sides of a courtyard. Each of these apartments contains images of *tirthankaras*, deserving of minute examination. The group in the thirteenth cell is amazing in its power. Bhujavalli, in the centre, nineteen seated *tirthankaras*, in the background, a twentieth figure, consisting of a goddess accompanied by a child, combine to form a sculptural poem as arresting as any exhibit in the art galleries of Europe.

The *Solahkhambi* or "Sixteen-Pillared Palace," built on the edge of a lake at Badoh, is an eighth or ninth-century country house of peculiar charm. A secular monument of this nature is a particularly valuable archaeological document, for it flashes light upon the diversions of a thousand years back, and emphasizes the similarity that exists between the pastimes of bygone days and those of to-day. As we gaze at the monument, there float before our eyes visions of the pleasure-seekers of old, who flocked to the *Solahkhambi*, there to enjoy the evening breezes, borne across the lake.

A number of promising sites for archaeological excavation exist in Gwalior State. Once that the bulk of conservation work has been accomplished, funds will become available for research below ground, and it is believed that the projected campaign will yield very interesting results. Ujjayini, near modern Ujjain, is likely to prove a mine of hidden treasure, for it was the capital of the western provinces of the Mauryan Empire under Asoka, a matter of some twenty-three centuries ago, and also played an important rôle in the mediæval history of Malwa. Besnagar, near Bhilsa, the site of the ancient city of Vidisa, has been the scene of trial excavations, and it is hoped to launch operations there on a large scale. Vidisa, mentioned in Buddhist literature, and in the Hindu *Puranas*, was closely connected with that famous Buddhist colony, whose legacy to posterity consists of the great tope at Sanchi. Vidisa became the provincial capital of the Sunga Prince Agnimitra, immortalized by Kalidasa in *Malavikagnimitra*, a play dating, probably, from the fifth century A.D. A mere glance at the mounds and ruins in this

part of the country, is sufficient to convince even the layman, of the pleasures and treasures in store for the archaeologist. Steps have been taken also to acquire the necessary excavation plots at Pawaya, the site of the ancient city of Padmavati, which flourished in the third century A.D. as the capital of the Naga dynasty. Reference to Padmavati is included in the *Vishnu Purana*, and the scene of Bhavabhuti's famous play *Malati Madhava* is laid at Padmavati. Coins, and other relics, dating from the first century A.D., have been discovered already in this locality, and it is conceivable that systematic excavation may reveal traces of the university, which attracted students from the four corners of the earth, in the days of old.

The late Maharaja was keenly interested in the conservation of Narwar, one of the three great hill forts of Gwalior State. In accordance with his instructions, the stronghold was carefully examined, and although it was found impossible to restore all the buildings, the most important of the ancient edifices have been conserved. Narwar is easily reached by motor from Shivpuri, the summer capital of H. H. the Maharaja of Gwalior, and a dak bungalow has been installed in the fortress, to enable visitors to view it in comfort.

Another place into which the Archaeological Department has infused fresh life is Kachhaua, in Narwar District. Romance breathes from every stone of this ancient fortified city, for in the seventeenth century it was the scene of a series of historic incidents which would make an ideal plot for an opera, or cinema scenario. During the reign of Shah Jahan (1628-1658), a grandson of the Raja of Orchha occupied the throne of Kachhaua. The Kachhaua ruler possessed a beautiful wife, and the rumour of her charms aroused the desire of the Delhi Emperor. For this reason, Shah Jahan set out to besiege Kachhaua but, for a whole year, the Mughals attacked it in vain. At last, a traitorous washerwoman, apparently possessed of a greater gift of strategy than the imperial troops, suggested that the water supply of the garrison should be cut off. The officer in command followed her advice and the city capitulated. The Queen, however, who was as talented as she was beautiful, melted the heart of the Emperor by her music and poetry, and by this means obtained release both for herself and her husband. The Archaeological Depart-

ment has published, in its 1923-1924 Annual Report, a sketch plan of an intriguing Kachhau building, which has been styled, variously, a *mahal*, a *madhaiya*, a *sarai* and a *masjid*. The general lay-out indicates that it was intended for a mosque, and the present owner declares that he possesses Akbar's grant of this sanctuary to his ancestors.

The numerous *sati* and other memorial pillars in Gwalior State constitute valuable historical records, for the majority of these monuments are dated, and bear inscriptions containing the ancient names of kings and districts. There is usually a great similarity of plan amongst the designs on *sati* stones. Husband and wife are represented side by side holding hands, or engrossed in the worship of a *linga*, against a background filled with effigies of the sun, moon and stars. A hand pointing towards these emblems implies that the memory of the *sati* shall last for ever.

Chanderi is another important hill fort which the Department has taken under its protection, and about a mile from the town a most interesting *sati* stone has been discovered. The upper panel contains the usual symbols of sun, moon and stars, but in the lower panel, husband and wife are depicted in the guise of Siva and Parvati. Both figures wear crowns and Siva, who is fourarmed, holds a snake in one of his left hands.

The embellishments on warriors' memorials consist generally of a couple or more scenes carved one above the other. In the lower panel, the hero's death is depicted, whilst above, the soldier is seen in Heaven waited upon by celestial nymphs, and in the final scene his deification is represented. The oldest memorial pillar discovered in the State is located at Hasalpur, and bears an inscription dating from the sixth century A.D.

About six hundred inscriptions have been copied by the Gwalior Archaeological Department, and it is proposed to edit them and publish them in book form. They range in

date from the second century B.C. to the eighteenth century A.D., and include reference to twenty-one ruling dynasties of Ancient and Medieval India.

It is impossible to specify all the channels of useful activity which the Gwalior Archaeological Department has carved out for itself, since its inauguration. One of its side-lines consists of the preparation of lantern slides, and during one working season alone, a hundred and nine of these admirable aids to archaeological propaganda were produced. Some of the most instructive views illustrated repairs carried out under the aegis of the Department.

The annual reception given by the Department keeps the residents of Gwalior *au fait* with the most recent achievements of the archaeological experts and, indeed, it is only necessary to examine any of the many important monuments in Gwalior City, to realize that they are protected against the marauding hand of Time.

A building of peculiarly romantic associations which has been restored recently is the observatory at Ujain, built by Maharaja Jai Singh. This structure is one of five observatories erected by the royal astronomer, and is a landmark of great historic interest. For a few years prior to the removal of the seat of government to Gwalior, in 1820, Ujain was the capital of the Gwalior rulers, and it is a city brimful of archaeological and historic charm.

In addition to the publications already mentioned, the Gwalior Archaeological Department has issued various useful brochures, all of which make most illuminating reading. The foundation of an excellent and ever-augmenting library is another effective measure for stimulating interest in archaeology. "Minimum expenditure, maximum results"—this is a slogan which the Archaeological Department has adopted to good purpose, and its achievements in the past, and projects for the future, denote the success of its live-wire policy.

THE HINDUS AND COW-SLAUGHTER.

By "A LOVER OF PEACE."

Whatever may be the real cause of the internecine war between the Hindus and Muhammadans in these days, there is not the least doubt that the most frequent excuse seems to be the slaughter of cows by the latter. The Hindus have every right to hold the life of any animal they like sacred, but they have no right to expect others to do the same. They are certainly on very debatable ground when they try to fan the popular prejudices of their community by constantly appealing to their ancient scriptures and tradition. It is really very unfortunate that Gandhiji should have lent the support of his personality to that school of the Hindu Community which is never tired of quoting from the Vedas and the Shastras to enlist sympathy for its campaign against cow-slaughter, without first fully investigating the matter himself. It would, at all times, be a dangerous move to seek support for our pet theories in ancient scriptures and to twist historical evidence to serve our views. In the present state of affairs in India it is criminal. The following extracts from the pen of eminent scholars, who have written on the subject of cow-slaughter in ancient India during the course of their historical studies and not in the interests of any communal organisation, may be of interest to those who wish to seek the truth for its own sake and are not wedded to any pet theory.

It may be stated at the very beginning that the sanctity of cow was fully recognised by the Ancient Hindus, though this fact did not apparently debar them from eating its flesh. Thus Prof. Macdonnell writes:—

"But it is the cow which, owing to her great utility is most prominent. Thus the beams of dawn and rain-clouds constantly appear as cows; and the earth itself is called a cow. It is clear that the animal already possessed a sacred character; the evidence of the *Avesta*, indeed, shows that her sanctity goes back to the Indo-Iranian period. In the Atharva Veda the worship of cow is fully recognised. Her sacredness has not only survived in India,

but has even been intensified by the lapse time." (*Imperial Gazetteer*, Volume II, pages 216-17).

But the same writer also points out that

"The wedding was celebrated in the house of the bride's parents, to which the bridegroom came in procession with his friends and relations. Here they were entertained with the flesh of cows slain in honour of the occasion." (*ibid*, page 214).

The writer who devoted special attention to the question of "Beef in Ancient India" was the late Rajindralal Mitra. This is what he says in his well-known book "Indo-Aryans":—

"The title of this paper will, doubtless, prove highly offensive to most of my countrymen; but the interest attached to the enquiry in connection with the early social history of the Aryan race on this side of the Himalayas, will, I trust, plead my excuse. The idea of beef—the flesh of the earthly representative of the divine Bhagavati—as an article of food is so shocking to the Hindus, that thousands over thousands of the more orthodox among them never repeat the counterpart of the word in their vernaculars, and many and dire have been the sanguinary conflicts which the shedding of the blood of cows has caused in this country. And yet it would seem that there was a time when not only no compunctious visitings of conscience had a place in the mind of the people in slaughtering cattle—when not only the meat of that animal was actually esteemed a valuable aliment—when not only was it a mark of generous hospitality, as among the ancient Jews, to slaughter the "fatted calf" in honour of respected guests,—but when a supply of beef was deemed an absolute necessity by pious Hindus in their journey from this to another world, and a cow was invariably killed to be burnt with the dead. To Englishmen, who are familiar with the present temper of the people on the subject, and to a great many of the natives themselves, this remark may appear quite

startling; but the authorities on which it is founded are so authentic and incontrovertible that they cannot, for one moment, be gainsaid." (Vol. I, pages 354-55).

For the authorities on which the author based his remarks, I would refer the curious to the book quoted above which abounds with quotations from the original works and which are open to verification by those who seek to pursue the subject for ascertaining the truth. Rajindralal Mitra, however, is not the only scholar who was of opinion that beef was an article of food in ancient India. Here are a few extracts from others also.

In describing the manners and civilisation of the Hindus of the Epic Age in his "Ancient India", Romesh Chundra Dutt says:—

"The flesh of the cow was an article of food, and some wine was consumed at sacrifices." (Page 61).

Mr. C. V. Vaidya writes:—

"Animal food, even beef, was freely eaten by Kashatriyas and Brahmanas." (*The Mahabharata: A Criticism*, page 69).

"The ancient Brahmins and Kashatriyas freely ate animal food and had no objection to animal slaughter for purposes of food and sacrifices." (*The Riddle of Ramayana*, page 7).

"The keeping and rearing of large herds of bovine cattle will be easily explained when we remember that the ancient Aryans were a beef-eating race." (*Ibid.*, page 203).

In his "Ancient and Hindu India", Vincent Smith says:—

"The detestation of cow-slaughter and the loathing for beef, which are to-day the most prominent outward marks of Hinduism, have been so for many centuries, perhaps for something like two thousand years. The Indo-Aryans had not those marks. It is quite certain that they freely sacrificed bulls and cows and ate both beef and horse flesh on ceremonial occasions." (Page 21).

In describing Alexander's invasion, he writes:—

"It is worthy of note that the supplies tendered by Ambhi comprised '3,000 oxen fatted for shamblers' besides 10,000 or more sheep. That statement, made incidentally, is good evidence that in 326 B. C. the people of Taxila were

still willing to fatten cattle for slaughter and the feeding of honoured guests, in Vedic fashion. (*Ibid.*, pages 60-61).

M. M. Kunte writes as follows in his "Vicissitudes of Aryan Civilisation in India":—

"An ox was killed, and a sacrifice called *Shulagana* was performed." (Page 174).

"Hospitality was the rule of life and guests were received with great ceremony; cows were specially killed for them: baths, water, and food (*Madhupurka*) were offered to them." (*Ibid.*, page 196).

In this connection it may be interesting to note that in Asoka's Pillar Edict V, the cow is not mentioned in the list of animals whose slaughter was prohibited. (Bhandarkar's "Asoka"). Kautilya's *Arthashastra* also seems to recognise the slaughter of cows as a matter of course as would appear from the quotations given below. (The references are to Dr. Shamashastry's translation):—

"When the superintendent classifies cattle as calves, drought oxen, bulls that are to be trained to yoke, bulls kept for crossing cows, cattle that are fit only for the supply of flesh that system is known as 'class of herds'". (Page 160). And again, "They (the cowherds) may sell either fresh flesh or dried flesh." (Page 162). (Italics ours).

The extracts given above cannot be complete without my giving yet another quotation from Rajindralal Mitra's book "Indo-Aryans", already referred to above, where he describes the reasons for the development of public feeling against beef. This is what he says:—

"If such be the case, the question arises, whence comes this public feeling against the ordinances of the Vedas (regarding cow-slaughter)? And we can nowhere meet with a more appropriate reply than in the fact that when the Brahmins had to contend against Buddhism, which emphatically and so successfully denounced all sacrifices, they found the doctrine of respect for animal life too strong and too popular to be overcome, and therefore gradually and imperceptibly adopted it in such a manner as to make it appear a part of their Sastra. They gave prominence to such passages as preached benevolence and mercy for all animated creation, and so removed to

the background the sacrificial ordinances as to put them entirely out of sight. Such a process is even now going on in Hinduism under the influence of Christianity, and, as the Hindu mind was during the ascendancy of Buddhism already well prepared for a change by the teachings of the Buddhist missionaries, no difficulty was met with in making faith, devotion, and love supply the place of the holocausts and unlimited meat offerings ordained by the Vedas. The abstinence was, at first, no doubt, optional, but gradually it became general, partly from a natural disposition to benevolence, and partly out of respect for the feelings of Buddhist neighbours, such as the Muhammadans now evince for their Hindu fellow subjects by abstaining from beef in different parts of Bengal, that writers found it easy to appeal to the practice of the people and public feeling as proofs even as potent as the Vedas, and authoritatively to declare that sacrifices were forbidden in the present age. This once done, the change was complete. In short, the Buddhist appeal to humanity proved too much for the Smṛiti, and custom has now given rigidity to the horror against the sacrifice of animal life which even the Vedas fail to overcome." (Vol. I, pages 387-88).

In conclusion I would like to add that the object of this article is not to revive beef-eating amongst the present day Hindus—nor is it a crusade against the cow-protection movement. I merely wish to draw the attention of the more thoughtful section of my co-religionists to the fact that our present day attitude towards those who slaughter cows for food, or for religious purposes, borders on a fanaticism which is entirely foreign to the best tradition of Hindu culture. It may also help those Hindus who entirely depend for their beliefs and practices on the authority of the ancient scriptures to reconsider their position. It may, however, be argued that the sentiments of the present day Hindus have

nothing to do with the beliefs and practices of their ancient ancestors and deserve to be respected all the same. Granted, but then why appeal to ancient authority? And it cannot be denied that an overwhelming majority of the present day Hindus do not take beef merely because they believe that it is prohibited in the Vedas and the Shastras. Indeed, some of them would stake their all on that belief. No community is perhaps more priest-ridden than the Hindus and the secret of the hold of the Pundits always has been that they took very good care to impress on the people that what they said emanated from the Vedas and the Shastras and was, therefore, beyond dispute. And of course no one, who was not a Brahmin, was competent to interpret the sacred literature, or even to read it! It is this slavery that we have to fight against. And it is this slave mentality which is being imposed upon us by ignorant or interested Hindu leaders and the Hindu Press when cow-slaughter is made a popular platform cry in the communal struggle against the Muhammadans. As a matter of fact cow-slaughter by the Muslim community has considerably increased since this cry was raised and the efforts on the part of the Hindus to make the Muslims stop cow-sacrifice has resulted in the sacrifice of even a larger number of cows than before. It is, therefore, desirable both in the interest of the cow and communal peace that the less said against it, the better. We must trust to the good sense of the Muslim community to respect our sentiments and not hurt our feelings. Breaking of each other's heads would certainly not solve the problem. And psychologists tell us that if you want to ensure that a people should avoid doing a certain thing, the best way is not to prohibit them from doing it. Who knows what would have been the future of mankind if God had not made the initial blunder of asking Adam and Eve not to eat a certain fruit in the Garden of Eden.

WANTED: INDIAN PROPAGANDA ABROAD.

By "AN INDIAN IN AMERICA,"

Miss Katherine Mayo's book, "Mother India," has at least made one thing clear, that the enemies of India are at present most actively engaged in prejudicing world opinion against India at a critical moment of her history. The Hindus in America have reason to believe that this book is a part of the anti-Indian propaganda now let loose abroad in all its violence and wickedness. They also wish it to be understood clearly by our countrymen at home that it is only the beginning of war more virulent than any before, to vilify our country abroad. So we shall expect more of it in future. We are, however, glad to see that public mind in India is roused to the importance of cultivating opinion of the outside world in line with the national policies of India.

In fact, the leaders of Indian National Congress have long since realized the necessity of presenting India's case in foreign countries as an important asset to their work in India. The efforts of Dadabhai Naoraji, of Cokhale, of Tilak, of Lajpat Rai and of other Indian leaders in this connection, are indicative of a policy almost continuously pursued by the Congressmen until only recently, when the National Congress decided otherwise. Still Indian leaders have continued to do the political work abroad individually, though it was officially given up by the Congress. The above-mentioned leaders and many others have gone abroad to enlighten the international opinion on conditions in India.

Since then international opinion has gathered itself stronger and is tending to become more and more effective in shaping world politics. It is deliberately sought and cultivated as a means of solving certain difficulties in international relations, through such machinery as the League of Nations, World Court, Opium Conferences, Armament Conferences, Debt Plans, International Labour Meetings, Student Organizations, Youth Movements, etc. Never before were National policies so closely linked up to International Affairs. All this is of vital importance to India. Constitutionally in the affairs of the world, India is no longer a dependency, but a

member of the League of Nations. Consider the post of the Secretary of State for India. It is not only tending to become more and more important in the British Cabinet, but also in the eyes of the world. His speeches are no longer confined to the House of Lords or the indifferent comments of British papers. They are taken up, commented, criticized and passed on to the various peoples of the world by their respective newspapers. Evidently India is looming larger in the affairs of the world.

The present is a psychological moment in the promotion of world opinion. Old orders of thought are changing and new ones are taking their place. Under such conditions it is evident that those who work hard and use their heads now will largely decide the trend of future opinion. The opponents of Indian nationalism have not only realized it, but have forestalled the situation in a remarkable way. One would be surprised to find in conversations how uniform and almost identical opinions the average American holds on Indian situation. To him India is a chaotic mingling of races, full of religious feuds and caste differences. Britain, on the other hand, is presented as a peace-maker and selfless teacher in the ways of civilization to a backward people. It is evident that these Americans have been deliberately taught to think along such lines by the political opponents of India.

Of course, the people in foreign lands are not to be blamed for such misconceptions. They have been constantly fed on such material and have never been given the chance of hearing the other side. It is up to us to inform them and the experience we have shows that they are eager to hear the other side too. These opinions cannot be ignored by Indian leaders. It is the views of people abroad that influence the respective national policies. While British diplomats and publicists are working aggressively for the moral support of the outside world to their cause we Indians are losing it. It need not be told that such moral sympathy is considerably

effective and necessary to one's cause in the long run.

It is America and American opinion that will be the leading factor in future world politics. Since the Great War the leadership of the world is shifted from Europe to the United States of America. Not only as financiers and creditors of the world, but also as an irresistibly growing military and naval power, America stands first. The balance of power is in her hands. British statesmen have realized this new rising rival to their Empire. They know that this powerful rival of the British Empire must be placated because he cannot be beaten. No wonder that the Britishers should outwardly talk so much of the unity of Anglo-Saxon race of America and England, and even the British clergymen should help the British politician by preaching from the pulpit in America the gospel of union and goodwill between these powers as the basis of world peace and prosperity.

Accordingly, British propagandists have shifted their centre of activity from Europe to America. It would be interesting to note all their activities, but space does not permit it. It is enough to say that from religion to Rotary Clubs and from senators to school teachers all are equally embraced in their ever-widening work of converting American opinion. It is not uncommon to see such prominent Britishers as Lord Birkenhead, Mr. Lloyd George, Sir Robert Cecil, Sir Philip Gibbs, Sir Frederick Whyte, Sir Valentine Chirol, Mr. Lionel Curtis, Mr. Borden, the ex-minister of Canada, and many others coming to this country for British propaganda. From these names, one can see how British opinion is trying to overrun America from one end to the other.

Yet it is creditable to note that patriotic Indians have done considerable work though they do not have the same backing and friends from home as their opponents. The splendid work done by Lala Lajpatrai and his band of workers here is well-known and need not be repeated. There are people who are now doing the same kind of work though their efforts are not taken note of by the Indian National Congress. It may be mentioned as an example here that Professor J. J. Cornelius, formerly of Lucknow University, addressed more than fifty meetings within the last few months carrying his word through a territory almost equal to that of India. His work could be appreciated better when it is remembered that all this was done

along with his regular research work in the University. His address before an overflowing audience in which were seated Consuls from twenty-one different nationalities, in a meeting in New York which was opened by President Coolidge, where eminent political thinkers presented themselves for discussion from all parts of the world, and where Professor Cornelius had to debate with Mr. Lionel Curtis, the father of Indian Dyarchy, was remarkable. If only a few men could do so much alone and unaided, how much more could be done by an organized attempt backed by the Indian National Congress.

It is this need of an organized attempt on behalf of India in this country that we wish to place most emphatically before our people. One can well imagine what excellent work could be done here. We are confident that the Congress leaders and public as a whole will concur with us. We are herewith proposing a scheme which will considerably remedy the situation if Congress and our leaders are moved to support it. The major part of the work in this country will be shouldered by men who might be recruited from the resident Indians here.

There are men in this country who will be willing to assume the responsibility of assisting to create a permanent organization to extend the work of the Indian National Congress here in America. But it is obvious that to be effective such an organization must have :—(a) Recognition from the Indian National Congress, (b) Occasional visits to this country of Congressional leaders, annually or more often, and (c) some sort of financial arrangement with the Indian National Congress. The policy of the organization shall be in consonance with the policy of the Indian National Congress. The work shall mainly consist of :—(a) Dissemination of authoritative information about India through lectures, pamphlets, publications, personal contacts, etc. (b) Arrangements for the lecture tours of the Congress delegates to this country. (c) To serve as a news agency to Indian papers. (d) To help responsible American visitors to India in making contacts with Indian Nationalist organizations and leaders. These people on their return to America will be a valuable asset to the cause of India, and (e) To establish a library on India in this country.

As regards its financial requirements, (1) The organization here will be mostly self-supporting as it develops. Congress will have to provide at least one year's expense in the beginning which

should not exceed more than four to five thousand rupees; this expense to be gradually minimized as the work becomes organized here. We believe, given a chance and some time for the maturing of the plan, such an organization could be made self-supporting in this country, and (2) the expenses relative to Congress delegates from and to India shall be taken care of either by the Congress or by the delegates themselves, while his living and traveling expenses in this country may be provided for by the organization here. He shall not expect an honorarium for his lectures or other public services here.

The person delegated to this country should be well acquainted with world politics. It is advisable to have a mature person, preferably a member of the Indian Legislature. The membership in the Legislative Assembly serves as an important qualification, as it will carry with it considerable weight, and influence in this country. They will be taken here equivalent to the Senators and Congressmen of the United States of America. It is imperative that such a delegate should be an eloquent speaker, and if possible, a good writer. We need sincere men with a spirit of co-operation, who will understand the difficulties and help our cause in overcoming them. It will be necessary that the delegate should inform himself on all liberal political parties and issues in the United States of America.

It is evident that the work here depends largely upon the active co-operation of Congressmen and leaders in India. It is essential that

the Indian National Congress should have a foreign department to systematically build foreign relations. Our increasing immigration to countries like British Guiana, our problems in South Africa, the interests of Indian merchants abroad, and the growing number of students to foreign universities, all these need a centralized handling which Congress alone would be able to discharge in a responsible manner. We are particularly interested in this line of work as no political organization is carrying on Indian National Congress work in the United States. Conditions in America have come to a stage where all unfocused political activities should be managed from a central source, and directed to a definite end. Should the Congress decide to act on these suggestions, it is urged that Mrs. Sarojini Naidu be selected as the first Congress representative to lecture in this country. Her personality, her reputation as a poet, her eloquence, and her Presidency of the Indian National Congress are sure to win the enthusiastic reception and ensure very successful beginning of a vitally important work. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu is an Indian lady of international reputation and it must be remembered that American public opinion is very appreciative and enthusiastic of women speakers in general. We feel perfectly confident of the success of such a scheme. The numbers of helpful workers are bound to increase as the organization matures and the work is opened up. We may assure our people that in presenting this scheme of work we are expressing the sentiments of our Indian group here.

THE REJECTION OF THE SKEEN REPORT.

By SIR P. S. SIVASWAMI Aiyar, K.C.S.I.

The announcement by the Commander-in-Chief of the conclusions arrived at by the Government on the recommendations of the Indian Sandhurst Committee does not come to me as a surprise. For the last three or four months, the air has been thick with rumours

that the recommendations had all been turned down by the Secretary of State and the Committee of Imperial Defence. Though the announcement merely confirms most of the rumours which were afloat and has not therefore caused a disappointment, it will create

widespread dissatisfaction in the country and increase the existing distrust in the minds of the people as regards the good faith of the Government and their professions of a desire to help the country to attain self-government or to Indianise the Army. To an outsider in some other country the arguments of the Commander-in-Chief might perhaps have a semblance of plausibility, but no one acquainted with the history of British policy in this country will feel convinced by the arguments of the Commander-in-Chief. These arguments are nothing new, the concessions proposed are too small to satisfy even moderate aspirations. We are all familiar with the arguments that there has been a lack of suitable candidates even for the vacancies now annually offered, that the Government cannot pledge itself to any policy of automatic expansion in the number of King's Commissions but must wait and see the results of each small concession before it can take the next step, that it is Government's anxiety to keep down military expenditure that is largely responsible for the decision not to establish one Indian Sandhurst and that the opportunities for mixing with British cadets offered by a course of training at the English Sandhurst are an immense advantage, etc. But these arguments will not carry weight. If the Government are justified in attaching such high value to the advantage of social intercourse with young Englishmen, why do they not carry the argument to its logical length and why do they propose to attach the successful Indian cadets to the eight Indian units?

If the system of King's Commission is to continue, Indian officers must also learn to handle British officers of inferior rank above whom they may be placed in the ordinary course of promotion or in the exigencies of war. The argument that it would not be otherwise possible to judge of the ability of an Indian officer to command a unit is puerile. The public will hold to itself the belief that the only reason and the real reason why in spite of the condemnation of the eight units scheme by the Skeen Committee and by the witnesses who appeared before them the Government persist in maintaining the scheme is due to their desire to avoid the risk of any European officer being obliged to serve under one Indian officer and to put off the evil day of Indianisation of the Army to the Greek Kalends. The reasons for not establishing an Indian Sandhurst are absolutely unconvincing.

It is not for Indians to make out a case for this purpose. The onus really lies upon those who wish to deny to India the right to maintain a military college of its own for the training of its officers. Economy can be no consideration. The country would gladly agree to any proposal for expenditure under this head. We desire that the training in a military college established in India should be of the same standard as that of the English College and we desire to obtain the services of the best English experts as instructors. But apparently the Commander-in-Chief's idea is that an Indian military college should be started only when there is a sufficient number of Indian ex-Sandhurst cadets and ex-staff college officers to serve as instructors and professors. We are not so narrow-minded as to decline instruction by English officers and experts. This sentence in the Commander-in-Chief's speech like one or two others is very cryptic and requires explanation.

The proposal to offer 27 more vacancies in the King's Commissions every year and refuse to make any provision for further expansion until the results of this proposal are known is merely a plea for delay. Many people do not seem to have noticed the fact that the provision of six cadets each for Woolwich and Cranwell is only a maximum. We shall not therefore start with our immediate increase of 27 more vacancies but it will probably be 17 or 19 to start with. It is too much to ask any Indian to believe that sufficient qualified Indians cannot be found for the vacancies offered. If the existing educational institutions in India do not provide the right kind of material why does not Government make provision for starting two or three more institutions of the same type as the Prince of Wales Royal Military College at Dehra Dun in other suitable centres? The truth of the matter is that where there is no will, there will always be difficulties in finding a way.

The other cryptic sentence in the Commander-in-Chief's speech which requires elucidation is that in the process of development the Government expect to form an Indian Army of the same type as the Dominion Army organised on a national basis and officered by Indians holding their own distinctive national form of Commission. This suggests a Dominion Commission and not a King's Commission. We heard a rumour sometime ago that there would be no more King's Commissions offered to Indians. The public should be informed

whether the Commissions to be hereafter granted to Indians would be King's Commission or Dominion Commissions. It is to be hoped that there would be vouchsafed clear information on this as well as other points on which the Government have failed to carry out the policy nominally accepted by them. The Territorial Force Committee recommended a large increase in the University Training Corps and the creation of urban battalions. It has been stated that the total strength of the Territorial Force including the University Training Corps and the urban battalions as well as rural battalions has been fixed at a maximum of twenty thousand so that the margin for increase over the existing sanctioned strength under all the three heads combined is only less than a thousand.

This is a true measure of the response of the Government to the aspirations of the people and to the recommendations of the Territorial Force Committee.

The time has now come for an intensive propaganda in the country as to the need for a liberal policy in the Indianisation of the Army and a demand must be made for a declaration as to the time within which the Army should be Indianised. At one time I thought that it was neither reasonable nor practical to ask for a time-table but I am now convinced that in the absence of such a demand and some undertaking by the Government in accordance with it, the Government will never apply themselves seriously to the problem of the Indianisation of the Army or of self-government for this country.

THE LATE LORD SINHA.

I

A TRIBUTE.

By THE RT. HON'BLE SRINIVASA SASTRI.

Baron Sinha was undeniably the ablest statesman that India has produced in recent times, and the honours and distinctions which he was awarded were spontaneous and unsought-after tributes to his remarkable qualities. He was the first Indian to be made a member of the Viceroy's Cabinet, to become a Privy Councillor, and to receive the Freedom of London, and he was also a member of the Imperial War Cabinet.

Baron Sinha, who passed away the other day, at the age of 64, is the most conspicuous example of the distinctions open on the official side to an Indian who unites public and private virtues. As the vivifying rays of the sun first strike the highest object on our planet, so did the most striking forms of official recognition come to Lord Sinha, who stood head and shoulders above his compeers. He was chosen for the honour, then unprecedented, of a seat in the Cabinet of the Viceroy of India. During the late War, when India was for the first time admitted to the intimate discussions of the Empire Cabinets of 1917 and 1918, it was

through his commanding personality. It was during these years that he was made Freeman of the City of London, His Majesty's Privy Councillor and King's Counsel—distinctions which no Indian had achieved before.

Next year, that is in 1919, he rose still higher, being appointed Under-Secretary of State for India, and, after being created Baron of Raipur, taking his seat in the House of Lords. The climax of his career was his elevation at the end of 1921 to the Governorship of Bihar and Orissa. These marks of official approbation, some of which still remain unique, were crowded together into a little more than a decade and made him incomparably the brightest star in the Indian firmament. Neither personal jealousy nor political hatred has spared his reputation. They have dogged human excellence since the days of Rama and Krishna, and are in fact inseparable from the advancement of our kind. The truth is that he was singularly free from the arts and dubious graces by which a man generally pleases the powers that be. If success and glory came, they came because of his

sterling qualities. With the modesty which formed a part of his lovable nature, he once told me that the honours which rained so thick on him were far beyond his deserts and that they would have been a more fitting reward for a really great son of India like Mr. Gokhale.

REVERENCE FOR ELDERS.

With Mr. Gokhale he had one remarkable quality in common. They both revered elders in the true Hindu style, and it was good to hear the language of worshipful respect in which they habitually belauded the work and worth of the great leaders before them. It would purify public life a good deal if the aspiring politicians of to-day cultivated a little of their spirit of reverence. Once, as he was unbosoming himself to me, I had a glimpse of the feelings of weariness which seemed to settle like a cloud on his last days. In substance he said: "I have been an exceptionally lucky man; I certainly have no right to grumble. But I have never been quite happy under these favours of fortune. They came along with so much unpopularity and bitterness of criticism that I never could enjoy them fully." Of a sensitive and shrinking temperament, he found himself driven by circumstance, and a high sense of duty to occupy a position of prominence in the public eye in which he became the target of envy. He felt the sting, and although he was too noble to resent, he could not shake off a sense of injustice. When fortune picks her favourites, she might show a decided preference for those endowed with a thick skin and fitted to draw full satisfaction from her boons.

DEBT TO LORD MORLEY.

It is an instructive chapter in the story of Indian political advance which deals with the effort of Lord Morley to get Mr. Sinha admitted to the Viceroy's Cabinet. The patience, tact and skilful negotiation with which he overcame the scerried opposition from Royalty to the Press seem almost to rob him of all title to be called visionary. Pushing aside all other arguments against his proposal, he flung himself with passionate rhetoric on the objection based on race and colour. The theme was exalted and calculated to draw forth the best in Victorian Liberalism, which seems lamentably to have gone out of fashion. One passage from his

speeches of the day may not be without its lessons to my readers here: "Suppose there were in Calcutta an Indian lawyer of large practice and great experience in his profession, a man of unstained professional and personal repute in close touch with European society, and much respected, and the actual holder of important legal office. Am I to say to this man: 'In spite of all these excellent circumstances to your credit, in spite of your undisputed fitness, in spite of the emphatic declaration of 1833 that fitness, is to be the criterion of eligibility, in spite of the noble promise of Queen Victoria's Proclamation of 1858—a promise of which every Englishman ought to be for ever proud if he tries to adhere to it and ashamed if he tries to betray or to mock it—in spite of all this, usage and prejudice are so strong that I dare not appoint you, but must instead fish up a stranger to India from Lincoln's Inn or the Temple.' Is there one of your Lordships who would envy the Secretary of State who had to hold language of that kind to a meritorious candidate, one of the King's equal subjects?"

UNJUST CRITICISM.

His brief period of office, for he resigned in a little more than a year, was marked by one of those episodes which bring out the difficulties of men in delicate positions. A Bill was proposed for the control of the Press containing such drastic provisions as to rouse the fiercest criticism. On him and on Mr. Gokhale fell the onerous task of securing modifications of these provisions to allay the public alarm. At one stage the negotiations threatened to fail, and Mr. Sinha had no alternative but to offer to resign. In the end the Bill was altered substantially for the better and became law. Nevertheless, Mr. Gokhale and he had to encounter a severe blast to public censure for their failure to secure greater concessions from the Executive Government. This is a common fate of all who conduct negotiations at a disadvantage. For the man in the street, on whose behalf they act, forgets the dangers that he has escaped and only thinks of those to which he is still liable. In spite of the prejudice entertained against him in ill-informed circles, he was elected President of the Indian National Congress at its session of December, 1915. His address on the occasion was remarkable for two

things. The first was the most cogent and persuasive plea that has yet been made for military reform in India with the object of preparing the Indian for ultimate home rule by preparing him to take over the defence of his own country. The results of this, as of other able pleas, are not still apparent. But another recommendation he made bore good fruit. Political agitation had assumed a degree of rancour which was recognised on all sides to be dangerous. To ally it the first and most essential step seemed to Sir Satyendra to be the enunciation, by the authorities in London of a definite goal and a definite policy. In making this suggestion to the Government of the day he employed all the skill and authority which he had acquired by his inside knowledge of the official machinery. The appeal went home to many British hearts, among whom was Lord Chelmsford, destined later, in conjunction with Mr. Montagu, to be responsible for the present Indian constitution. It was in August, 1917, that the famous declaration was made on the authority of Parliament to the effect that the goal of political advance in India was the establishment of responsible government by her own people. Lord Chelmsford has recently made the interesting revelation that his own first inspiration towards this avowed policy was derived from Sir Satyendra's able advocacy.

RECIPROCITY RESOLUTION.

- In this country interest will be felt in the part played by Sir Satyendra in bringing about the famous Reciprocity Resolution of 1918. In the War Cabinet of the time he presented a Memorandum detailing the grievances and disabilities of Indians resident in the Dominions and the Colonies of the Empire. The Memorandum was thrashed out in committee and resulted in the Imperial Conference recording a resolution to the effect that the Dominions and India alike had the power of determining the composition of their populations and of passing immigration laws designed to secure that composition. In consenting to the resolution the representatives of each Dominion testified in ungrudging terms to the ability, moderation and spirit of compromise with which Sir Satyendra had conducted his part in the negotiations. The statesmen representing South Africa were not behind the rest in bearing this testimony. I may say, however, in passing, that he more

than once confided to me his feeling of utter despair in regard to the position of Indians in this country—a feeling which he shared with many another student of Imperial affairs, both British and other. I daresay, when the Ministry of General Hertzog announced their adoption of the Capetown Agreement, he felt, like the rest of us, that the miracle had been performed.

His training at the Calcutta Bar equipped him thoroughly for the task of advising Mr. Montagu in fashioning the new constitution of India. I have no knowledge of their mutual confidences. But I saw the marvellous respect, and confidence which he commanded among his colleagues on the Joint Select Committee of Parliament when they took evidence in 1919 on the provisions of the Bill, then under discussion. The Indian witnesses felt equal pride and admiration to behold the skill with which he cross-examined the opponents of the Bill, dispelled their fears and exposed their arguments. One poor European witness, himself a High Court Judge, confessed to a feeling of utter nervousness before the lion of the Calcutta Bar. The House of Lords has a well-deserved reputation for the high level it reaches during Indian debates of expert knowledge and experience and educative value to students of *Hansard*. It is high praise to say that Lord Sinha sustained the reputation of the House by his contributions to the debate on the Bill and received warm encomiums from those competent to judge.

CAPACITY FOR FRIENDSHIP.

Of the many qualities which went to the making of his sweet and attractive character, a high place must be given to the tender regard which he always displayed for the feelings of others, and the intense attachment with which he clung to friends. I treasure in particular one affection which we had in common. Mr. Montagu's love of India and his unparalleled services to her, we knew and appreciated, perhaps more than most other Indians with whom he came in contact. It was a poignant grief to him, as to me, that large sections of our countrymen decried the reforms bearing his great name and deliberately set about wrecking them. This grief preyed on his heart so much that at our last interview in Calcutta, he confessed in a voice nearly choked with emotion that he could not find peace in a country which had failed to recognise its greatest benefactor.

I feel certain, however, that, with the large wisdom which nature and training had given him, he often consoled himself with the thought that good deeds are never wholly thrown away, certainly not on the people of India.

II

A STUDY AND AN APPRECIATION.

As some divinely gifted man,
Whose life in low estate began,
And on a simple village green;
Who breaks his birth's invidious bar,
And grasps the skirts of happy chance,
And breasts the blow of circumstance,
And grapples with his evil star;
Who makes by force his merit known
And lives to clutch the golden keys,
To mould a mighty State's decree,
And shape the whisper of a throne;
And moving up from high to higher
Becomes the fortune's crowning hope,
The pillar of a people's hope
The centre of a world's desire.

In Memoriam.

"If by British rule is meant autocracy and domination in the name and under the garb of efficiency, we are opposed to it. . . . It is this critical attitude of mind which has in the past brought down upon our devoted heads invectives of reactionary politicians and officials." In these words Lord Sinha, the news of whose sudden death has been received with a shock of pain throughout the country, summed up the essentials of the Indian national demand when speaking at the complimentary banquet given to him in London on March 12, 1919, on his appointment as the first Indian Under-Secretary of State for India. That appointment was a measure of the extent to which the British Government were prepared to go in implementing Queen Victoria's famous and memorable Proclamation and thus affording an earnest of the abandonment of the policy of unadulterated autocracy. If a Tilak served his country by his sufferings in jail, if a Gokhale served it by his brilliant failures in the fight against the serried ranks of autocracy in the legislature, it was the destiny of Lord Sinha to serve it by his unique personal triumphs. It was given to him to be the instrument for making the first breaches in the solid wall of racial barrier, which has made

British rule in India a series of disappointed hopes and broken pledges. He was the first Indian to hold the appointment of Advocate-General of Bengal, the first Indian to be member of the Governor-General's Executive Council, the first Indian to attend the Imperial Conference and to be admitted into the War Cabinet, the first Indian peer and Indian Under-Secretary of State for India, the first Indian Governor of a Province and, above all, one of the two Indians who were members of the Paris Peace Conference, and lastly the second Indian to be a member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. In all these responsible positions he acquitted himself most creditably and vindicated, if a vindication was necessary, the right of Indians to hold them and their capacity to equal, if not to surpass, others in the discharge of onerous duties attendant thereto.

Lord Sinha occupied a unique position in Indian public life, in the largest sense of that term. In a nation emerging from autocracy and tutelage to breathe the atmosphere of freedom the period of transition is marked by unusual excitement aroused by the spread of patriotic idea and soul-stirring ideals and the position of those among the subject peoples who may be invited by the ruling power to assist in the task of Government and place before them the point of view of the people is one of great delicacy and responsibility demanding courage, clearness of vision, steadfastness of purpose and strength to face the waves of passing unpopularity. The difficulties in the case of Mr. Sinha, when he accepted the office of the first Indian member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, were rendered all the greater because it devolved upon him to justify the great experiment initiated by Lord Morley and enable it to be broadened into a policy. How admirably he acquitted himself in that great office to the satisfaction of the Government and of the people is a matter which is well within the knowledge of the Indian public. It was also to his very great credit that he never lost touch with the public life of his country. He was for many years before he came into prominence, a humble camp-follower, as he said, in the Congress; he was raised by popular franchise, to the place of President of the Indian National Congress, the highest position to which the will of the people can raise one of their own, and his views on public questions have ever been those of a patriotic, sober, just-minded and ardent Indian.

Surely, one who earned the confidence of both the Government and the people in such a striking degree deserves an abiding place in the memory of his countrymen.

EARLY LIFE.

The Sinhas of Raipur in the district of Birbhum trace their descent from an ancient family of Utter Rahri Kayasthas which had sent out many ramifications throughout Bengal. The Sinhas were well-to-do people with position and prestige. Mr. Sinha's father was a munsiff under the East India Company and later a Sudder Amin and died in 1865. Mr. Satyendra Prasanna Sinha was the youngest of four brothers and was born in 1863 and early in life he lost the advantage of his plastic mind being moulded by the informed and instructed intelligence of his father, though his mother supplied the want to the extent that was possible for her. Mr. Sinha received his early education in the Birbhum Government School and there he was known to be a quiet, industrious, and bright student who strenuously applied himself to his studies. He passed the Matriculation examination in 1877 with credit, joined the Calcutta Presidency College and passed the Intermediate examination two years later in the first class. In the next year he married the only daughter of a Zamindar. Then came an opportunity which proved the turning point of his life. His father had left ten thousand rupees in deposit. Mr. N. P. Sinha—the third brother—who had just then attained majority came into possession of this amount. He was then a student of the Calcutta Medical College and the prospects of students who come out after a tedious and hard life in Indian Colleges were, as now, very poor. The bright idea occurred to him that if only he had the money, he could go to England and qualify himself for the I. M. S., and the timely incoming of this money and the ardour of his younger brother who himself desired to accompany him fixed his resolution. Prejudice against foreign travel had then not died out and the young hopefuls well knew that once their relations came to know of their determination, their prospects of proceeding to England would diminish and obstacles would be placed in their way. The preparations, therefore, were made in secret and they set out in the year 1881, having a start of only a bare hour over their

relatives, who, getting scent of the object of the runaways, chased them to Diamond Harbour where they found, to their chagrin, that the boys were out of their reach. Well may Mr. Sinha's countrymen congratulate themselves that this pursuit proved infructuous.

Once in England Mr. Sinha pursued his studies with zeal and unremitting energy. He joined the Lincoln's Inn where, before long he showed the stuff of which he was made. He attained high proficiency in Roman Law, thanks to his knowledge of Latin and won appreciation at the hands of his tutors. It is one of the rare privileges of student life in England that really capable Indians, at least a few of them, are enabled to move and breathe in the atmosphere hallowed and purified by the presence of brilliant literary and scientific stars. It was Mr. Sinha's peculiar fortune to have been able to become acquainted with many such distinguished Englishmen. Mr. Sinha turned his opportunities to good account; his patient and earnest study was responsible for his earning a scholarship of £50 a year for four years for Roman Law, Jurisprudence, Constitutional Law and International Law. Other rewards and prizes open to distinguished law students came easily within his grasp and he obtained also the Lincoln's Inn Scholarship of £100 tenable for three years. He was called to the Bar in 1886 and finished his education, as few Indians are able to do, by extensive tour on the Continent and by learning various European languages, a consummation which must have greatly aided him in the acquisition of knowledge and in broadening his outlook.

HIS CAREER AT THE BAR.

On his return to India in the year of his call (1886), Mr. Sinha joined the Calcutta bar at the age of twenty-three and he had to wait only for eight years to attain a fair measure of success. This period of waiting, as lawyers who have become eminent can well testify, is a most trying one to the young aspirant. Mr. Sinha early in his professional career developed those essential qualities which lead a man on to success. His sincerity, hard work and cool courage were noted and appreciated; his quickness of grasp, clear-headedness and penetrating intellect enabled him to master the intricacies of complicated cases with ease; and his wide knowledge of law and his power of rapid comprehension imparted

strength and lucidity to his presentment. By the year 1894 he had become fairly well established in practice and within the next five years he had come to occupy a pre-eminent position at the Bar. Mr. Sinha had not perhaps the dazzling wit or sparkling genius which astonish the world, but as often cover up indolence and indifference, nor the deep erudition or fine culture which bring on name and fame but fail to satisfy that inexorable mistress—law. Endowed with natural shrewdness and plenty of commonsense, accustomed to hard and strenuous work, thoroughly versed in law and procedure and well-grounded in legal principles and maxims, Mr. Sinha grappled with his cases with perfect ease and presented them in such a natural, pleasing and persuasive fashion and also in such simple, direct and unadorned language that drew spontaneous admiration from his colleagues and respect from the bench. His keenness of perception and unerring judgment of men made him a fine cross-examiner. As an advocate Lord Sinha possessed a collection of qualities which are rarely found grouped together in the same individual. He was extremely hard-working, and never spared himself any pains to further his clients' cause. He was a clear-headed lawyer who understood his principles backwards, and was concise both with law and with facts. He never quarrelled with his judge, no matter how great the provocation, never misled the Court, never browbeat or took an unfair advantage of a witness or an opponent, was never ruffled, and always placed his cards upon the table. To juniors he was always a kindly friend and ready counsellor. When Lord Sinha accepted the Law Membership of the Governor-General's Executive Council, he did so with the utmost reluctance and diffidence. The glamour of the position held no attraction for him, and he loved his profession and his professional work with an ardour which not even the solatium of higher rewards could either satisfy or abate.

His marked independence and freedom from prepossessions of any kind made him a power and gained for him many good friends but few enemies. It is no wonder that the Government of India appointed him in the year 1903 as Standing Counsel, and there was no other advocate, Indian or European, who was so qualified by reason of his practice, position and influence as Mr. Sinha was to hold the place with distinction and credit. Three years after, he was appointed

as acting Advocate-General and in 1908 he was made permanent in the office, the first time that an Indian had been chosen for that responsible post. By this time Mr. Sinha had become the undisputed leader of the bar and his sociability, amiable disposition and fine temper enabled him to occupy a high social position in the Indian and European society of Calcutta.

ON DEPOSITION OF PRINCES.

In 1896, when he was thirty-three years old, he took part in the Calcutta session of the Indian National Congress and moved a resolution recording the opinion of the Congress that it was desirable that in future no Indian Prince or Chief should be deposed on the ground of mal-administration or misconduct until the fact of such mal-administration or misconduct should have been established to the satisfaction of a public tribunal which shall command the confidence alike of Government and of the Indian Princes and Chiefs. Like many other resolutions of the Congress, this recommendation has remained to this day a pious desire on the part of the better mind of India. One of the conclusions arrived at by the late Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford in their Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms is as follows:—"Should the necessity arise of considering the question of depriving a ruler of a State of any of his rights, dignities or powers, or of debarring from succession any member of his family, the Viceroy to appoint a commission to advise, consisting of a High Court Judge, two Ruling Princes, and two persons of high standing nominated by him."

THE LAW MEMBERSHIP.

When Lord Morley became the Secretary of State for India in 1906, he introduced the policy of associating Indians with the Government of India. In pursuance of this policy he recommended the appointment of one Indian at least to the Viceroy's Executive Council and two members to the Secretary of State's Council. Mr. Sinha was the first Indian appointed to the Viceroy's Executive Council in March, 1909. His heart was not in the work, but, as he himself declared in a public speech at Calcutta, he felt it was a patriotic duty on his part as the first Indian called to fill that high office, to respond to the call made upon him by Lord

Minto. The spirit in which he entered the execution of his new duties will be apparent from the following extract from the speech referred to above:—"With a Viceroy to whose personal initiative I owe this appointment, with colleagues of whose cordial support I am assured, with generous promises of advice and assistance from several of my predecessors in office, with the hearty sympathy and co-operation of all classes in India, Europeans, Hindus, Mahomedans, Parsis and all others including as I know, the ruling chiefs and the great territorial magnates of the country—and above all, with God's blessing, I have every hope that this experiment, for such it must be called, may not altogether fail. It will be wholly my fault if it does, and I pray the Government to believe, that it will be not the fault but the misfortune of my country that I was chosen. If, on the other hand, when I lay down the reins of my office, you are able to say that my appointment brought our rulers and ourselves nearer to each other even by a hair's breadth, I shall be amply recompensed for the personal sacrifice I have made and I shall feel that I have not lived in vain."

THE RESIGNATION.

During his brief tenure, the new reforms of Lords Minto and Morley were introduced and Mr. Sinha had a good deal to do with the framing of rules and regulations under the Act. Unfortunately also, repressive legislation was also passed, a topic on which naturally the first Indian Law Member consistently refused to be drawn out. Lord Minto, however, once stated that he had to appeal to his Law Member when the latter disagreed with a certain measure and wished to give up office, and he brought him round to his view and induced him to remain. Apart from this incident, there was no truth in the wild stories invented to account for the resignation. Mr. S. P. Sinha himself repudiated the suggestion that his resignation was due to influences from below, whatever that may mean, or to his exclusion from a supposed inner circle in the Executive Council. His desire to lay down the office, which he did in the autumn of 1910, against the unanimous desire of his friends, official and non-official, European and Indian, was due to purely personal considerations. Lord Minto publicly expressed his obligation to

him for the exceedingly valuable advice which he always gave him and the 'inner circle' was a myth invented to explain an apparently inexplicable phenomenon.

After his re-entry into the profession he regained the predominant position at the Bar which he had held before 1909, and his success was phenomenal. The esteem and respect in which he was held by his countrymen was illustrated when he was elected as President of the Indian National Congress of 1915, held in Bombay, which gave him a right royal welcome in December of that year.

THE CONGRESS ADDRESS.

His presidential address was a model of close reasoning, of arguments ably marshalled, of Indian demands concisely and precisely stated. There was admirable dignity, sincerity and force throughout the performance and if there were no brilliant flashes of rhetoric or humour, there were solid thoughts and important pronouncements for which his countrymen are beholden to him. The Congress came at the top of deep stirrings of the mind of India, on a formidable wave of democratic feelings which swept over the country. It was a period of intense longing for political progress and realisation of the goal, and the Congress therefore proved to be a landmark in the history of the country.

BENGAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

In 1917, Sir S. P. Sinha—as he had become—accepted the post of Advocate-General, and later, consented to be appointed to be member of the Bengal Executive Council. This action on his part created some amount of surprise and those who had decided to their own satisfaction in 1910 that Sir Satyendra had resigned his place of Law Member for monetary considerations, were now at their wit's end to account for this step, because it involved a very heavy self-sacrifice on his part. With that notorious inconsistency which often characterises the judgment of the common people those who vehemently disapproved of his resignation of the Law Membership as unpatriotic, now called his entry to the Bengal Executive Council a desertion of the popular cause. There can be no doubt, however, that his acceptance of office was due to his patriotism and high sense of duty because it is

said that he had, in view of pressing invitation from high authorities, expressed himself as willing to serve His Majesty when the time came. During the one year he was on the Bengal Executive Council, he discharged his duties with great credit. His speeches in the Council were packed with information, he exhibited striking knowledge of questions which he dealt with and always showed great courtesy and good temper in dealing with those who differed in opinion from him. His marked independence gained for him the respect of his colleagues and the admiration of his countrymen and it is believed that on one particular occasion it was his firm and unflinching attitude that saved the Government of Bengal from a critical situation.

THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE.

In the first part of 1917, His Majesty's Government decided to invite an Indian representative to assist the Secretary of State in his work at the Imperial War Conference and the choice fell on Sir S. P. Sinha, and it was universally felt that a better choice could not have been made. It must have been also very gratifying to him that the proposal which he made in his Congress address that an Indian Ruling Prince should also be associated with the Secretary of State, was adopted by the Government who chose the Maharaja of Bikanir for the purpose. These two Indian representatives were considered as members of the War Conference and War Cabinet and all the world knows,—and India has reason to be specially grateful—of the splendid work done by them while in England. It was a remarkable tribute to Sir Satyendra's great qualities that he should have been asked to go to England for a second time (1918) to serve as India's representative at the Imperial Conference, and on both these occasions he worked without break, worked incessantly and worked hard on behalf of India. His official duties were responsible and taxing, but he found time to interest prominent British politicians in Indian affairs and kept himself in close touch with the friends of India. It is beyond doubt that Sir S. P. Sinha and the Indian Princes who were associated with him (the Maharaja of Patiala was his colleague in 1918) acted, in regard to Indian questions, quite as well as non-official representative Congressmen and India has reason to feel proud of their work. Sir Austen Chamberlain and other statesmen

have borne striking testimony to the value of their great work. The temptation to refer to the words of warm appreciation of distinguished people has, owing to considerations of space, to be resisted, but the following sentiments expressed by Sir Robert Borden, the Canadian Premier, are very pertinent:—

"I found it of very great advantage in discussing matters of common concern to India and ourselves that we had the representatives of India at the Conferences. I invited the members of the Conference to meet informally and we had a free, full and frank discussion of the whole situation in so far as the Dominions are concerned. India has had matters of difference, matters sometimes of controversy, with South Africa, perhaps also with Australia and New Zealand, and on some occasions with Canada. Sir Satyendra Sinha stated the case from the Indian standpoint with great ability and fairness, conspicuous moderation, and very deep feeling. His address to us was not the less impressive because it was so fair and so moderate. On our part, we spoke with equal freedom; equal frankness, and, I hope, with equal moderation. The net result was the resolution at which we arrived, and its basis is the idea that the self-respect of India shall be maintained by an agreement that whatever measures be enforced in regard to emigration or the visits of Indians to Canada shall also prevail with regard to the emigration or visits of Canadians to India."

RESULTS OF THE CONFERENCES.

Sir S. P. Sinha himself summarised the results of the first Conference. The first was the resolution recommending to the Dominions overseas that a resolution passed by the Colonial Conference in 1907, excluding India, should be rescinded and that India should hereafter be represented at future Conferences. The second was the definite declaration made by Mr. Lloyd George that in future Conferences, the Secretary of State for India would sit as a member of the Cabinet and that India would be represented by its own member. To the criticism that this representation would be only by a representative of the Government of India, he replied with some force that it was so, but it was also the same case with the Dominions. "True each of these countries possesses responsible govern-

ment, whereas India does not do so at present, but would these critics prefer that India should not take part in the Conference until she became completely self-governing, and did they expect that after eight weeks' stay in England we would bring back in our pockets an ordinance making India a completely self-governing country at one bound?" The third result of the Conference was the acceptance of the principle of reciprocity, a decision which was obviously halting, but which Sir Satyendra defended with some warmth. He, however, admitted that some of India's grievances had not been redressed but the second Conference made some advance in this direction.

THE MONTAGU CHELMSFORD PROPOSALS.

Soon after the historic document prepared by Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford on the question of Indian constitutional reforms was published he gave out his views in England which, for their accuracy, comprehensiveness and clear grasp, may take equal place with the famous interpretation given by Mr. Gokhale on the Minto-Morley reforms in the Madras Congress of 1908.

A warm and enthusiastic advocate of the scheme which he said would give legitimate and sufficient scope to Indians for their political education, he counselled his fellow-countrymen to accept it and urged on them patience and moderation. In his opinion, it would be difficult to present a more cautious and at the same time a more liberal scheme. "Speaking as an Indian," he said recently, "I believe that if the scheme is carried out and some of the cautious checks eliminated it will give general satisfaction to India as nothing else has done." To Mr. Montagu he paid a striking tribute, assuring him of the unfaltering trust of Indians and of their approbation of and gratitude for his courage, devotion and statesmanship which, he ventured to predict, will place his name in the list of "those immortal British statesmen who in serving their own country have also served the cause of justice and humanity in the world."

SERVICES TO EMPIRE.

Lord Sinha's great services to the Empire were recognised everywhere and honours came to him from all quarters. In 1917 the City of

London honoured him with its freedom. In 1918 he was made a K. C. and in the next year a Privy Councillor and Member of the House of Lords. Lord Sinha was the first Indian to sit in the Upper Chamber of the British Parliament. He represented India at the Peace Conference and then signed the treaty of Versailles on behalf of India together with Lord Meston and the Maharaja of Bikaner.

In 1919 Mr. Montagu appointed Lord Sinha Under-Secretary of State for India and in the debates in the Lords, as Under-Secretary of State, he represented the Cabinet on behalf of the India Office. He piloted the new Government of India Act in the House in a masterly fashion. Lord Sinha won sympathy of the House from the outset by his skilful address, his lucid handling of fact and argument and his transparent moderation. He conducted debates on the Government of India Bill in a manner that would have done credit to a much more experienced member of the House and that the ultra-Conservative element among the peers made no impression by their opposition to the measure was largely due to the skilful manner in which he disarmed their criticisms. Unfortunately, Lord Sinha's health at this time began to give ground for serious anxiety. The strain of responsibility told upon him and the death of his daughter-in-law in London at a time when he was heavily pressed by his official duties was a heavy blow to him.

THE FIRST INDIAN GOVERNOR.

It was clear that the brilliant services already rendered to the State by Lord Sinha now marked him out for still higher preferment and it was with no surprise, therefore, that in the autumn of 1920, the people in India learnt that he had been appointed Governor of Behar and Orissa and thus the first Indian head of a Province under British rule. Unfortunately Lord Sinha was unable to complete his term of office, nor did he succeed in achieving any special distinction during his very short tenure of Governorship. The reason for this was primarily ill-health. An even greater one was the trouble caused by the Non-co-operation Movement. The activities of Mr. Gandhi's followers were at this time at their height. Their first objective was to make Government impossible. The fact that Behar and Orissa had an Indian Governor did not modify

their attitude in that province, for their hostility to the British official was invariably exceeded by their hatred of the Indian co-operator, whether un-official or in office. Lord Sinha's Government were the butt of their most insidious attacks. Finally His Excellency was compelled to give up his charge in the Province because of a complete breakdown of his health and he was shortly afterwards taken to England for special treatment.

ON PRIVY COUNCIL COMMITTEE.

After the relinquishment of the Governorship in 1921, Lord Sinha did not take any active part in the public life of the country owing to continued ill-health, going to England almost every year to recoup his shattered nerves. He was not at all in the limelight during the later years of political turmoil, only occasionally expressing his opinions on the politics of the day. After a comparatively quiet life for four years, he was made a member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in 1926, which exalted position he held till the time of his death, and in which capacity he achieved very great distinction.

HIS RELIGIOUS VIEWS.

Those who may think that Lord Sinha was a denationalized Hindu, should peruse the views he expressed but a few years back about the spirituality of Hinduism in his appreciation of the late distinguished Judge, Sir Gurudas Banerji, in the course of which he said:

"I remember him best—and if I may reverently say so—love him best as the mild and pious Hindoo who, while endowed with the best western culture, rigidly adhered throughout his long life not merely to all the old Hindoo ideals but to all the Hindoo practices of religion. I cannot think of that frail little body without also recalling the facts that his mother's lightest wish was to him "law divine"—that rain or hail never prevented him from walking long distances every morning to wash himself in holy waters, that after a strenuous day in the heated atmosphere of Court a glass of Ganges water was all the refreshment he would allow himself. Coming from me whose whole life appears, so far as the outside public is concerned, to be one long challenge to orthodoxy, this will perhaps be a surprise to many of my countrymen. They will ascribe it probably to my subliminal

Hindoo consciousness—the ineradicable longing for the ascetic's end as a fitting crown to an active life. It may be so. I will not deny it. But I explain it to myself somewhat differently. I am one of those who refuse to renounce my Hindooism, however little room there may be for me personally in the Hindu social organism. It dawned upon my mind quite early in life that Hindooism was large enough and broad enough to retain within its fold those who believed in God and those who rejected Him—both those who believed in "One God and one alone" as well as those who worshipped Him as a whole pantheon. We do well to remember that for conduct in ordinary life which the law cannot reach, there must be the further rule of religion for the vast majority of us. Forms of religion vary from age to age and from country to country and no one of them can be absolutely free from error. The average man must bear in mind that although observances may seem offensive and stories told about the gods may seem incredible, yet as a rule of action a system which has been the growth of ages is infinitely more precious than any theory which he could think out for himself. He will know that his own mind,—that the mind of any single individual—is unequal to so vast a matter,—that it is of such immeasurable consequence to him to have his conduct wisely directed that, although his religion be mortal like his own, he must not allow it to be rudely meddled with—'He may think as he likes about the legends of Zeus and Hera, but he must keep his thoughts to himself; a man who brings into contempt the creed of his country is the deepest of criminals, he deserves death, and nothing else.' So said Plato, the wisest and gentlest of human law givers; and so lived and died Gurudas Banerjee, a man of precisely the same type as the Greek philosopher."

THE MAN.

Such was Lord Sinha—truly a very great figure in various spheres of activities—scholarly, versatile, cultured, and above all, every inch a gentleman. His loss is, therefore, irreparable to us. But though what was mortal in Lord Sinha has passed away—the dust has returned to dust and the ashes to ashes—the spirit of Lord Sinha will continue to live, as an inspiration to the sons of India, of whom he always proudly claimed to be one, to guide them in the hour

of supreme trial, when India stands at the cross roads, and a confusion of tongues seems to have descended upon the multitude of masons who are endeavouring to build a political edifice. The lesson of history is that there must be difference of opinion amongst the persons of outstanding abilities of a subject race as to the means of serving the best interests of the country. Co-operation and non-co-operation have not been thought of for the first time by Mr. Gandhi, for there were co-operators and non-co-operators in abundance even during the Mussalman period in India. If Rana Pratap and Sivaji Maharaj have places in the history of India as patriots who thought that the best way to serve the motherland was to non-co-operate with the Moghuls, certainly Raja Man Singh and Raja Todar Mull equally established their rights to have places in the history of their country for honestly trying to further its best interests by co-operating with the Moslem rulers. Similarly the future historians, if they assign proper places to Lokamanya Tilak and Mahatma Gandhi, will be bound to admit equally the claims of Gokhale, Lord Sinha and the Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri. We have placed at the head of this article by way of motto some well-known lines from Tennyson. That these are singularly apposite to the genius and achievements of Lord Sinha is amply borne out by the critical estimate of the great Indian Statesman which has appeared in the editorial columns of the *Times*. So wrote the leading paper of the world:—

"The first Indian to become a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, of the House of Lords, and of a British Ministry, and to govern

a great province of British India, proved himself a loyal colleague, an eloquent advocate, and emphatically a man of good counsel. There were occasions when his rapid advance aroused misgivings, which were not always confined to the old school of British administrators in India; but his tenure of a succession of high offices of State confirmed the high estimate of his character and capacity formed by men of such different types as Lord Morley and Lord Minto. His career, indeed, marked a definite stage in the association of India with the British Empire. In his youth the idea that an Indian, however able, might aspire to the offices and dignities which were conferred upon him would have aroused incredulity or indignation. His middle age coincided with a change in British and Indian relations. In the last twenty years the racial obstacles to social intercourse between British and Indians, which were based as much upon Indian caste as upon British traditionalism, have been removed to a far greater extent than was once deemed possible. Their removal, the result of increasing Liberalism on the one side and of the influence of Western education on the other has given vast opportunities to Indian talent. Lord Sinha's career was a remarkable illustration of the new tendencies in India. His patriotism was unquestioned, his nationalism fervent; but racial or religious prejudice was alien to his character."

And now he rests, his greatness and his sweetness
No more shall seem at strife,
And Death has moulded into calm completeness,
The statue of his life.

"MY FIRST BRIEF."

By (the late) RT. HON. LORD SINHA, K.C.S.I.

I had a very large measure of success at the bar, where I worked for more than 30 years. It is natural, therefore, that I should have been asked often and often what it was that made for success at the bar. I could only answer 'I don't know'. It was often followed by a little cross-examination somewhat on these lines:

Q.—Is it great legal erudition that is most essential for success?

A.—It is very useful and by legal erudition I mean not only a knowledge and grasp of legal principles but also a knowledge of their practical application. But I cannot say that it is either essential for success or certain to attain it.

Q.—Is it gift of speech that makes most for success?

A.—It is perhaps most important at a certain stage, but there is little scope for it in the beginning.

Q.—Is it, then, good general education and hard work?

A.—They go a long way, but they alone are not enough, as there are too many instances to show.

Q.—Is it, then, tact and knowledge of men and manners generally?

A.—They are essential, but by themselves are not clearly sufficient.

Q.—Is it then a combination of all these qualities?

A.—A combination hard indeed to find, and so rare that if it was essential, few men indeed would succeed at the bar.

And so I always come back to my first answer that it is difficult to know what it is that ensures success at the bar. There is a great deal of chance in it—a good deal of what we call luck—but I should be sorry to think that success is purely accidental, and that the bar is, like marriage, a big lottery.

As I began my life at the Bar without much of any of the qualities above described—I was too young for one thing—I think it might prove useful to many beginners if I were to relate for their benefit the circumstances under which I made my start. If nothing else, it might be a sort of 'foot-prints,' 'which many a ship-wrecked brother, seeing, might take heart again.'

When I started from India in July, 1881, in order to get called to the English Bar in London, I had not finished my general education, even so far as Calcutta could give it. I was in the fourth year class of the Presidency College and the examination for the B.A. degree in those days used to be held in January. I left six months before the examination, contrary to the advice of one or two of the professors who knew me and who thought that I might do better if I waited and took my degree and possibly get a Gilchrist scholarship like what Prof. Percival himself did. But I could not wait, I was going without the consent of my guardians; and the particular moment was opportune for taking French leave. If I were to wait for six months or more, my adventure might never begin, for if my guardians came to know of my intention, they would, I thought, probably take effective steps to prevent it. So I left in the height of

monsoons from Calcutta by the *S.S. City of Agra*, which went all the way to London—a voyage then of 35 days. Soon after I reached England I got myself admitted into Lincoln's Inn. I was a student there for all the five years that I remained in England. The initial fees payable made a considerable inroad into the small capital I started with, but still I amused myself with learning by means of private tuition a little French, German, Spanish and Italian.

But in the course of those three years I obtained many prizes and scholarships from my Inn, and from the Council of Legal Education. I never went up for, far less passed, the final bar examination. I was waiting to compete for what was then called one of the Barstow Scholarship, which was awarded as a result of the final examination in one term only in the year, viz., the Easter term; and when that time came I could not appear at the examination by reason of sudden illness. The doctors said I ought to go back before the next winter. My Inn could call me to the bar even though I had not passed the final examination, and on the strength of the various scholarships and prizes I had obtained from time to time, Lord Hobhouse, who was the treasurer of the Inn that year, came to my rescue and the benchers, after consulting some of them who had examined me for those prizes and scholarships, used their dispensing power and called me to the bar on the 7th of July, 1886.

Thus, when I began I had not got any university degree; I had not passed the final examination for the bar, easy as it was. I had never been inside the chambers of any practising barrister or solicitor for practical training and therefore knew nothing of the practical application of law. I had never been a member of nor taken part in any debate in any debating society either in India or in England. It is difficult, therefore, to conceive of a man starting his career at the bar with more inadequate equipment than I did. And now, when I come to look back these many many years and consider the rashness of a man so ill prepared, starting life at a place where he did not know a single judge or barrister or solicitor, where he and his family were totally unknown, at any rate unknown to persons who mattered so far as the business of a barrister was concerned—I can only wonder at his audacity. It was largely if not wholly due to complete blissful ignorance of the conditions considered necessary for

success. It reminds me of a story about a celebrated Lord Chancellor of England, Lord Westbury. When a solicitor handed him—then Sir Richard Bethell—a case in which he had advised years before in a sense directly opposed to the line he had taken now, his only remark was: 'It is a matter of astonishment to me that any one capable of penning such an opinion should have risen to the eminence I have the honour to enjoy.'

Things did not look cheerful when I stepped into the bar library in November, 1886, on the day the courts reopened after the Pooja vacation of that year. The Calcutta Bar was then the most crowded in India and there were giants. There were Paul Woodroffe and Evans, Monomohan Ghose, W. C. Bonnerjee, T. Palit, C. P. Hill, T. A. Apcar and M. P. Gasper; and among the juniors, were Raj Narain Mitter and Lal Mohan Ghose, William Garth and Arthur Dunne, all of them doing a fair amount of what was called junior work. But there was, besides, a large number of unemployed juniors, mostly Indian, who had been plying to and fro between their homes and the bar library for years but had not succeeded in making any impression. These latter were the men with whom I came most in contact and they all impressed upon me that here there was little chance for a friendless stranger like me. The prospect, as I said, was desperately cheerless; but there was nothing else to do, for, I did not know anything else which I could. And thus began the daily round of cheerless, almost hopeless, waiting at the bar library in the company of more than a hundred equally hopeless members of the learned brotherhood.

But there is always a silver lining in the darkest of clouds and my silver lining came in the person of a young articled clerk in an attorney's office who had been in the same class with me in the Presidency College for four years, though we had known very little of each other during that time. He afterwards became one of the cleverest attorneys of our court but died young. He was a real good fellow and a few months after I began, he came to me one Saturday afternoon with an undefended brief marked with the usual—34 rupees in cash. In those days it was almost unknown for an attorney to send such a brief with cash to a junior, who generally would have to wait till the next Pooja vacation to get his fees, if he got them at all. So the brief to me was doubly

welcome, not merely because it would give me the chance of opening my lips in court but also because of the cash which accompanied it and which was sorely wanted. Do you think I was elated? Do you think I was burning with the desire to make an eloquent speech? Nothing of the kind. It was stark naked fear that took hold of me—fear that I would not be able to get the decree which the attorney wanted—fear that, unfamiliar as I was with practice and procedure and the art of speaking in court, I was about to damn my whole future for the sake of 34 rupees, badly though I wanted them. Anyhow I went home that evening happy with my first fruits, but at the same time in mortal dread of the morning of Monday, when I should have to appear in court. Monday came and I was in my place in court at the bar with my small brief, every line of it marked in blue and in red and every word of it burnt into my memory in letters of fire. How different this was from the days when my attorney's one anxiety was to make certain that I had untied the red tape of my brief before I actually appeared in court for the case! The judge was Mr. Justice Trevelyan—himself a member of the Calcutta bar not many years before—a kindly amiable soul, who in his time helped many a lame dog over the stile. The case was called on in due time and I got up with my brief 'ready' because I had got it up by heart.

'My lord,' I said, 'this is a suit on a promissory note in respect of money lent in the following circumstances.'

'What is the service?' interrupted the judge. I had not the least idea of what his lordship meant and so I went on to finish the sentence I had begun, trying to relate when, how and in what circumstances the money had been lent. But the judge was not listening, for, by that time he had finished reading the affidavit of service summons—the most essential thing in an undefended case as I soon learned, and finding that it was 'personal service' to which no exception could be taken, he told me, as I was floundering along: 'Call your witness'. Again I was at a loss. I did not know what I was to do, whether I was to ask my attorney to bring his witness who might or might not be behind me or whether I was to ask the court-peon to oblige me by getting hold of my witness and making him come into the box. But apparently I had nothing to do in the matter, for as

I looked behind for help to the attorney who was standing behind me, the witness was already in the box. The attorney told me: 'Put your questions.' But before I could do so the judge himself had handed over the promissory note annexed to the plaint to the witness and asked him: 'Was that signed in your presence by the defendant?' and the witness gave his answer. Before I could say anything the judge asked him further: 'What amount is now due for principal and interest?' and the witness having given his answer, the judge again took the bit between his teeth and said 'Decree for rupees so much for principal and so much for interest, etc.' He turned to me and said 'That is all,

Mr. Sinha,' and I knew with relief that the case was over. So that is my experience of the first case I conducted in court, if it can be said at all with any truth that I conducted it. I left the court thinking that I had so conducted myself that there would be little chance of a second case for me. But apparently it was not an unusual experience because my friend, the articulated clerk came round to me afterwards and said: 'You see now how easy it is and I am sure you will feel more happy when I come to you with the next brief.' But it was a long time before the second brief came, and longer still before I felt a reasonable degree of confidence in myself.

BOOKS OF THE QUARTER.

MISS MAYO AND HER "MOTHER INDIA."

By MR. C. L. R. SASTRI, B.Sc.

"Glad then as miners that have found the ore,
They with mad labour fish'd the land to shore;
And div'd as desperately for each piece
Of earth, as if't had been of ambergreece;
Collecting anxiously small loads of clay,
Less than what building swallows bear away;

—Andrew Marvell.

"The nobleness of life is to do this," said Antony, and kissed Cleopatra. "The nobleness of life is to do this," said Miss Katherine Mayo, and wrote her book, *Mother India*. The impulse, it will be seen, is the same in both cases; it is nothing less than love. And, as if to make assurance doubly sure, Miss Mayo confided to an interviewer recently that she has the cause of the people of this poor country very much at heart. In fact, she has given utterance to this sentiment on more than one occasion. She might, we feel, have spared herself the trouble: we knew it already. "It is,"

in the words of the imperturbable Sam Weller, "what is called a self-evident proposition, as the cats-meat-man said to the house-maid when she said he was no gentleman." Moreover, one does not write a book like *Mother India* and fail to impress its readers as to the exact nature of the feelings that prompted it. No; that is palpably impossible. We make no doubt of Miss Mayo's warm affection for us: only, we must be excused if we do not approve of either the form taken by it, or the spirit in which it is exhibited.

In short, we object to her book; and we object to it without any reservation whatsoever. It is ungracious, we know, to chafe at our avowed benefactors, but we are strongly of opinion that we could have done without the services of one sympathiser at least. It is as well to warn some people to be sparing in their good offices: we do not know where their good offices may land them. Officiousness like that displayed by Miss Mayo is, we regret, we can not appreciate, as she is out to kill us with kindness.

Her book has become historic: there are none so deaf as not to have heard about it. This, it will be admitted, is no ordinary praise. But, then, Miss Mayo is not an ordinary person, either. Among writers, no less than among other classes of workers many are called but few

**Mother India*. By Katherine Mayo. (Jonathan Cape, Ltd., 30, Bedford Square, London, W. C. 1), 1927.

chosen. And Miss Mayo, as it turns out, is in the company of the fortunate. It is almost as if she woke one fine morning and found herself famous. We do not grudge her fame: to use a perhaps vulgar but rather expressive phrase, she has got her pennyworth for her penny.

We have said that we object to her book. Our objections are many. The foremost refers to its very title. That Miss Mayo has a *penchant* for writing nonsense is by now well-known: in this she is without a peer. But in this matter of the title she surpasses herself: she is guilty of nothing less than blasphemy. It is possible, of course, that she is not aware of it; though, we must confess, the supposition hardly consists with her assumed omniscience. We shall, however, give her the benefit of the doubt. Miss Mayo, likely enough, does not know that she has blasphemed. Poor lady, how could she? Her culture is not vast, nor is it deep: it, indeed, seems to be but limited to the science (or art) of pornography, which is said to be a rising cult in America and she is evidently one of its principal votaries. One thing should be noted. Only the West could have produced a Miss Katherine Mayo. The fact is worth pondering over. The West can do certain things splendidly. It can produce the type of which Miss Mayo is such a shining example. Here the West excels: there is not a flaw in the jewel. Miss Mayo, we repeat, would have done well to have chosen a different title. The word "Mother" that precedes "India" suggests something Divine; or so we obfuscated Hindus think. And, indeed, no one speaks of any other country in this way: which itself ought to be significant. But blind are those who will not see. "Mother India" is a name to be conjured with! And here is a lady that solemnly puts it at the top of her miserable book! We can but exclaim with Newton:—"Diamond, Diamond, alas! thou dost not know what thou hast done!"

II.

Miss Mayo, it is evident, is out to reform us; nay, she is out to save us from perdition. It is a noble task however ignobly undertaken. But we would *not*, for all that, be saved by her. It does not matter if we are on a downward path: it does not matter, even, if we perish

entirely. But we protest that we do not want Miss Mayo to lift us out of the pit—real or imaginary. And, moreover, there is a little matter pertaining to herself that she must look to before she goes, in her apostolic zeal, a-reforming others. By writing this book she has done an act that, in Hamlet's words, has "no relish of salvation in it." Her offence is beyond excuse or palliation: it smells to Heaven: and not all the rivers can wash the guilt out of her. That is the settled conviction of almost every thinking Indian.

Miss Mayo, among other things, attacks our religion—albeit indirectly. Now, it is fashionable for Westerners to attack our religion. In fact, their life-work, as conceived by themselves, would be incomplete, would be a sort of broken arc, if they did not, at certain frequently recurring intervals, have a fling or two at our sacred things. And they set about to do it with touching piety! It is no disqualification at all if they do not happen to know anything of that which they traduce. They may be the ungodliest of men and women but that scarcely appears to hinder them from being sublimely contemptuous of us. Scoering at Hinduism is their day's work; perhaps it is a pleasant recreation. But Hinduism, we are confident, will pull through—in spite of them—and seems destined to flourish till the end of time. Nevertheless we feel bound to cry halt to its traducers.

Miss Mayo suggests that we are idolaters. But we idolize God: whereas the West idolizes Mammon in all its manifestations. There is at least a *hint* of God in our idols: we should like to know what hint of God there is in multi-millionaires, cinema-actresses, trans-Atlantic-fliers, champion-boxers, *et hoc genus omne*. Our enemies point out to us that we are superstitious. But our superstitions (or the most of them) have, in the last resort, some sort of foundation in sense. Can the same be said of the superstitions of the West? And, anyway, what is superstition? Listen to Emerson: a Westerner speaking to Westerners:—

"We boast of our emancipation from many superstitions, but if we have broken any idols it is through a transfer of the idolatry. What have I gained that I no longer immolate a bull to Jove or to Neptune, or a mouse to Hecate; that I do not tremble before the Eumenides or the Catholic Purgatory, or the Calvinistic

Judgment Day—if I quake at opinion, the public opinion as we call it, or the threat of assault or contumely, or bad neighbours, or poverty, or mutilation, or at the rumour of revolution, or of murder? *If I quake, what matters it what I quake at?*" (*Our italics*).

In this connexion we may point out that *The Nation* of London, some time back, started a "questionnaire" in its columns to ascertain the proportion of believers and non-believers in God in England. The results showed that the number of non-believers far exceeded that of believers. Curiously enough, these are the very people that, every now and then, start abusing us. Westerners generally, and Englishmen and Americans in particular, pride themselves on possessing a sense of humour. Why then does it desert them when dealing with Orientals? The explanation, perhaps, is that it hibernates: it is, evidently, a case of suspended animation. Englishmen and Americans need not lecture to Hindus on religion, at any rate. The idea of religion permeates almost every nook and corner of India. Religion, in fact, forms much the most important part of the Hindu life. A moment's consideration, therefore, will show to anyone not wilfully blind that the "white" peoples need not preach to us. It is like carrying coals to Newcastle; "Manners make a man;" but, obviously, they do not make a nation; and the very first thing that Westerners have to learn is to behave decently towards Easterners. But you cannot, as the saying goes, make a silk purse out of a sow's ear, and you cannot expect the commonest decency from races whose whole mentality is top-heavy with a most overweening pride.

III.

Next, Miss Mayo charges us with what we may call mass-immorality: that is to say, she holds that the vast majority of us are morally corrupt. In this the second decade of the twentieth century, no nation on the face of the earth, we are convinced, can lay claim to any appreciable degree of copy-book morality. But, if there may be degrees in depravity, the Hindus are the least depraved; and, among the Hindus, those that have not been tainted by English education. It is a point worth noting that there is a higher percentage of immorality, generally speaking, among those classes that possess the

largest tincture of Western civilization than in those that do not; and we leave our readers to infer the cause. Contact with the West has dulled the fine edge of our moral sense. But, even admitting so much, we do not, we dare say, stand competition with the West in this matter of immorality: the West beats us hollow, it bears away the palm. Moreover, no Hindu lady (English educated or not) would have dreamt of writing such a book as *Mother India*, pullulating, as it does, with facts of sex, and most revolting facts at that. That a woman should have written such an awful book simply staggers us. It is certainly curious that it should fall to the lot of this same lady to say so many amiable things about the Hindu view of morality and the Hindu practice of it: the Hindu view and practice, that is, as seen through *her* glasses.

Where, by the way, does she go for her facts? To hospitals and to records of thirty or forty years ago. Why, it would be so silly were it not so tragic! As Charles Lamb said of a woman that exasperated him, we want to feel the lady's bumps. If ever psycho-analysis could be justified, it would be justified in her case. Miss Katherine Mayo, we suggest, is prematurely morbid: she has a fascination for the rag, tag, and bobtail among human beings. Hindu society, we may grant, is in need for much drastic reform. But it is not for the likes of Miss Mayo to preach us upon it. It is, to say the least, not *her* concern at all; and even if we were what she avers we are, her book would not be justified. If some of our customs are bad in one direction, the most of the customs of the *soi-disant* superior West are considerably worse in other directions. To adapt from Wordsworth:

"The deeper malady is better hid,
The West is poisoned at the heart."

Miss Mayo would have us believe that, compared with us, they of the West are living in the complete starch of rectitude. Fiddlesticks! The assumption does not stand a moment's scrutiny. A benign Government has taught some of us to read the English language. Taking advantage of this gift, what do we find? We pierce through the shams of the much-lauded occidental civilization and come to the plumb bottom of its real nature. If such a seathing generalization be allowed, it is the West and not the East that is a seething mass

of sexual corruption. Many evidences can be cited. The novel-reading public knows them. To be plain, there seems to be something decisively wrong, something radically wretched, with the West in matters of sex. And in America more than anywhere else! Appropriately enough, it is Miss Mayo's own native land that, so to speak, specializes in divorces—in the number of divorces as well as in the pace at which they are gone through. As far as this amiable institution is concerned, the Americans are veritable quick-change artists! It is an irony of fate that Western civilisation should reach its apotheosis in Miss Mayo's own country: the cup is full to overflowing. *There*, the proper end—the right consummation—of marriage seems to be divorce: that is its final justification.

Miss Mayo, she calls us, in effect, a most depraved people; and has almost the look of apologising for our very existence. She boasts that her book is well documented: by which, we suppose, she means that she can quote chapter and verse for every lapse from morality that any given Hindu man or woman was, is or will be guilty of. She is, in other words, our "doctor of the soul." Actually, however, she fails to make out a case. Her "documents" are either antiquated or isolated. She stayed here for only three months. And, forthwith, she writes a book making out the most of us to be no better than rank barbarians! *Actually*, we repeat, she fails to make out a case: she can bring less evidence for it than will cover a three-penny piece. Truth, in short, is not Miss Mayo's weapon: embellishment, however, is.

THE REVOLT OF THE ARABS AGAINST THE TURKS.*

It is one of the accepted maxims of statecraft that the best way of fighting an enemy country is to create internal dissensions and rebellion therein. This maxim was followed with great success by the Allies as well as the Central Powers in the Great War of 1914-18. Germany succeeded in Russia while the Allies succeeded

in Arabia. This book deals with the story of how the Arab revolt against Turkey was engineered and conducted to a successful issue, mainly through the genius and superhuman endurance of the author. The author, who had been doing some archaeological investigation in Arabia, joined the army on the outbreak of the Great War and was employed as an intelligence officer in Cairo since he had an excellent knowledge of Arabia. Here he conceived the idea of stirring up a national revolt of Arabia against Turkey and by enthusiasm and persistence succeeded in convincing the higher powers of the practicability and the advantage of the scheme. None could undertake the scheme except he who had conceived it and thus it was Col. Lawrence who, helped by an able group of British officers, had to carry out the scheme.

It was easy to move the ambitious Sherif of Mecca to declare the rebellion. His sons Feisal and Zeid joined him. Mecca was far off from the Turkish capital. But the Turkish military power was strong and ruthless. The Arabs were organised in tribes which had age-long feuds against each other. There was no Arab national sentiment. Thus, no tribe was ready to join with any other, in any common cause. Revolt was dangerous if unsuccessful, as the retribution was terrible and there were no circumstances to show that the revolt was likely to be successful or that the Allies had a greater chance of winning than the Central Powers. Germany had sent troops, ammunition and officers to help Turkey while the Allies, hard pressed in France, had done nothing in Asia.

Thus in 1916-17, things were very unfavourable to the stirring up of a revolt. The author describes how these circumstances were gradually changed, how the tribes were made to give up for a time their feuds and join in a common revolt, how men, money, ammunition, transport and supplies were poured into the country until at last their revolt was general from Mecca to Damascus. The Turks had never been popular in Arabia and had always ruled by the sword. It was, therefore, fear alone that had to be conquered and not love which is much more difficult. Feisal played the part of the national hero, while the author was the good angel bringing in money and arms and leading to victory and booty. The combination was irresistible to the predatory instinct of the tribes who, for the time, sank their mutual animosities for a common profit.

**Revolt in the Desert*. By T. A. Lawrence. (Jonathan Cape, London), 1927.

II.

The book shows, however, that there was little real national sentiment in the whole revolt. It bears no comparison with the revolt for independence of America against Britain, of Italy against Austria, of Greece against Turkey. The Sherif of Mecca and his sons were desirous of power and dominion; the tribes desired booty and the Allies wanted internal dissension so as to defeat Turkey. The tribes knew of the heavy hand of Turkish authorities and were only too willing to help to drive out Turkey knowing that the new power at Mecca would be weaker and easier to resist. An Arab National Appeal was utilised for the time being to conceal these sordid motives. Subsequent developments have proved the truth of these remarks. The Arab Nation is now divided into Mesopotamia, under British Mandate, Syria under French Mandate, Transjordan under Zeid, Palestine under the League of Nations and Arabia under Ibn Saud. Thus are high motives utilised to serve selfish ends but the final result is in no way unwelcome, for now, at least more than half of Arabia is under its national rulers with better hopes of attaining fuller freedom in future.

The Arab revolt has a lesson for our rulers in India. We have already remarked that it is easier to conquer fear than to conquer love. To the numerous die-hards, and autocrats—Sydenhamites, Cradlocks and O'Dwyers—who write glibly of the iron hand in ruling India, we would point out the lesson of the Arab revolt. We are firmly convinced that British rule in India has conferred immense benefits on India and the Indians are fully aware of it. The unswerving loyalty and the unstinted aid which India gave during the Great War are evidence of the appreciation of the beneficent rule of Britain.* But India is not content to remain where she has been for the last 100 years. She sees around her free Asiatic countries—Arabia, Persia, Afghanistan, Siam, Japan and she is not prepared to continue in dependence upon another country, however mighty and superior she may be. If her ambitions are suppressed by cajoleries, false promises, bayonets or by the policy of divide and rule, there can be no love between Britain and India. Indians know that Britain is mighty and can crush them in a day with her dreadnoughts, aeroplanes and tanks but a

country ruled by fear will be lost as was shown in the Arab revolt. Intelligent Indians are not ignorant of world and Empire politics. Love can conquer and hold what fear cannot often conquer and never hold.

We have rather digressed in order to point the moral. But there is many a moral to point out and many a lesson to be learnt by Indians from this book. A perusal of the book shows the wonderful initiative of the author and of the other military officers with him. The organising capacity of these British officers, their devotion to duty, their courage in battle and endurance in marching in difficult country and terrible climate, their singleness of purpose call forth our admiration and envy. Of such men and by such men are great Empires made and held. Happy the country which breeds such men, for they conduct her to victory and keep her triumphant. To the young men of India, we would recommend this book for its wonderful story, told in simple language, of marches by day and night in burning sand and freezing snow, through waterless and trackless deserts, over steep cliffs and in deep gorges, eating when possible and starving when must, of modern guerilla warfare, of the blowing up of railways and bridges, of fighting and looting; of the wonderful dash and courage of Arab tribesmen and, above all, of one, who inspired by a love of his own country and to help the Allies to victory, gave up for a time his own nationality, dressed, spoke and lived like an Arab, and as one of them underwent innumerable hardships and successfully carried out a revolt until at the head of the irregulars he entered Damascus in advance of General Allenby and established for the time an Arab Government therein shortly before the armistice.

MR. J. A. CHAPMAN'S POEMS.*

By MR. M. L. BANERJI.

All true lovers of poetry must welcome with warm and enthusiastic admiration the little volume of poems entitled *Blue and Grey* by Mr. John Alexander Chapman. Small in number as the pieces are, they will be regarded by good

**Blue and Grey*. By J. A. Chapman. (Oaall Blackwell, Oxford) 1927.

critics as being a delightfully refreshing and highly original contribution to modern poetic literature. There is a forceful individuality of tone and temper, a catholicity of outlook, a sage and unperturbed philosophy which faces the grim realities of life and still refuses to be down-hearted, a robust and enlightened optimism which holding to the sheet-anchor of faith advises calm of mind—all passion spent, that places *Blue and Grey* in a class by itself far removed from the uninspired mediocrity and versified verbiage of many of the efforts of the 20th century muse. The titles of the poems are beautifully expressive. The *Quick Soul*, *Wonder-World*, *Gipsy Queen*, *White Cups*, *Blue Spring*, *The Ordeal by Fire*, *Danish Blood*, *The Sting*, *Written in Water*, *The Dread Number*, etc. In spite of their radiant imaginativeness the poems are essentially poems of reflection and culture, and they are informed with a high seriousness of purpose and a spirit of practical idealism, which make them critical of life in the highest sense. The poet's tone is quiet and dignified and marked by a serene gravity which is akin to sweet reasonableness of spirit, just touched with a shade of sadness and agreeably relieved from gloom by sparks of delicate irony and translucent humour. His ideal is set on high, he loves the "White Cup" of humanity "rimmed in light and viewed with light", and seeks the "everlasting to everlasting in glory". His experience of life teaches him that

"Man has made quick his soul to the
darkening shadow—
Anguish, and tears, and pain, and ruin,
and death;

Frenzy of Lear, pity of Desdemona,
Antony's chasing ships, and Egypt's breath,
Felt in the last kiss: fearful Job's abhorring
In dust and ashes; and the darker drink
Brought by the Angel; all the tragic measure—
Man to all these his soul bares, not to shrink.
His greatest Hero has suffered crucifixion".

Yet he can affirm with cheerful confidence—

"In me there grows a sense, whence come
I know not,
Making me see with awe quite common things.

* * * * *

Anything that a good man's heart would cherish
The memory of, that in his soul would ring
A bell soft-toned—I see that thing with awe,
A flower, a smile, a gesture, any creature".

And this is so because the Poet feels

"Life is God-love.
Swift the spirit-dove
Every instant, flows from heaven.
So with winged feet,
Heart on heart beat,
Over rough things, over even".

Our Poet's view of the fair sex does not err on the side of extravagant chivalry. The little poem on woman consists of four fine musical lines—

"Lovely tressed, lovelily limbed,
All grace of feature in thee we find.
The cup of thy body's beauty brimmed,
Now grow a little more in mind".

One detects an almost personal note in the delineation of love between man and woman in such lines as these—

"I kiss her, but she turns away her face;
In less than a minute she turns her face away.
Did halting finger trace
Figure in shadowed water, dead and grey,
And is that I?"

Or in the lines to S. M. E.—

"Stella, dear, listen so you think there might
Be for us two something that should not die;
Something that would eternally unite
Thy soul and mine".

Or in the concluding lines of the *Dead Word*—

".....But no, we wed to-night;
She and I walk across that field with hands
Held, and I hear the brown field's voice that says
The benediction. Pale her face, pale, pale,
Because the star light lights it only; blue
Her eyes, like blue forget-me-nots; her hair
Brown as the earth. And, "Brother, be not sad",
She says, "because we wedded not when young,
Nor sleep body to body ever, nor
Know one another's names. We in the Word
Live, and there gather blue forget-me-nots".

The poet has a stern and uncompromising regard for truth, and the glamour and brilliance of high life cannot blind him to its essential hollowness and falsity. The light artillery of the poet's derision plays especially against the *Gentle Women*—

"Who outside church is your hero?
 Some blue-eyed, sunny fellow,
 Open, loved by everyone
 (By me too), utterly tolerant
 Of sin in others, smiling
 On all, coming like Spring
 To house, to room, so lovable,
 Cheering all, making all love him".

We do not find flights of high mysticism in Chapman and none of those laboured attempts

to manufacture inspired ecstasies and visions beatific which disfigure literature. With eyes looking to Heaven, he stands planted on *vera vita*. He is essentially a modern man and modern poet with a calm serenity of outlook, with a disciplined fervour which bespeaks the depth and not the tumult of the soul. The dew glistens on most of his poems—the dew of sadness, and let us say also, the dew of peace and hope.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES:

I. RECENT HISTORIES OF LITERATURE.

The Story of the World's Literature. By John Macy. (George Harrap & Co., Ltd., 39-41, Parker Street, Kingsway, London, W. C. 2) 1927.

The purpose of Mr. John Macy's book is "to give an account of the books of the world that are of greatest importance." Apart from its text—to which we shall presently refer—there are in it twelve full-page illustrations in two-colour half-tone and many drawings by Onorio Ruotolo. These are a remarkable feature of the volume—the unusual illustrations by Ruotolo, the Director of the Leonardo da Vinci Art School of New York. He is primarily a sculptor, and the sculptural quality of his powerful drawings is especially noticeable in the twelve full-page plates of great literary men, reproduced here by two-colour photography. As for the text, it is sufficient to say that Mr. Macy's *Story of the World's Literature* surveys a vast subject, from the beginnings of literature to the present day. The author's purpose has been to give an account of the books of the world which are, by general consensus of opinion, of greatest importance to living people. And throughout he has not swerved from his aim of telling his story in a readable way, so that it cannot fail to appeal not only to the general reader, but also to every intelligent boy and girl. But it was not necessary to make the book readable to omit dates. Mr. Macy writes that he has "purposely refrained from exact dates, which anybody can look up in an encycloædia" (p. 380). That's just our grievance, as the process suggested would be most inconvenient and result in great loss of time. We hope this serious limitation (in an otherwise excellent

book) which detracts from the usefulness of Mr. Macy's work, would be removed in the second edition. For the rest, the book should command a large circulation. Its utility is appreciably increased by its being enriched by a fairly exhaustive bibliography to the contents of each chapter, which will enable the student to follow up his studies with advantage.

A History of Russian Literature to 1881 and Contemporary Russian Literature, 2 vols. By Prince D. S. Mirsky (George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., Broadway House, 68-74, Carter Lane, London, E. C. 4) 1926-7.

We welcome Prince Mirsky's *History of Russian Literature to 1881* and its continuation and completion called *Contemporary Russian Literature*, bringing down the record up to the present time. The author who is a Russian by birth and is a Lecturer in Russian literature at the University of London, is a master of the subject he deals with and has produced a highly meritorious work—instructive, comprehensive and accurate. Though the later volume was the first to appear, the two together constitute the only detailed and reliable history in English of Russian literature. His predecessors were (both Poles and not unaturally biased (however unconsciously) against Russia and things Russian—Prof. A. Bruckner who wrote his book in German and Prof. K. Waliszewski, who wrote his in French, both of which have been issued in English. Prince Mirsky's work treats of the literature of Old Russia and its passing, goes on to the Age of Classicism and Derzhavin, the most original of all Russian poets, Karamzin, and Krylov. Next the

author treats the Golden Age of Poetry, Zhukovsky, Pushkin, and the rise of the Novel. The Age of Gogol follows, and a section on Slavophiles and Westernists. Passing then to the Age of Realism, we get detailed treatment of the early Dostoyevsky, Aksakov, Goncharov, Turgenev, and Pisemsky. A final chapter deals at length with the work of Tolstoy before 1880 and the mature work of Dostoyevsky. The second volume takes up the thread where the first leaves off and continues the sketch of modern Russian literature from 1881 till our own time. A very full bibliography is appended to each of the two volumes, materially adding to the utility of the book. Prince Miretsky's work deserves high praise. It is entitled to be regarded as the standard history of Russian literature for the English-knowing student of the subject.

The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians. By Adolf Erman (Methuen & Co., Ltd., 36, Essex Street, London, W. C.) 1927.

Dr. Adolf Erman's *Literature of the Ancient Egyptians* is an excellent historical sketch of the poems, narratives, and manuals of instruction, in the ancient Egyptian language, from the third and second millennia B. C. In the excellent English rendering of it now made accessible, this book brings to those knowing that language, for the first time, translations of all the extant literary works produced by the Egyptians during the three great creative periods of their long and eventful history. It may be unhesitatingly stated that the reader will find himself in entire accord with Dr. Erman's assertion in the preface that "no one who is unacquainted with this literature ought to pass judgment upon the Egyptians and the period in human development to which they belong." To most readers the book will not only be a delight but an agreeable revelation as well. There is no other work that we know of which is so comprehensive and sound as the one under consideration and it will continue to be the authoritative work on the subject for years to come.

A History of Indian Literature, Vol. I. By M. Winternitz, Ph.D. (University of Calcutta, Senate House, Calcutta) 1927.

Dr. M. Winternitz is an eminent scholar and is Professor of Indology and Ethnology at the German University of Prague—the capital of that new state the republic of Czechoslovakia. So far back as 1907

he issued in the German language a work called *A History of Indian Literature*. It soon came to be acknowledged as a standard work on the subject it dealt with and there has been, not unnaturally, all these years a persistent demand for a translation of it in English. It is to the credit of the Calcutta University that they have at last embarked upon this enterprise and already published a rendering of the first volume. The translator is Mrs. Ketkar who (says the author) is "German by her mother tongue, English by education and Indian by marriage"—a rare and unique combination. The result is that—as Dr. Winternitz puts it—"this English translation is.....a second, revised and improved edition of the original work," which the author has carefully and judiciously overhauled and brought up-to-date, for the English edition. In its present form the book is beyond doubt the best historical sketch of Sanskrit literature in its widest connotation—including under it both Vedic and classical Sanskrit. The first volume deals with the Vedas, the epics, the Puranas and the Tantras, and is the most learned exposition of these branches of Sanskrit literature. We look forward with pleasure and interest to the completion of the work by an early issue of the second and concluding volume.

South African Literature. By Manfred Nathan, M.A., LL.D. (Juta & Co., Cape Town, South Africa) 1927.

Dr. Manfred Nathan's *South African Literature* deserves acknowledgement as the first sketch in English of the subject it deals with. The author (who is a K. C. and the author of *The South African Commonwealth*) has thoroughly mastered the subject he writes upon, and his pioneer work is entitled to appreciation at the hands of the students of the literatures of the Dominions of the British Commonwealth. Dr. Nathan justly points out that "in the case of a bilingual country.....we have to deal with two languages." Now South Africa has two languages for literary and also official purposes—English and Dutch. The latter has made great progress and the author enumerates a number of volumes in that language dealing with the literature of South Africa—principally the Dutch. But (says Dr. Nathan) "there is no systematic treatise in English devoted to South African literature"; hence the book under survey, which is offered as "a conspectus of South African literature.....a fair presentation of both English and African literature in South Africa." We offer a cordial welcome to Dr. Nathan's book, which is an excellent and lucid sketch of an interesting subject.

The literature of South Africa is surveyed in it under the categories of Travel and Description History, Biography, Ethnology Sociology and Politics, Poetry, Drama, Fiction and Romance and Essays and Belles Lettres. The sketch is comprehensive and the book ought to make an appeal to a large circle of readers.

II. RECENT WORKS ON LITERARY SUBJECTS.

Synopses of English Fiction. By Nora I Sholto-Douglas. (George Harrap & Co., Ltd., 39-41 Parker Street, Kingsway), London, W. C. 2.) 1937.

Nora Sholto-Douglas's *Synopses of English Fiction* will be found a useful book by lovers of classical and high-class fiction. These stories, each giving in the briefest possible form the gist of a classical novel, are intended to supply the want of the many people who have no time to read the originals in their entirety, and will thus serve a useful purpose. Part I traces the gradual transition of the novel from the pure romance, depending for its interest solely on incident, and that of a more or less improbable nature, to the more modern conception of a novel, where the chief interest hangs on character-development and analysis of motive. The Foreword and synopses 1-38 deal with the first forty works of fiction in English, in chronological order, and this is perhaps the most useful section. Part II deals with a selection of novels of literary merit written after 1810 which are not as well known to the general public as they deserve to be. Most of them are extremely long, some appearing in three volumes of over four hundred pages each. The object of the present series is to give a complete idea of each book, the story being followed in each case by a short criticism calculated to show the relative value of each novel treated. Altogether *Synopses of English Fiction* is a meritorious work which deserves appreciation at the hands of lovers of good fiction.

The English Novel of To-day. By Gerald Gould. (John Castle, 7 Henrietta Street, Strand, London,) 1937.

Mr. Gerald Gould's *The English Novel of To-day* is a comprehensive work on the subject it deals with. To readers of fiction, it is an eternal question: what novels to read? It is being almost perpetually asked by novel-readers, of booksellers and librarians, and

Mr. Gould has attempted to answer it satisfactorily. The author—whose essays on the English Novel of to-day have been enthusiastically hailed by many judges for their brilliance—presents here a book which is indispensable to all intelligent readers of twentieth century fiction. It deals with the subject in all its aspects: psychological, biographical, sociological and all others and is thus a compendious sketch of all the most important aspects of contemporary novels and novelists. The book covers a large ground, as it also includes reference to the short story and what are called in common parlance "the best sellers." On the whole, Mr. Gould's *English Novel of To-day* is a valuable contribution to the study of contemporary high-class fiction and merits attention.

The Modern German Novel. By Harvey W. Hewett-Thayer. (Marshall Jones Company, Boston, U. S. A.) 1936.

Mr. Harvey Hewett-Thayer's *The Modern German Novel* is a series of excellent studies and critical appreciations of modern German fiction. The American publication in 1936 of Jakob Wassermann's *Christian Mahnschaffe* under the title of *The World's Illusion* awakened decided interest in the work of contemporary German novelists. That this interest is continually growing is evidenced by the frequent translation of German novels and by the marked attention given to German literature, especially by American critics. In the book under notice, devoted to the work of living authors, one finds discussion of such notable figures as Hauptmann, Schnitzler, Wassermann, Waldemar Bonsels, Kretzer, Huch, Opetz, Thomas and Heinrich Mann. Considering how little is known of German literature in India, the book under consideration should appeal to all lovers of recent German fiction.

Literature and Revolution. By Leon Trotsky. (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., Ruskin House, 40, Museum Street, W. C.), 1936.

The recent expulsion from the Soviet of the Russian leader, Trotsky, naturally calls attention to his views on Literature from the revolutionists' standpoint. Revolutionary leader, social economist, and publicist, Trotsky reveals himself to be an original literary critic who logically and fearlessly applies materialist dialectics in an analysis of literature and art. He criticises the man and the movements that make up the literature of Russia since the Revolution.

He raises great cultural questions. Is culture doomed to fall? By what will it be replaced? Can there be a proletarian culture? What will the culture of the future be? Trotsky's direct answers to these questions illuminate his own vigorous and versatile personality, and eloquently forecast the stature of Marx in the new civilization. One may not agree with all that Trotsky writes, but there can be no two opinion, that he is an original thinker and writer and is entitled to be heard. The publishers of the English edition were, therefore, well-advised in getting his work rendered from Russian into English.

The Element of Irony in English Literature. By P. Mc. D. C. Turner. (The University Press, Cambridge) 1927.

Mr. P. Mc.D. C. Turner's essay—*The Element of Irony in English Literature*—was awarded at the Cambridge University the Le Bas prize in 1924 and has been published in accordance with the regulations relating to that prize. Though the title is general and comprehensive, the book—we are told by the author—is chiefly concerned with one branch of irony in English literature, namely its use by writers as an instrument for denouncing the error or depravity of their age. He traces its progress in relation to those who used it most conspicuously, and to the general spirit of the age that seemed both to welcome and demand it. The concluding chapter deals also with the milder irony of the novelist, and only such prose writers as the biographer and the historian. After explaining at some length "the meaning of irony" Mr. Turner surveys the works of the periods of Milton and Swift in the main, though he follows subsequent developments also. The book though not an exhaustive survey of even prophetic irony, is nonetheless welcome as an excellent short study of a great subject and will be found useful and interesting by students of English literature.

A Primer of Literary Criticism. By G. E. Hollingworth, M.A., (University Tutorial Press, Ltd., High Street, New Oxford Street, London, W. C.) 1926.

Mr. G. E. Hollingworth's *Primer of Literary Criticism* comes rather under the category of educational literature, being designed mainly as a students' handbook to be "used as a companion to the observant reading of English classics, not as a substitute for that reading." But the treatment of the subject being distinctive and book well-written, it may be

commended to readers (other than students) of English classical literature. It deals, in the main, with Style, its elements and varieties. The exposition of the subject is sound, the examples selected are interesting and cover a large range of literature, while the exercises are so framed as to evoke a healthy mental effort on the part of the reader. The last chapter deals with the rather difficult subject "appreciation," and brings into prominent relief the salient features and varied aspects of that topic. Altogether *A Primer of Literary Criticism* is a scholarly work which is highly useful.

Modern English Literature 1708-1919: By E. J. Wyatt, M.A. and Henry Clay M.A. (University Tutorial Press, Ltd., High Street, New Oxford Street, London, W.C.) 1927.

Messrs. Wyatt and Clay's *Modern English Literature* is a capital text-book of the subject—accurate, informative, sound and critical. Though meant primarily for students of the literature of the period it deals with, it is none the less calculated to interest and instruct a large circle of readers. It is exceedingly well put together and we cannot give it higher praise than by declaring our conviction that it is pre-eminently fitted to stand on the same shelf as supplementing it, the late Mr. Stopford Brooke's well-known *Primer of English Literature*, till 1832. The two together will form a most excellent compendium of the whole range of English literature.

III. RECENT WORKS ON ART.

Anderson and Spiers' Architecture of Greece and Rome. Now reissued in two volumes, revised and much enlarged. (D. T. Batsford, Ltd., 94 High Holborn, London, E. C.) 1927.

The first section of Messrs. Anderson and Spiers' classical work, *Architecture of Greece and Rome* (called *The Architecture of Ancient Greece*) has now been reissued in a separate volume, thoroughly revised and enlarged to about double its original size. This important work has been undertaken by Professor W. B. Dinsmore, of Columbia University, New York, and the American Academy at Athens, who has entirely rewritten the text, and whose actual work on the spot has enabled him to incorporate all the original research of late years. The book will thus be

found thoroughly up-to-date and representative of the modern outlook. At the same time it has been entirely re-illustrated, and a remarkable series of pictures has been assembled from the latest photographs, and the most accurate and latest drawings, reconstructions, and plans, by the foremost scholars. The book should prove indispensable to the student and practitioner of Architecture for the authority of its text and the wealth and the variety of its illustrations, and should make an irresistible appeal to all who realize the continued inspiration that the works of Antiquity have afforded to the Modern World. It is embellished with 500 illustrations in Collotype. The second section of the book has also been re-issued in a separate volume, (called *The Architecture of Ancient Rome*) thoroughly revised and enlarged to about double its original size. Since the last edition the important archaeological developments that have taken place have necessitated considerable revision of the original text and the task of bringing the book completely up to date has been undertaken by Dr Thomas Ashby, for many years Director of the British School at Rome, whose work on the spot has enabled him to incorporate all that modern scholarship has to offer towards a better knowledge of the subject. The book has been almost entirely re-written, and now completely envisages the modern outlook. Besides this a practically new series of illustrations has been assembled, including a number of hitherto unpublished photographs, drawings, and reconstructions, which should prove of extreme value to the student and the practitioner of Architecture to whom the work is more especially directed. It is enriched like its companion volume with 200 illustrations in half-tone and line. The illustrations in both the volumes are splendidly reproduced and add materially alike to the usefulness and the value of the text, which also is sound and abreast of the latest researches. These volumes will serve the purposes of the student of the subject, of the professional architect who may care to draw inspiration from the models of Antiquity, as also of the lover of fine architecture who may like to embellish his study or drawing room with these superbly got-up works of Art. The publishers no less than the editors deserve felicitations on their enterprise.

Great Pictures by Great Painters. 2 Vols. and **Famous Paintings** 2 Vols. (Cassell and Co. Ltd., London) 1927.

These two books are superb. The former contains reproductions of the greatest pictures selected from the public galleries of Great Britain and the Continent,

and embellished with descriptive notes by Mr. Arthur Fish; while the latter comprises pictures selected from the world's great galleries and reproduced in colour, enriched with an introduction and descriptive notes by Mr. G. K. Chesterton. In these magnificent works one finds actual colour reproductions of the "Old Masters" which thousands of artlovers yearly travel to Europe to see and study. Each picture is reproduced in the actual colours of its world-famous original. They are all mounted on heavy art paper which permits them to be taken from the volume and framed if desired. Each picture is preceded by a brief biographical sketch of the artist and a description of the subject of the painting printed on a separate page. It is not too much to say that the value of the originals of the famous paintings in these collections would probably amount to £5,000,000. Many of the famous old masters are represented by their great canvases, and all are excellently reproduced in these magnificent collections. These volumes give in permanent form, a superb collection of many of the world's art-masterpieces. One can turn to them at any time, and be sure of obtaining mental inspiration and pleasure. In one way it will be just as though one visited the Louvre and Luxembourg galleries in Paris, the National, Tate and Guildhall in London, the Wallace Collection, and others. For these reasons these two sets which supplement each other are splendid collections of the world's greatest and most famous paintings, and being thus things of beauty and joy for ever should be possessed by all those who can afford to have them either for their library or drawing-room.

Indian Painting. By Percy Brown. Second Edition. (The Association Press, 3 Russell Street, Calcutta) 1927.

On its first appearance in 1917 in "The Heritage of India" series, Mr. Percy Brown's excellent, little work—*Indian Painting*—took its rank as perhaps the most concise yet the most systematic exposition of the subject. The carefully revised and judiciously improved, second edition, is therefore, to be welcomed by all students of the art of painting in this country. Appended to the text are a select bibliography and lists of Indian pigments and principal collections of Indian paintings. Altogether, it is a capital hand-book.

Ruskin's Modern Painters Abridged and edited by A. J. Finberg. (G. Bell & Sons, Ltd., Portland Street, London, W. C. 2.) 1927.

Ruskin's *Modern Painters* is beyond question the nineteenth century's most important contribution in English to the reasoned appreciation of pictorial art. Many students owe to it their introduction to the enchanted world of art, and its powers of stimulating thought and evoking enthusiasm seem inexhaustible. Yet, with all its splendours and greatness, it has serious defects. It is inordinately long, and some at least of the earlier opinions which Ruskin stated as definitely have been found to need qualification. Hence the reason for the present abridgement, designed to bring out the main features of Ruskin's thought more clearly than a hurried or superficial reading of the whole book would do; to select, and thus emphasise, those passages which seem best to express what is permanently valuable in the book. We commend the enterprise alike of the editor of the abridgement and of the publishers, and hope it will lead to a wider appreciation of Ruskin's masterpiece.

A Dictionary of Hindu Architecture, and Indian Architecture according to Manasa Sūpasta. By Dr. P. K. Acharya, I.L.S. (Oxford University Press, Bombay and Calcutta), 1927.

Dr. Prasanna Kumar Acharya, I.L.S., Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Allahabad, is recognised as one of the leading authorities on Indian architecture. He has recently written, under instructions from the Government of the United Provinces, two books that should be of considerable value to students. Government have borne the expenses of both the publications, which are contributions of permanent importance to the elucidation of the subjects discussed. The first of the two books, which runs to 361 pages is a monument of erudition and patient industry. Existing dictionaries in Sanskrit, English or any other language, do not elucidate the architectural terms of a long distant past, and without such a survey as Dr. Acharya has undertaken there could be no proper appreciation of ancient genius. The texts of the Vastu-Sastras have, as the author states in his preface, been waiting for hundreds of years to be unearthed from manuscripts which are quite inaccessible without the guidance of a special dictionary. This is the task to which the author has addressed himself, and he has brought to light many new things hitherto left unexplained in inscriptions and general literature. The other work is a hand-book of Indian Architecture, Sculpture and Cognate Arts. It gives an account of the architecture of the Vedic, the Buddhist, and the classical periods of India up

to the Mohammedan age. It will be of great interest to those whose attention has been drawn to these subjects by the publications of the India Society and kindred bodies. There is quite a large constituency now-a-days to which works of this character, dealing with the ancient arts of India, afford a real attraction. An interesting feature of Dr. Acharya's study is the comparison which he draws between the Indian standard work, Manasara, and the European standard work of the Roman architect, Vitruvius. The book might have made a more popular appeal if the text had been interspersed with a few illustrative reconstructions, in plans or drawings of the architectural features described. This, however, was not the purpose of the author. Rather it was to provide a fount of information from which future seekers may gain knowledge of an art which can never entirely lose its place in human records. What the learned world demands from India is certainty of data in these matters, and this has been excellently supplied by Dr. Acharya, who has illumined a comparatively unknown branch of Indian study, and the fruit of his long and arduous labour will assuredly be of abiding value. To scholars these two books should be invaluable, as they help to elucidate in architectural terms details of the distant past, that have hitherto been clothed in mystery.

Raja Ravi Varma's "Arjuna and Subhadra." A Critical study, by C. R. Ramanuj Acharya with a Foreword by A. V. Wazalwar, L.I.M. (The Hogarth Press, Mount Road, Madras), 1927.

At first sight it seems a little extravagant to devote a whole book to the elucidation of one picture, the famous *Arjuna and Subhadra* by the well-known painter, Raja Ravi Varma, but a perusal of it dispells this apprehension. The reproduction of the picture in color is not large, though good. The learned writer however makes up for any lack of that kind. He proves himself familiar not only with the story, which is common to every Hindu, but he is able to define and reveal the symbolical meaning, and in a very accurate manner, which not every educated Hindu could do. We are inclined to agree with some of the strictures on the Bengal school of painting (so called) for some of the work there shown is unworthy. But some is of the finest quality. It is only bad when young students, just familiar with that deathly facile medium, oil colour, proceed to paint badly the external image of objects or figures. It is useless to paint, as our author here incidentally

proves, unless the painter has the soul of a poet and the learning of a priest, knowing the inner meaning of what he sets down on canvas. This critical study is very well done, and we congratulate the author on his penetrative powers as a critic and exponent of art, no less than on his excellence in literary ability. All students of the *Bhagavad Gita* will be grateful for this acceptable piece of work.

IV. RECENT TOURISTS' LITERATURE.

Italy from End to End. By H. W. Allen. The *French Riviera*: By A. R. Bonus; and *Florence*: By M. Mansfield. (Methuen & Co., Ltd., 36, Essex Street, London, W. C.), 1927.

In his *Italy from End to End*, Mr. H. Warner Allen has been successful in producing what might not inaptly be called a psychological hand-book, a book, that is to say, which deals less with material facts, such as are to be found in many publications, than with the state of mind in which the visitor should approach each place, if he wishes to obtain from his travels the maximum of profit and enjoyment. The author outlines a method of sightseeing, which he has found in practice to give to a tour in Italy exceptional significance and delight. As a supplement to the guide-books to the Italian peninsula, Mr. Warner's *Italy from End to End* will be found both useful and stimulating by the intelligent traveller.

The other two books—*The French Riviera* and *Florence*—both belong to the "Little Guide" series. The former should appeal especially to visitors who have neither the inclination nor the means for the conventional and somewhat costly occupations associated with the 'fashionable' Riviera. It is the work of a writer who knows the district and who describes from personal experience some seventy or eighty excursions, mainly afoot, through scenery and country which the motorist and the casino-lounger never see. There are numerous photographs, some account of animals, birds, and flowers, an historical sketch, and a chapter on local industries. It is a capital little hand-book. *Florence* summarizes the historic, artistic and literary aspects of that city. The makings of her position foremost among the mediaeval city-states of the Peninsula are traced through her citizens' industrial activity, to which rather than to military conquest Florence owes her place in European culture. The visitor will find this book an attractive companion on all his jaunts in this most fascinating city.

The Madras Guidebook, including Mysore. (Ajitkumar Company, George Town, Madras), 1927.

Embellished with as many as seventy excellent illustrations and possessing an up-to-date text of about 200 pages, Messrs. Ajitkumar Company's *Madras Guide-book* is a very useful manual and a most reliable hand-book—historical and descriptive—for all visitors to Madras. Its utility and worth deserve praise. The reading matter is printed on feather weight paper and the illustrations on art paper. The book is bound in excellent cloth, and is cheaply priced at three rupees. To the visitor to or resident in Madras the book is indispensable as a handy *mode macram*.

"The Kilbag Travel Books." Ireland. By Stephen Gwynn. (George Harrap & Co., Ltd., 39-41 Parker Street, Kingsway, London, W. C. 2.), 1927.

Messrs. Harrap's "Kilbag Travel Books" are evidently intended to be something between guide-books and books of travel, partaking as they do of the characteristics of both. The new series is happily inaugurated by Mr. Stephen Gwynn with his *Ireland*. It is very well illustrated, and covers in its survey the whole of the country, irrespective of the political and administrative bifurcation. Mr. Gwynn surveys the places of beauty and historic association and also deals with entertainment and sport. Along with his two previous works—*Fair Hills of Ireland* and *The Famous Cities of Ireland*—the book under notice constitutes a trilogy of the Emerald Isle, which no lover of that delightful country can afford to ignore.

What Pictures to see in Europe. By Lorinda Bryant. New Edition. (John Lane, The Bodley Head, London), 1927.

The Important Pictures of the Louvre. By Florence Heywood—Third Edition (Methuen & Co., Ltd., Essex Street, London, W. C.), 1927.

The guide-books by Lorinda Bryant have found so very wide a circle of readers in America that it has been evidently thought advisable to issue Britain editions which have been enlarged and brought up-to-date for the convenience of the thousands of tourists who, now that foreign travel is permitted, will find the need of a comprehensive and adequate guide to the art treasures of Europe. The stay-at-home, no less than the tourist, will find entertainment and information within the pages of the

revised and enlarged edition of *What Pictures to see in Europe*, which is an excellent guide-book to the famous picture galleries of Europe. The *Important Pictures of the Louvre* is the third and revised edition of Miss Heywood's book, which deals lucidly and practically with the characteristics of the schools of art, the lives of the artists and the significance of their pictures in the Louvre. The book should be in the hands of all visitors to that most famous museum of Paris, nay of the world.

Denmark. By Clive Holland. (Simplin, Marshall & Co., Ltd., Stationer's Hall, London, E. C. 4). 1927.

Mr. Clive Holland claims for his *Denmark* that it is "a modern guide to the land and its people." And his claim is not ill-founded. For though not a guide in the technical sense of the term, Mr. Holland's book—which is well illustrated by the author's and other excellent photographs—is a handy, compact and up-to-date survey of things and matters Danish—the land, the people, the scenery, the cities, the historic places, the picturesque sites, the museums and the many institutions of the country. The author knows his subject thoroughly and has thus managed to turn out a capital sketch, equally adapted to study and reference. It is the one requisite companion for the traveller in Denmark.

"The Blue Guides": Scotland. By Findlay Muirhead. (MacMillan & Co., Ltd., St. Martin's Street, W. C. 2). 1927.

Messrs. MacMillan's *Blue Guides* are slowly but steadily growing into public favour. Frankly modelled upon the famous guides known—after their publishers—as *Baedekers*, they are likely to prove a formidable rival to their original. The latest addition to the *Blue Guides* is Mr. Muirhead's *Scotland*. This country is treated in *Baedekers' Great Britain*, of which the latest edition appeared last year. Mr. Muirhead's book will, in all likelihood, supersede Mr. S. M. Penny's *Scotland* in Mr. Murray's famous series of guide-books. Its range is encyclopedic, its scope comprehensive and it possesses all the merits we have learnt to associate with Mr. Muirhead's guides—lucidity, systematic arrangement, practical information, abreastness of the latest changes, excellent maps and up-to-date plans. It is a capital guide to Scotland.

Introductions to London 1927. By L. H. Dawson (H. O. Quinn, 151, Fleet Street, London, E. C. 4). 1927.

We welcome the second, annual edition—revised and overhauled—of Mr. L. H. Dawson's *Introductions to London*. It is stated to be "a compact and handy book of reference." Compact it certainly is, though handy it is not—being heavy, unwieldy, and inconvenient to handle and carry about. Its format is open to this objection but this is about the only criticism we have to offer and hope the next annual edition will enable the compiler to reduce its size materially and make it portable and thus lead to the enhancement of its utility and popularity amongst visitors to and residents in London. For the rest we have nothing but admiration for this exceedingly well got-up and beautifully illustrated *volume* to the hub of the British Commonwealth, for it is a well-digested hand-book of practical information about almost all matters likely to interest a sojourner in London. It is divided into eight main parts dealing with communications and general information, places and objects of especial interest, collections—i.e., museums and libraries, shops and shopping centres (a sketch, in response to our criticism of the first edition, of the principal shops in the Strand has been added), where to stay in London, amusements and recreations and shipping directory and its usefulness is enhanced by reason of its being furnished with a general index and a commercial index. The information under each of the main headings is full and detailed, though concise, and there is much in it which is not available, in the average guide-book. In the edition for 1926 we would like to have some account furnished of the London press—following that of the libraries—and the classified trades lists arranged according to the class of goods sold, should be substantially enlarged and made comprehensive. But these minor criticisms do not and can not materially detract from the great value and indispensability of this exceedingly useful addition to the reference literature of London.

V. RECENT LITERATURE OF TRAVEL.

Greece: Old and New. By Ashley Brown (Methuen & Co., Ltd., 36 Essex Street, London, W. C.), 1927.

Many of the works of travel in Greece—like Mahaffy's *Rambles and Studies in Greece*—deal with

a state of affairs now no longer in existence and a book dealing with the Greece of to-day was a desideratum. This want is now removed by the publication of Mr. Ashley Brown's *Greece: Old and New*. Mr. Ashley Brown, in his delightful record of his wanderings, has so carefully balanced the claims of the old Greece and the new that his beautifully illustrated book will prove an ideal companion both for the armchair or the real traveller. As he takes his reader round the Acropolis, through Corinth, oracular Delphi and earliest Mycenae, or the later wonders of the Meteora Monasteries, he picks out from the bewildering mass of knowledge that archaeology and scholarship have accumulated just the most interesting, the most necessary, and the most picturesque details, of the past. At the same time, he no where fails to appreciate the present, and sets out his own impressions of modern Greek life and travel conditions in a lively and attractive manner. The book is well illustrated and it gives a great deal of practical information on the conditions of travel in Greece which will be of great service to tourists in that country.

In Praise of France. By Stephen Gwynn. (Nisbet & Co., Ltd., 22, Berners Street, London, W. 1), 1927.

Mr. Stephen Gwynn is not so much—in his book called *In Praise of France*—a mere traveller in France as a lover in that great and glorious country. In this book the beauties of France are described with the enthusiasm of a lover and the pen of an artist. Mr. Gwynn has from his early days been fortunate enough to make friends among the French and has explored with enthusiasm the varying delights of French scenery, French fishing, French cookery, French architecture, and, not least, of French wines. It is, thus, by no means surprising that he has written in the strain he has done—"written for those who, like me, are in love with France, and will like to hear France praised." Hence the title of the book, which is a series of glowing word-pictures of the scenery of France and the many excellent characteristics of the French. The book, which is well illustrated, will have a fascination for the admirers of France and the French.

Romantic Java. By H. S. Banner. (Seeley, Service & Co., 195, Shaftesbury Avenue, London, W.), 1927.

Mr. Hubert Banner's *Romantic Java* is a comprehensive and up-to-date work. It deals both with Java as it was and is to-day, and it is an instructive description of the diversified peoples, the departed glories and strange customs of that interesting and yet little-known island, which is alike remarkable for its useful and decorative arts, for its great natural beauty and the richness of its resources. It is embellished with forty excellent photographic reproductions and two well-drawn maps. The contents of the book cover a large ground and traverse the whole range of Javanese interests and activities; and it will be found highly useful by not only visitors to Java but also by residents in that country and by students of Javanese progress under Dutch rule and the colonial policy of Holland.

About England. By M. V. Hughes. (J. M. Dent & Sons, London), 1927.

See England First. By S. T. B. Mais. (The Richards Press, Ltd., London), 1927.

The London Perambulator. By J. Bone. (Jonathan Cape, 30 Bedford Square, London), 1927.

The above three books usefully supplement one another, but Mr. M. V. Hughes' *About England* is the most comprehensive of the lot. It successfully offers a new angle of vision to the traveller in that country. People who want to know something of England should not, says the author, spend too much time in museums and picture galleries, which are after all, the most cosmopolitan of places. They should try he thinks to get *inside* the real London, and the real country, should observe at first hand—and stealthily as it were—the characteristics of the English as a nation, should see for themselves their games, old fairs, curious ceremonies, ancient customs (some of them prehistoric), education and ideas of humour. This book is intended as an incentive to such practical study, and as a help to would-be initiates, whether they be foreign or colonial visitors or natives who wish to explore England with the stranger's fresh eye. The book is highly instructive and exceedingly useful and merits careful attention. Mr. Mais's *See England First* is a misnomer as it deals with beauties of Southern England only. But the sketches of the Southern counties are delightful and make interesting reading. The book may be commended to lovers of graphic delineations. The cheaper edition of Mr. James Bone's book—*The London Perambulator*—is very welcome, both for its text and the pictures by Mr. Muirhead Bone. Together the two, in their work of two brothers—make up an ideal

book about London. It is about the best book of descriptive sketches of the many aspects of London life and makes fascinating reading.

Ceylon Past and Present. By Major C. M. Henriques (Hurst and Blackett, Ltd., Paternoster House, E. C. 4), 1928.

Having exhausted the picturesqueness of Burma in his four interesting volumes—*A Burmese Enchantment*, *A Burmese Wonderland*, *A Burmese Arcady* and *The Races of Burma*—Major Henriques has now turned his attention to the charms of Ceylon and written a fascinating description of that wonderful island, that will be welcomed by all who are interested in Ceylon and its history. It is readably written, never being dull or tedious, yet it has fact and not fiction as its foundation. The illustrations are not the least interesting part of this work, while the author, who knows his subject better than many of his contemporaries, has given us a book both to interest and instruct. There is an eager public awaiting a readable account of Ceylon, its history, people and physical features, and in *Ceylon Past and Present* they will find that for which they are looking. The value of the letter-press is materially enhanced by the numerous, excellent illustrations with which the book is embellished; while the appendix containing practical information on travel in Ceylon renders the book of great utility to the resident or the prospective tourist in that island.

VI. RECENT REFERENCE ANNUALS.

Whitaker's Almanac for the year 1928. By Joseph Whitaker. Complete edition, 6s. net. (J. Whitaker and Sons, Ltd., 12, Warwick Lane, London, E. C. 4), 1928.

That most familiar and reliable of books of reference, *Whitaker's Almanac*, appears now in two forms. There is the "Complete Edition" (6s. net), and there is also the "Popular Edition" (1s. 6d. net) which, at any rate, everyone must have. The latter takes the place of the "Abridged Edition" which contained a part of the complete edition, whereas the new issue is an abridgment of the whole. To make these two editions possible some rearrangement of the contents of the "Complete Edition" has been necessary, but the admirable index ensures that this will make

no difference to the reader. The new edition is a decided improvement on the old, and the new features introduced make "Whitaker's" more necessary to an office-table than ever.

Inaugurated in 1868, *Whitaker's Almanac* for the current year is the sixtieth yearly edition of this most famous annual reference work of the English-speaking world. It is justly established in popular estimation as the most useful and most comprehensive repository of information—well-informed and accurate—on current public affairs. It is a highly meritorious book of reference, which not only—as its title implies—contains an account of the astronomical and other phenomena, but also gives a vast amount of sound and accurate information respecting the Government, finances, population, commerce and general statistics of the various nations and states, with special reference to the British Commonwealth and the United States of America. The edition under notice has been carefully and judiciously revised and brought up-to-date and it is fully abreast of the latest important events and incidents. All matters of general interest and questions of the day are fully dealt with and the statistical data are, on the whole, wonderfully accurate. The current edition of *Whitaker's Almanac* will be indispensable to public men and publicists, it being the most up-to-date and complete compendium of facts and events of the world to-day. It is unnecessary to say anything further of so invaluable a work of reference except to observe that the present volume is larger than any of its predecessors and extends to 916 pages in the familiar green and red cloth cover. There is also a "Popular Edition" in orange paper cover, containing 921 pages.

Who's Who 1928. (Adam and Charles Black, Ltd., 4-6 Soho Square, London), 1928.

A highly meritorious work of reference is the well-known annual, called *Who's Who*. Of the current books of reference, perhaps none is more useful to the journalist than this annual biographical dictionary—with which is incorporated the defunct *Men and Women of the Time*. This is the 86th year of issue and is a well nigh perfect example of what it professes to be—"an annual biographical dictionary." After using it for many years we cannot recall a single instance of its giving incorrect information. We confess that we sometimes long to prune some of the biographies, but the publishers explain in their preface that "any sort of correction, even well meant attempts to cut down biographies, involves expense," so we suppose these voluminous entries have

to stand as they are. They are the only blemishes in an admirable compilation. It does not, however, profess to be international in its scope and does not include, for instance, the American trans-Atlantic flyers, Lindbergh, Chamberlin, Levine, Byrd, Miss Hilder, etc. Nevertheless, it does give biographies of a good many prominent Frenchmen, such as Marshals Foch and Petain, M. Poincaré, M. Briand, and several others. So great is the labour of compiling and printing this vast work, which comprises over three thousand pages of close double-column type, that printing has to begin as early as June. The work opens with a useful obituary for the preceding year. This is followed by an account of the Royal Family, and then come over 32,000 biographies. The biographies, though generally exceedingly condensed, are accurate and informative. They give, besides, useful and interesting information about the habits, tastes and hobbies of the large number of persons whose careers are sketched. The book is thus indispensable to a journalist. Indian names appear in *Who's Who*, but the sketches of eminent Indians need careful revision by experts and specialists in current Indian affairs. Additions are also required to make the Indian list comprehensive and more useful than it is at present. It goes without saying that *Who's Who* long ago won its way to the foremost place among books of reference of its kind. The 1928 edition for convenient handling of the volume is slightly thinner than the previous issues. Year by year *Who's Who* becomes a more absolute necessity to those whose work entails a study of all phases of British life, and it is as ever an indispensable part of the furniture of any library or office.

Whitaker's Peerage 1928. (J. Whitaker & Sons, Ltd., 12, Warwick Lane, London, E. C. 4), 1928.

Whitaker's Peerage (which though in its thirty-second year is the youngest of its class) is not only the cheapest but the most convenient work for reference. The current edition contains complete list of Peers, Barons, Knights and Companions, including full lists of the last new year's honours. The careful compilation and methodical arrangement, which have always characterised the work, are fully maintained, while for ease of reference it can hardly be surpassed. The obituary for the last year is complete. *Whitaker's Peerage*—as stated above—is not only the cheapest work of its class but its convenient shape and handy size add materially to its value and usefulness as an indispensable work of ready reference for all who may have to seek information concerning the title-holders

in the British Empire. Of the books of its class and kind, it should, therefore, have a large circulation in India. In the current edition the recent change in the status of Cyprus is recognized. It is much to be desired that a work of reference dealing with Indian rulers, chiefs, princes and zamindars were compiled and issued annually, modelled on *Whitaker's Peerage*, by some enterprising publisher in India or in Great Britain.

Europa Year-Book 1928. (Europa Publishing Co., Ltd., 6, Duke Street, Adelphi, London, W. C. 2), 1928.

We welcome the third edition of the new encyclopædic annual, called the *Europa Year-Book*. It is ambitious in conception, surveying as it does the politics, art, science, economics, social conditions and literatures of the Europe of to-day. It is well-arranged and systematic and is written by competent authorities. Each country is taken in turn, and full information is given about the leading figures in the Government, parties, literature and arts. It is thus a highly useful book of reference, which should appeal to a large circle of seekers after accurate information about things and affairs European. The comprehensiveness of its scope may be gauged from the fact that it contains detailed statistical data dealing with the economic and financial position of the European States, and a long section is devoted to "Survey of Economic and Social Conditions"—a most interesting portion of the book, full of trustworthy information based on unimpeachable facts and figures. Again, another no less interesting portion of the book is *Who's Who*, which, in a short compass, summarizes a whole shelf of contemporary biographical dictionaries issued in various languages and contains no less than 15,000 names. It is a pity that "The European Survey," which comprised well-written contributions by specialists on current topics of European politics, economics and culture—and which appeared in the first edition—is omitted. Altogether, the *Europa Year-Book* is an invaluable work of reference, which deserves very wide appreciation and a large circulation throughout the English-speaking world. Judging from the three annual issues of it since it saw the light, there can be little doubt that this notable acquisition to annual reference literature is a splendid achievement which has indisputably come to stay. We may suggest that in the next edition India—which is an original member of the League of Nations—should be accorded the same treatment as is given to other component parts of the British Commonwealth.

The World Almanac and Book of Facts for 1928. (Pulitzer Building,—55—53, Park Row, New York, U.S.A.), 1928.

The World Almanac and Book of Facts—which is edited with skill and knowledge—is the American Whitaker and is now in the forty-third year of publication. It is a most important annual appanage to one of the leading American papers, the *New York World*, from the office of which it is issued. It is such a book as would have delighted Mr. Thomas Gradgrind—"a man of realities, a man of facts and calculations"—depicted by Dickens in his *Hard Times*. That imaginary character—who represents the type called "eminently practical"—was of opinion that "facts alone are wanted in life," and it would have done his heart good could he but have access in his days to this comprehensive and exhaustive work of reference, which is a most marvellously well-digested compendium of facts and figures relating to the world states in general and the United States in particular. Of the many American books of reference, annually issued, it is perhaps the most notable, covering within its nearly one thousand pages accurate facts and statistical data about America, and the other political entities of the earth. Though mainly intended for use in America, it would be found highly useful throughout the English-knowing world. The 1928 edition is fully abreast of events and has been judiciously brought up-to-date by its editor—Mr. R. H. Lyman—whom we heartily felicitate on turning out so highly useful a reference annual.

The Japan Year-Book, 1927. Edited by Professor Takenaka. (Japan Year-Book Office, Haramachi Sanchoime, Ushigome, Tokyo), 1927.

The Japan Year-Book—which was first issued in 1905 and is now in its twenty-third annual edition—is justly acknowledged as a standard work of reference and it is all the more creditable that it is so, since it is a non-official publication. Put shortly, it is an up-to-date and comprehensive cyclopaedia of general information and gazetteer of Japan and gives the fullest particulars—statistical, economic, political and educational—about that country and the Japanese territories. Thus it is an indispensable work of reference for all interested in the study of current Japanese problems. After 650 pages of solid information about a hundred different subjects, comes a long supplement of eight chapters on current affairs, a "Who's Who in Japan," a business directory, an appendix on learned and social institutions, and yet a directory which includes a shopping and even a gastronomic section. There are maps, tables,

statistics, all that a man can want; an outline of Japanese history, and even a sketch of earthquakes and volcanoes. The text of the Year-Book covers a mass of important statistics about Japan and Japanese territories. It has been prepared by Professor Takenaka, who has been in charge of the work from its first issue, twenty-three years ago, and who deserves our hearty felicitations on turning out year after year so admirable and useful a reference annual, the like of which is not to be found in any other Asiatic country. Encyclopaedic in its range and comprehensive in its scope, the *Japan Year-Book* is a work of reference which no one interested in Japan or Japanese affairs can do without.

The Indian Year-Book, 1928. (Times of India Press, Bombay), 1928.

We welcome the fifteenth edition of *The Indian Year-Book*—edited by Sir Stanley Reed and Mr. S. T. Sheppard—which has justly come to be regarded as an indispensable work of reference for all in any way connected with Indian public affairs, as it concentrates all the essential information and the statistics of the Indian Empire in one handy volume. In the current edition, while all those characteristic features which have made it the standard reference annual on things Indian are retained and developed, the economic and sociological sections are even fuller than usual. Indian trade, currency and banking are fully analysed, with the latest statistics available. An important section is that dealing with Indian Labour, including the official machinery and the growth of the Trade Union movement. *The Indian Year-Book* knows no politics but it is something more than a dry-as-dust record of statistics; in every section there is an attempt not only to give facts, but to see the forces which are behind the facts. This makes it a valuable and useful adjunct to every Government, mercantile newspaper office in India, as also to clubs, libraries and institutes, to businessmen generally, and to every one who takes an interest in Indian affairs. It covers a very wide range of subjects and while comprehensive it is, on the whole, commendably accurate. The 1928 edition contains all the very latest information—it has been developed and improved in the light of experience and progress. Everything that can be done to make it useful has been done, and this valuable work of reference is now well nigh perfect. The value of such a book lies in its present-day accuracy and completeness. Therein lies the inestimable value of *The Indian Year-Book* for 1928, which we have much pleasure in once again commending to the readers of *The Hindustan Review*.

The South American Hand book 1928. Edited by J. A. Hunter. (South American Publications, Ltd. Atlantic House, Moorgate, London, E. C. 2), 1928.

Mr. J. A. Hunter's *South American Hand-book*, for the current year,—which is now in its fifth edition—is largely based on *The Anglo-South American Hand-book* edited by the late Mr. W. H. Koebel. It is a comprehensive and compact guide—and withal thoroughly up-to-date—to the countries and resources of Latin America, inclusive of South and Central America, Mexico and Cuba. It is a substantially enlarged edition of the earlier work, and the increase is not only in the number of pages but also in the variety of subjects. Covering some 800 pages of neatly-printed matter, furnished with good maps and handy in size, it is at once the business man's directory, traveller's hand-book, investor's companion, statesman's safe manum, the student's manual and the prospective settler's guide, philosopher and friend. The scope of the work is almost encyclopædic, it being a gazetteer and guide-book in one. Considerable detail has been added in relation to the products and resources and the industrial development of the Latin American countries; while there is to be found within the covers of the book a large amount of miscellaneous information of great utility and much interest. Altogether Mr. Hunter's *South American Hand-book* is a highly meritorious compilation and is a notable addition to periodical reference literature.

The Daily Mail Year-Book, 1928. Edited by David Williamson. (Associated Newspapers, Ltd., London, E. C. 1), 1927.

Of the many political year-books that one is familiar with, that associated in name with the *Daily Mail* is unique in its being the cheapest and yet one of the most comprehensive. Unlike several other annuals of its class and kind—which are only revised and brought up-to-date—the *Daily Mail Year-Book* is completely rewritten for each succeeding edition. Its contents cover a very large ground and traverse almost the whole of the current political and economic affairs of the British Commonwealth. In fact, the little red book is the essence of a reference library, is a most marvellous compendium of general knowledge on the public affairs of the day and is a most informative work of reference. The edition under notice is fully abreast of the latest events, and deserves an extensive circulation in India, alike for its cheapness—it costs but a shilling—and general utility as a meritorious work, which covers within a small compass a

very large range of statistical and other useful data. The edition for the current year is the twenty-eighth and we congratulate this highly useful annual on its having passed its silver jubilee.

The Manchester Guardian Year-Book 1928. (Manchester Guardian Office, Manchester), 1928.

Though, in a sense, designed to serve local needs and requirements, the *Manchester Guardian Year-Book* is compiled on so ambitious a scale and contains so much useful information that it deserves special commendation at the hands of the discriminating reviewer. It contains full data about the industries of Manchester combined with a large range of general information of a practical character. The cotton directories, the chapters on Art, Science and Society, Who's Who of the prominent citizens of Manchester and district and the textile glossary, all supply useful information. There is also included in it a deal of general information which materially enhances its utility. Altogether, it is a very useful addition to annual reference literature.

The People's Year-Book, 1928. (The Co-operative Wholesale Society, Ltd., 1, Balloon Street, Manchester and the Co-operative Press Agency, 118, Corporation Street, Manchester), 1928.

The current (eleventh) edition of the *People's Year-Book* deserves appreciation from seekers after information about Co-operation. Among its salient features the volume contains an up-to-date and comprehensive survey of the Co-operative movement throughout the world and of the industrial labour movement as well. Amongst the topics of public interest, the cost of living, the housing problem and British finance are specifically dealt with; the latest developments in art, science, literature, and drama as also in motoring, aviation, cinema and photography are reviewed, and a mass of useful information is likewise included, which will interest the general reader, apart from the student. A principal feature of the volume this year deals with the concentration of banking at home and abroad. There is a survey of the banking systems of Great Britain, France, and Germany, indicating the increasing power of banks on the productive and economic forces of the world. There are many tables of arresting statistics. On the literary side there is a sound critical article on the books of the year, with a careful selection of the books of 1927. Mr. Ivor Brown writes an excellent summary of the year's drama, whilst

Dr. Saleeby writes on the progress of Medicine. The *People's Year-Book* thus constitutes a reference work, both in a special and a general sense, while the many excellent illustrations it contains serve as an embellishment to the volume. Its get-up deserves special acknowledgment for format and excellent execution. Primarily intended as a national and international survey of co-operative organization and activities and for furnishing the latest statistics relating to this subject, the *People's Year-Book* contains much other useful and interesting information, and is thus an acquisition to current reference literature. The illustrations are highly artistic and the volume is a library in miniature for the general reader.

The New Zealand Official Year-Book for 1928. Census and Statistics Office, Wellington, New Zealand, 1927.

The New Zealand Official Year-Book for 1928—which is in its thirty-sixth issue—has been compiled by Mr. Malcolm Fraser, Government Statistician. This official annual publication is a remarkably useful work giving detailed information relating to New Zealand. Detailed chapters are devoted to the description, history, constitution and administration, statistical organisation, population, education, shipping, railways, public finance, banking, wealth and incomes, defence, etc., of New Zealand. Entirely new sections are added to each edition to bring it abreast of the latest events and incidents. These add materially to the usefulness of a highly meritorious work of reference, which is comprehensive in its scope and accurate in its data. In fact, all subjects of importance, enriched with statistics brought up-to-date, find place in the *Year-Book*, which is an authoritative volume of about one thousand pages, replete with valuable information on all matters—political, economic and administrative—relating to New Zealand. The current edition, owing to judicious condensation is handier than the previous ones, but it not only retains all the salient features of its predecessors, but also a substantial amount of new matter, including two completely new sections. In its present form, this highly useful reference annual will continue to be indispensable to all interested in the affairs of New Zealand.

The Writers' and Artists' Year-Book 1928. (A and C. Black, Ltd., 4, 5 and 6, Soho Square, London, W. 1), 1928.

The Writers and Artists' Year-Book is now in the twenty-first year of its issue and has thus come of age. It offers literary aspirants and journalistic free-lances much sound and useful information, which is likely to be of considerable help to them in placing their wares with profit and advantage. Lists of paying journals, magazines and periodicals—throughout the British Commonwealth and America—as also of art-illustrators, publishers book-sellers, literary and press agents, photographers, leading clubs and societies of authors, journalists and artists, press-cutting agencies, translators, typists, cinematographers, suppliers for printers and publishers, and much other equally useful information about addresses, mode of payment, the stage, the films, the radio, the juvenile market, copyright, agreements and serial rights, and guidance for art-illustrators and press-photographers, form the standard features of the publication. We have much pleasure in commending it to those connected with either literary pursuits or the press. Though meant primarily for Great Britain, it will be found valuable for reference even in India. But the Indian section will need careful revision by some expert. This highly useful reference annual is an indispensable possession to writers, publicists, artists, composers, editors and everyone who aspires to contribute to literature, art, music or journalism. We offer our felicitations to the editors and the publishers of this meritorious work of reference on its having attained its majority.

VII. RECENT DIRECTORIES: CLASS AND TERRITORIAL.

The Newspaper Press Directory, 1928. (C. Mitchell & Co., Ltd., 22, Snow Hill, Holborn Viaduct, London, E. C. 1), 1927.

Having seen the light in 1875, the current edition of Messrs. Mitchell's *Newspaper Press Directory* is the eighty-third annual issue of this indispensable work of reference to British periodical literature. Its range of information is generally wide and accurate and it supplies the fullest details about the press of the British Commonwealth in particular and that of the other countries in general, with the result that it is of the highest utility to pressmen, advertisers and tradesmen. The *Newspaper Press Directory* has established for itself a reputation for presenting concisely much valuable information and statistics in respect of inter-imperial trade. In this issue, the

publishers present an article by Sir Frank Fox on "Empire Economic Co-operation," which deals at some length with the visits to the Dominions of Mr. Baldwin and Mr. Amery. An article on inter-imperial trade contains useful statistics relevant to its title and some six more articles deal with the trade of various countries. There are also other articles, which particularly merit the attention of advertisers and journalists. The current edition has been judiciously revised and carefully overhauled and we have lighted upon few mis-statements of fact. But the section dealing with the press of India requires to be carefully revised by some one in intimate touch with the present conditions of the fourth estate in this country. Making allowance for the Indian section, *The Newspaper Press Directory* is, on the whole, a very creditably accurate and comprehensive work of reference. It should have an extensive circulation amongst journalists and pressmen throughout the British Commonwealth and in America.

Willing's Press Guide, 1928. (James Willing, Ltd., 30, King Street, Covent Garden, London, W. C. 2), 1928.

Willing's Press Guide, 1928, which is now in its fifty-fifth annual edition, is an excellent compendious record of the press of the British Isles. It also gives lists of telegraphic news and reporting agencies, of the principal colonial and foreign journals and a variety of useful and instructive information about the fourth estate of the realm. It thus forms a concise and comprehensive index to the press of Great Britain and Ireland in particular and of that of the British Commonwealth in general. Altogether it is a useful work of reference for the journalist and the advertiser. The current edition is thoroughly up-to-date and in abreast of the latest changes in the world of journalism.

Thacker's Indian Directory, 1928. (Thacker, Spink and Co., Ropelanade, Calcutta) 1928.

The Times of India Directory, 1928. (Times of India Press, Bombay), 1928.

The Asylum Press Almanac and Directory, 1928. (Chakravarti and Co., Madras), 1928.

Government of India Directory, 1928. Delhi and Simla editions (Government of India Press, Delhi and Simla), 1928.

Of the many directories annually issued in India, the first three—the current year's editions of which are noted above—are best-known as standard works

of reference amongst their class. *Thacker's Indian Directory*—which is now in its sixty-seventh annual edition—originally and for many years afterwards appeared as the "Bengal Directory." But it slowly covered the other provinces as well, and for years past the *Lal Kitab* ("the red book"), as it is familiarly known in offices, has been justly regarded as the one indispensable work of reference amongst Indian directories. *The Times of India Directory* is even an older publication than Thacker's, as its current edition is the seventy-sixth annual issue. The Hon'ble Chief Justice Sir Basil Scott of the Bombay High Court described it in one of his judgments as "a standard work of reference in Bombay." While Thacker's is more comprehensive in its scope in covering the whole Indian Empire, both it and the Bombay publication have much in common. *The Asylum Press Almanac and Directory* is a still older publication, the current edition being 127th. It does for the Madras Presidency or rather for Southern India, what *The Times of India Directory* does for Western India. It gives the fullest information about almost all matters of public interest. The new edition has several features which will make it more useful. These three works are carefully revised from year to year, and although no work of reference—least of all, a directory—can ever be thoroughly up-to-date, nevertheless these three hardy annuals are as much abreast of the latest changes as it is possible for books of their class to be. They usefully supplement one other and a sensible business man should keep all of them on his book-shelf.

The Government of India Directory stands in a class by itself. For some years past the Central Government used to issue from Delhi in December and from Simla in May what was called the Government of India List, containing the names and addresses of their officers, including also of those of heads of local Governments and administrations and also of members of the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly. The last of the lists was issued from Simla in May 1924. The issue from Delhi in December, 1924, appeared in better form under the more convenient name of *Government of India Directory*. The first Simla edition appeared in May, 1925. We welcome this useful publication to the list of reference works dealing with India, and it ought to have a wide circulation in circles connected with the Central Government at Delhi and Simla. The personnel of the Central and the Provincial Governments changes with kaleidoscopic rapidity and, in the circumstances, the Delhi and Simla editions of the *Government of India Directory* are useful additions to the reference literature concerning officialdom of this country.

VIII. RECENT LEGAL AND CRIMINOLOGICAL LITERATURE

The Bench and Dock and Enemies of Society. By Charles Kingston. (Stanley Paul & Co., Ltd., 8, Ridsleigh Gardens, London, W. C. 1), 1927.

Mr. Charles Kingston has already made his mark by his works on Criminology. His two latest works are highly interesting. The first of the two books deals with crime and criminals the world over. There are several chapters about the Old Bailey packed with interesting and amusing stories; then follows an account of the extraordinary activities of the American "secret" society, the Ku Klux Klan. The author incidentally showing how nearly every secret society has degenerated into a crime organization. The "Molly Maguires," another American product is dealt with, as are the Paris anarchists and the Black Hand. Mr. Kingston gives a very full account of that famous hunter of criminals, A. P. Williamson, who did more than anyone else to establish the prestige of Scotland Yard. By way of contrast the career of a typical French detective, M. Canler, is related, and there is a chapter on Vidocq, the criminal who became a detective. The second volume deals with some unusual and puzzling criminal cases—including "A London Trunk Murder" and the inner history of the famous Moat Farm murder. Like the *Bench and the Dock* it is written in the easy, narrative style that is the secret of Mr. Charles Kingston's success as a chronicler of crime; and the illustrations from cartoons by "Spy" add considerably to the fascination of the subject. Both volumes merit attention from students of Criminology.

Specific Relief Act. By S. C. Sarkar, B.L. (M. C. Sarkar and Sons, 90/2A, Harrison Road, Calcutta), 1928.

We welcome the fifth edition of Mr. Sarkar's *Specific Relief Act*. In this edition the alterations have been so extensive that the text of the book has been increased by more than 100 pages. The points of law elucidated in the decisions that have been reported since the previous edition have been incorporated in the text of the commentary. "The Bill to supplement the Transfer of Property Act (Amending Act) 1927" is printed as a supplement in this book, as it proposes to introduce a new section, section 30-A to the Specific Relief Act, incorporating the doctrine of part performance. The very great utility of Mr. Sarkar's commentary both to the profession and to the students of Law is testified to by the book having gone through

five editions. The present edition—which is thoroughly revised and judiciously enlarged—will make it even more attractive to the judiciary and the profession. In the appendix is given the statement of objects and reasons of the original *Specific Relief Bill* as well as an abstract of the proceedings of the Council of the Governor-General of India relating to the passing of that Bill into the *Specific Relief Act*. Altogether Mr. Sarkar's luminous commentary of the *Specific Relief Act* is about the best for daily work—being accurate, sound, up-to-date and highly elucidative. We have much pleasure in commending it to judges, lawyers and students of the subject.

The Indian Penal Code. By Dinesh Chandra Roy, M.A., B.L. (M. C. Sarkar & Sons, 90/2A, Harrison Road, Calcutta) 1927.

The Law of Crimes. By Ratanlal Ranchhodas and D. K. Thakore. Eleventh Edition. (The Bombay Law Reporter Office, 217, Churni Road, Bombay) 1927.

Mr. D. C. Roy's book presents several special features which will contribute to its utility. The distinctions between the English and the Indian Law on important points have been pointed out with lucidity; the procedural law as bearing on the different offences has been referred to wherever necessary and the meaning and scope of the sections of the Code have been elaborately and accurately explained by reference to judicial decisions and the proceedings of the legislature. The author's suggestions as to how to conduct the defence will help not only the student and the beginner in the profession but will be of immense assistance to the busy lawyer as well, as the cases collated under the heading "for the defence to succeed," have been selected with judicious care and punctiliousness and present a comprehensive view of the points which have to be borne in mind in dealing with each particular class of cases. The book will be of special value to those to whom the original authorities are not available as copious extracts from them have been incorporated in the annotations. The author has taken infinite pains to make his notes comprehensive and at the same time useful, and his edition of the Indian Penal Code deserves appreciation. Messrs. Ratanlal and Thakore's *Law of Crimes* has appeared in its eleventh edition—minutely revised, carefully rewritten, considerably overhauled and substantially improved. In clearness, correctness and up-to-date-ness, this monumental work stands unique as the ideal edition of the Indian Penal Code. To praise it now would be like attempting to gild refined gold and paint the lily. So we forbear!

Prevention of Offences. By Suresh Chandra Mukerji (The Art Press, 31, Central Avenue, Calcutta) 1927.

At last there is available a comprehensive treatise on the law relating to the *Prevention of Offences*. Mr. Suresh Chandra Mukerjee's book, bearing the name of its subject-matter, would be welcome alike to the magistracy, the judiciary and the legal profession, as it is an exhaustive commentary on the law of the prevention of offences as contained in the Code of Criminal Procedure and other statutes. The scope of the work is co-extensive with the whole range of the preventive procedural law. The book is planned carefully and is so designed as to be adapted to the requirements of the Bench and the Bar and the students alike. The text, which is highly lucid and elucidative is devoted to the five main topics, comprised in the exposition of the law—(1) historical treatment of the subject, (2) critical discussion of the effect of the amendments of 1923, (3) suggestions for fresh amendments by the Legislature, (4) critical notes on caselaw up-to-date, and (5) discussion of points not yet covered by authority. The sections are printed in relief and the notes are arranged under appropriate headings in bold type. The work is a treatise on the whole subject and embraces Part IV of the Code of Criminal Procedure and all other connected sections as also other statutes dealing with the law on the subject, viz., the Reformatory Schools Act, Criminal Tribes Act, and some others. The book is both informative and instructive and deserves to enjoy a large circulation. It is neatly printed on strong durable paper and the get-up and the mechanical execution do credit to the resources of the famous Art Press of Calcutta.

Field's Law of Evidence. Edited by Mr. Justice Manmatha Mukerji (S. K. Lahiri & Co., College Street, Calcutta) 1927.

Field's Law of Evidence is a classic in Anglo-Indian literature ever since its appearance in 1873. The fifth edition issued by the commentator himself was in 1894; since which year three editions have appeared including the one under notice. The editors of the sixth and the seventh editions had made drastic changes and omitted a good deal of Dr. Field's notes. The present editor has with commendable discretion restored these "invaluable and authoritative notes," as he justly characterizes them. For the rest, he has thoroughly overhauled the work and fully brought it up-to-date. There can be no doubt that in its present form, this book will continue to hold its own as a standard work on the subject it deals with. The

get-up is what we have learnt to associate with the firm the imprint of which the book bears.

Delinquents and Criminals: Their Making and Unmaking. By William Healy, M.D. and Augusta F. Brommer, Ph.D. (The Macmillan Company, New York, U.S.A.) 1927.

The Psychology of Murder. By A. Bjerre. (Longmans, Green & Co., Ltd., 39, Paternoster Row, London, E. C. 4; also Bombay and Calcutta) 1927.

Capital Punishment in the Twentieth Century. By R. Roy Calvert (G. P. Putnam's Sons, London) 1927.

Delinquents and Criminals is an American work dealing mainly with the criminological conditions in the two American cities of Boston and Chicago. It is a systematic and scientific study based on a careful collection of data relating to the sex, heredity, nationality, religion, home conditions, family relationships, harmful physical habits and causative circumstances of delinquencies of the criminal classes of these two great cities of America. Though the book deals with American conditions, there is much in it that will be useful to students of Criminology in this and other countries as well.

The Psychology of Murder is the work of a Swedish criminologist and has been well rendered into English. These essays in criminal psychology constitute the first of a series of contributions to the psychology of murder. They are based on investigations conducted in the Central Prison at Stockholm, where the author was afforded opportunity for exhaustive conversation with a large number of criminals. In this book he has selected for examination three entirely desperate individuals, and has penetrated into depths and shadows of their lives possibly unknown even to themselves. Thus the book is a human document of very great interest. In the introduction will be found an account of the author's methods, which may open up new possibilities of research in a field of great importance in our modern social life. A former Swedish Minister of Justice, writing in the Preface to the treatise under review declares it to be "an extremely fascinating book." We agree and commend it to not only the expert but to all interested in psychological questions and social problems.

Mr. Roy Calvert's *Capital Punishment in the Twentieth Century* is a strong and effective plea for the abrogation of the death sentence, which in the opinion of the author is "both futile and immoral," as "the interests of the community would be best served by its abolition." The Rt. Hon'ble Lord Buckmaster in his introduction to the book backs up

the author's plea on the subject. "Even looked at materially" he writes, "the death penalty fails utterly of its purpose," as "it does not stop murders in the least," since "a man does not commit murder after methodical calculation." But apart from these views, the chief value of the book lies in its bringing together in a handy and compact form a great deal of useful information about the criminal law and procedure of various countries—especially relating to the infliction of death sentence—such as is not easily available to the student of the subject. Appended to the book is a useful, select bibliography, which will enable the seeker after information to follow up his studies with advantage. Altogether, a capital, little book.

The Yearly Digest of Indian Cases, 1927. By R. N. Iyer, and V. V. Chitale (Madras Law Journal Office, Mysapore, Madras) 1928.

This annual digest of Indian cases is ever welcome to the practising lawyer. Besides, the *Yearly Digest* is so exceedingly well done—accurate, systematic, almost scientific—that it is absolutely indispensable and must be kept handy by all legal practitioners.

IX. RECENT ANTHOLOGIES IN PROSE AND POETRY.

Great Short Stories of the World. Edited by B. H. Clarke and Maxim Leiber; **Great Short Novels of the World.** Edited by B. H. Clarke (William Heinemann Ltd., London) 1927.

Great Stories of All Nations. Selected by Maxim Leiber and Blanche Cotton Williams (George Harrap & Co., Ltd., 39-41, Parker Street, Kingway, London, W. C. 1) 1927.

The three books enumerated above are the largest collections available (in one volume-editions) of three classes of prose fiction—the short story, the short novel and the great story. The first is a repertory of 178 complete short stories judiciously chosen from the literatures of all periods and countries—gathered from practically all known sources. Here in one handy volume of about 1200 pages, is brought together a comprehensive collection—such has never been attempted before—of the masterpieces of the short literature drawn from writings, both ancient and modern. It may justly be described as a miracle in the compilation of anthologies. The same publisher's

companion anthology is a slightly larger volume, but is none the less handy and portable. It comprises 35 novels-in-brief, chosen (like its predecessor) from the literatures of all periods and countries. The difference between the two volumes is that in the latter no story has been included which is not of such length and treatment as to merit the title short novel. The shortest is about 13,000 words long, and the longest over 30,000. The contents of the book are drawn from the literatures of nineteen countries—from Ancient Greece to Czecho-Slovakia—and in many cases specially translated. No one who enjoys the perusal of good fiction should miss the opportunity to read these two very delightful volumes.

The third anthology in our list is also a very interesting collection which usefully supplements the other two—quite apart from its own intrinsic merits. It claims that none of the 158 complete short stories comprised in it appears in any collection of similar scope. Though it is compiled on the same lines as the two collections noticed above, it is specially strong in the representation of modern authors—both British and American, as also continental. One who has in his possession these three anthologies will have at his command much of the best literature in fiction—apart from the longer novels.

An Anthology of Mysticism. Compiled by W. Kingsland (Methuen & Co. Ltd., 36, Essex Street, London, W. C.) 1927.

A Book of Devotional Readings. Edited by J. M. Connell (Longmans, Green & Co., Ltd., 39, Paternoster Row, London, E. C. 4) 1927.

Mr. William Kingsland's *Anthology of Mysticism*—with notes by the compiler—is a supplement to his previous volume, called *Rational Mysticism*, for it is mainly illustrative of the principles therein set forth. At the same time it stands by itself as a valuable contribution to the literature of mysticism in general, both in its theoretical and experimental aspects. It contains over seven hundred and fifty quotations from one hundred and fifty-eight ancient and modern mystical, philosophical and scientific works, and will be found exceedingly useful by students of the subject. Appended to the text is a valuable bibliography. Mr. J. M. Connell's *Book of Devotional Readings* is drawn from the literature of Christendom. The contents are arranged in chronological order, beginning (of course) with the New Testament, and followed by selections from the writings of the teachers of Christianity throughout the ages. It is an excellent devotional companion.

The Anthology of Cities. Edited by Alice H. Bartlett (Brasine Macdonald, Ltd., London), 1927.

The Anthology of Cities—a comprehensive collection chosen from the poems of no less than 316 poets, with an elaborate Introduction on cities in poetry and the poetry of cities—is admittedly the first of its kind and exceedingly well done for a pioneer work. It is not a hasty compilation; but to make it thoroughly adequate would require a life-time of research and collection. What is here gathered together is offered as a first instalment; readers are invited to join with the editor as collaborators in a second volume. The work has been built up on a definite plan and is not based on any existing anthology. The Introduction and the contents indicate how the scheme may be developed. The book will appeal to a large circle of readers.

English Verse Between Chaucer and Surrey. Edited by E. P. Hammond, Ph.D. (Duke University Press, Durham, North Carolina, U. S. A.) 1927.

Selections from Modern Poets, and Second Selections from Modern Poets. Made by J. C. Squire. (Martin Secker, Ltd., London,) 1927.

A Golden Treasury of Irish Verse. Edited by Lennox Robinson. (MacMillan & Co., Ltd., St. Martin's Street, London, E. C.) 1927.

From Overseas. Edited by Fowler Wright (Fowler Wright, Ltd., 240 High Holborn, London, W. C. 1) 1927.

Dr. Hammond's bulky but well got-up book of nearly four quarto pages is an anthology of conventional secular poetry—other than romance, ballad, lyric and drama—in the period from Henry IV to Henry VIII, and is edited with scholarly introductions, bibliographies, notes and glossary. It represents English poetical activities of the century and a half between the death of Chaucer and the birth of Spenser. It contains a general Introduction, selections from fourteen known and seven anonymous poets, and critical notes and elucidative glossary. The selections are preceded by a short study of the poet and his work and the sketch is followed by a full reference list and bibliography. The book will be useful to advanced students of English poetry of the pre-Elizabethan times. Mr. J. C. Squire's two series of *Selections from Modern Poets* are anthologies of contemporary verse-writers, very judiciously put together and form excellent introduction to the study

of the subject. Mr. Lennox Robinson's *Golden Treasury of Irish Verse* is an excellent compendium of the "most beautiful Irish poems"—Irish in the sense that though written in English, the writers were natives of Ireland. Mr. Fowler Wright's *From Overseas* is an excellent anthology of contemporary British Commonwealth and American Poetry. India is represented by selections from the works of Keki Bhurucha, Adi Sett and Darins Talayarkhan (not Talayarcarn as is wrongly printed). It would be well if in the next edition selections were included from the works of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and other Indian poets equally well-known. The anthology is very interesting.

A Persian Anthology. By (the late) E. G. Browne (Methuen & Co., Ltd., 36 Essex Street, London, W. C.) 1927.

The late Professor E. G. Browne had a special facility for rendering Arabic and Persian verse into English, and his translations have called forth wide admiration. Hitherto, however, these renderings have been scattered throughout the numerous volumes he published on matters connected with the history and literature of Persia. It was felt that a service would be rendered to all lovers of poetry and amateurs of oriental literature if a selection of representative translations were brought together in a single volume. The present selection, called *A Persian Anthology*, has been made by Sir Denison Ross, Professor of Persian in the University of London, and a memoir of Professor Browne has been specially written by Mr. J. B. Atkins. This little book is a notable acquisition to Anglo-Persian literature.

X. RECENT REPRINTS AND SELECTIONS.

Nana Far(d)navis: A Memoir (Oxford University Press, Bombay and Calcutta), 1927.

The Memoir of the Life of Nana Far(d)navis was compiled from family records and extant works by Captain A. Macdonald, and is now reprinted from the original edition of 1851; together with an autobiographical memoir of the early life of the subject of the sketch, translated by Lieut.-Col. John Briggs, late Resident at the Court of Salara, with an Introduction by Professor H. G. Rawlinson, M.A., I.R.S. The public is indebted to the Bombay University and to Mr. Rawlinson for this reprint of a valuable memoir of the life of a great Indian ad-

ministrator and statesman. A perusal of the book will convince everyone that Nana Farnavis has been justly regarded by the Marathas as the last and greatest statesman of their race. It was he who first conceived the dream of great Maratha Empire, and came to within an ace of realising his ambition. The book is a noteworthy addition to Indian historical literature dealing with the Maratha period.

The Man Disraeli: By Wilfrid Meynell (Hutchinson & Co., Ltd., Paternoster Row, London, E. C. 4) 1927.

We welcome a handy reprint of Mr. Wilfrid Meynell's book about Disraeli, issued so far back as 1903. The original two volumes entitled *Benjamin Disraeli: an Unconventional Biography* are here recast and revised for issue in a single volume, under the title of *The Man Disraeli*. Speaking of the book on its first appearance *The Athenaeum* said: "This fascinating picture of Disraeli as a man will be both appreciated at the moment and lastingly consulted." The first part of the prediction was quickly fulfilled, and the realisation of the second part will be made at last + possibly by this reprint. The subsequent publication of the six-volume official memoir of Disraeli, by Messrs. Money Penny and Buckle, has added to the facts now before the commentator; and the intimate record of Disraeli's affections, especially in old age, add a new and revealing chapter to the history of the human heart. As a work dealing with Disraeli the man—as son, brother, husband and friend, Mr. Meynell's book has a permanent value as an informal study of temperament or a "psychological romance." It deserves wide appreciation and large circulation.

The Ottoman Empire and Its Successors (1801-1927): By William Miller, M.A., (University Press, Cambridge), 1927.

The appearance of a new and up-to-date edition of Mr. Miller's standard work on Turkey is very welcome, as the volume is now enriched by additions to the chapter dealing with the Near East and the inclusion of a new chapter entitled "The Greek, Turkish and Albanian Republics" (1923-27). The narrative of recent events in Greece is the result of the author's personal observation; as he tells us in his preface, "Resident in Athens since November,

1925, I have been a spectator of all the political movements connected with the creation of the Hellenic Republic." The later relations of Turkey and other Powers with Egypt are, however, not included in this volume, they being dealt with in the book called the Colonization of Africa, in the same series. There is much truth in the author's conclusion that "Western politicians, disregarding the fact that these races stepped straight out of the Middle Ages, after a long night of Turkish rule, into the full blaze of modern civilisation, seldom make allowances for the difficulty of rapid adaptation to the new and strange conditions. Nothing is more unfair than to compare them with other and old-established countries, slowly and gradually evolved." These observations apply more or less to India as well. The bibliography is full and valuable and is a useful feature of the book.

Young India. By Lajpat Rai. Fourth Reprint (Servants of the People Society, 2, Court Street, Lahore) 1927.

In 1916, while he was in America, Lala Lajpat Rai wrote his book called *Young India*. It was appreciated by a large section of the American Press, as giving an Indian's version of the condition of affairs then existing in India. In essentials, the same conditions prevail to-day, as did in 1916. After two editions of the book had been published in America, a third edition was brought out in London in 1917. The Indian Government could not prevent the circulation of the book in England or America, but it could do that in India and prevent Indians from reading this "dangerous" book. It was not slow to act and prohibited the entry of the book into India. The Government has, now, retracted the step which, in fact, it should never have taken, and has raised the ban. There has been a pressing demand from all parts of India for the book being made available to Indian readers, and the Servants of the People Society, Lahore, has brought out an Indian edition, which, we hope, will be read with interest throughout the country. It is cheaply priced at Rs. 3/- and is a repository of highly useful data about current Indian affairs.

The Poems of John Phillips. Edited by M. G. Lloyd Thomas. (Basil Blackwell: Oxford) 1927.

The tenth volume of Mr. Basil Blackwell's "Percy Reprints" is a carefully-edited edition of the poems of John Phillips, who stands in the forefront of the Miltonic school of the eighteenth century. His

Splendid Shilling was admired by Addison as "the finest burlesque poem in the English language," and Samuel Johnson himself allowed it "the uncommon merit of an original design," and gave high praise, also, to Phillips' longest poem, *Cyder*. Both these pieces, with *Henham* and the minor poems, are now for the first time given to the public in a complete and scholarly edition—which is replete with an illuminating Introduction, elucidative notes and useful bibliographies supplied by the editor. We commend this edition to students of English poetical literature in the eighteenth century.

Maps: Their History, Characteristics and Uses. By Sir Herbert Fordham (University Press, Cambridge) 1927.

On its first appearance, in 1921, we noticed in terms of appreciation Sir Herbert Fordham's excellent handbook for teachers—called *Maps: Their History, Characteristics and Uses*—and welcome now the second impression recently issued. We agree with the *Times Educational Supplement* reviewer that this book should help the teacher to clothe the dry bones of modern geography with flesh and garments which will make his hearers eager to learn in company with the sailors, explorers, and soldiers whose methods he adapts for their use.

Selections from Bunyan. Edited by W. T. Williams and G. H. Vallins (Methuen & Co., Ltd., 36, Essex Street, London, W. C.) 1927.

We are gratified to receive the selections from Bunyan. Bunyan is commonly praised but, we fear, is now seldom read. These selections are continuous narratives from his five best-known works, together with a little of his quaint verse. The abridgments are mainly at the expense of theological discussions which Time has made meaningless to the majority of readers. A suggestive Introduction to the life and work of Bunyan contains also a challenging tribute to the Puritanism of the seventeenth century. This little book should appeal to all lovers of good literature.

The Life of Christ. By Ernest Renan (J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., London) 1927.

Renan's remarkable book—*The Life of Christ*—it will be remembered, called out a storm of criticism on its first appearance sixty-four years ago. He intended

it as a sympathetic reconstruction of the human side of the life of Christ, and its value lies in its power to stimulate by reaction the reader's understanding, and to confirm his belief. So said one of his early critics, in an analysis of Renan's "subtle scepticism." Bishop Gore's revaluation of the book, in the excellent Introduction he has contributed to this edition, serves to range it with our later biblical knowledge: if other books have better claims to be historical, "nevertheless," he says, "Renan's *Vie de Jésus* stands, and will, doubtless, continue to stand, as an exquisitely conceived and executed romance." For our part, we think that Renan's book tells us as much of Jesus as is possible for any critical writer to put together on the materials available. This reprint is a notable addition to the Everyman's Library.

Selections from Swinburne. Edited by H. M. Burton (University Press, Cambridge), 1927.

Mr. Burton's *Selections from Swinburne* is very judiciously put together. No reader with a mind of his own can ever be satisfied with another's selections from an author or the compilation of an anthology. But making allowance for it, we have no hesitation in commending Mr. Burton's selections. Swinburne is—as the editor himself says—not a popular poet, and it is no easy task to put forth a small volume—representing his genius in all aspects and varieties. But this volume does the best that is possible in the circumstances.

XI. RECENT IMAGINATIVE LITERATURE.

Indian After-Dinner Stories. By A. S. Panchapakesa Ayyar, M.A. (Oxon.), I.C.S. Two volumes. (D. D. Taraporevala Sons and Co., Bombay).

Mr. A. S. Panchapakesa Ayyar has written two series of exceedingly good short stories, depicting various phases of Indian life in a humorous vein. These stories possess two distinctive merits: they offer true insight into Indian mentality, and they do so with a light touch which is strikingly witty. The author offers us enough material to gain some pleasure from the sly, unobtrusive humour which is admirably effective. The portrayal of Indian character and life in the stories has been very cleverly done, on the whole, and these sketches should appeal alike to the Indian and the European interested in India.

Deluge: A Romance. By S. Fowler Wright (Fowler Wright Ltd., High Holborn, W. C. 1) 1927.

Mr. Fowler Wright—the compiler of the poetical anthology called *From Overseas*, noticed above—is also the author of a romance entitled *Deluge*. It has won high praise from some of the distinguished European critics, and has at once established Mr. Wright as a novelist of the first rank. The unusually wide and keen interest that this book has aroused may be judged by the fact that the first impression alone of the American edition is to consist of 25,000 copies. The Cosmopolitan Book Corporation of New York have published this large edition. A sequel to the book is to appear under the title of *Dawn*. *Deluge* is a romance out of the ordinary. The work of an imaginative brain it equals in its dramatic action and skilful portrayal the best of the modern fiction. Mr. Wright is well-known as a poet and his distinguished work as editor of *Poetry* commands respect and admiration. As a fiction writer he has explored original and unexplored themes. *Deluge* is no exception. The plot is founded on the assumption that a gigantic flood and upheaval has destroyed the modern civilisation and the few survivors have to build anew for the human race. The sexual and communal problems which face these survivors—of whom naturally many are men of the tough and rough variety and few women—receive an original and interesting treatment from the pen of the author. Mr. Wright believes that “there is little difference in the nature of mankind when tested by circumstances the most refined or the most barbarous or when compared over the longest period of recorded history.” One would surmise therefore that Mr. Wright’s theme would be coloured by this sceptic and pessimistic tone. But Claire and Martin and Helen—the three outstanding personalities of the book, belie in their actions and their thoughts the above premise. They were the product of the finer strains of civilisation and tested through blood and fire they shine true. The heritage of this modern progress must therefore contain something good and Mr. Wright does not deny that Claire and Martin’s ultimate fate is well deserved. *Deluge* is a most thought provoking volume and should command wide attention.

The Call of the Nirvana. By Rudolf Broda. (The Four Seas Company, Boston, U.S.A.) 1927.

Dr. Rudolf Broda’s drama, *The Call of the Nirvana*, is now available in an English rendering, due to the collaboration with the author of Mrs. Stone. The result is highly successful. The plot of the play

hinges on the tragedy of a will broken by the disillusion of the war catastrophe, and all the madness which it engendered. The hero aspires to unite the western endeavor for progress with the longing for spiritual perfection of his country, India. But all links break. . . . He is about to surrender, to abandon faith in life—to accept death—“Nirvana” . . . But the “Call of Service” brought to him by a noble woman shows him that that call is stronger than the “Call of the Nirvana.”—He will “live and serve.” The play is very well conceived and carried out and the workmanship is of a high order.

Zoe and Zaida. By A. Raffin (C. W. Daniel Company, Tudor Street, London, E. C. 4) 1927.

Zoe and Zaida is a romantic reconstruction of the early Aryan period in India. Mr. Raffin, who has travelled extensively in India, puts his knowledge of the folk lore and customs of the country into a simple and picturesque setting, which will appeal to a large circle of readers in this country. Though the work under notice is very small—it is but a pamphlet of 64 pages—it is nonetheless highly interesting as a delineation of life in ancient India.

Akhnaton. A Play. By Adelaide Eden Phillpotts (Thornton Butterworth Ltd., 15, Bedford Street, London, W. C. 2) 1927.

Akhnaton: A Play by Adelaide Eden Phillpotts should interest a large circle of students of modern drama, both for its theme and treatment. Akhnaton, the greatest of the Egyptian Pharaohs, who reigned from B.C. 1375 to 1358, is the hero of this tragedy. In an age of polytheism, powerful priesthoods, and military conquest, he strove to introduce into his empire a pure and ideal worship of one god of love, and the practice of Pacifism. Materially speaking he failed, as Christ failed after him, and his fine hopes were buried with him. It is a grand theme of human nobility, and in this play takes the form of conflict between two exceptional spirits—the King and the High Priest—who have nothing in common save fundamental greatness of soul. The High Priest of Amon is not a historical character, though high priests of Amon existed and were among the most important people in the reign; but the other personages of the tragedy, except a few minor figures, are historical. The theme is thus worthy of a great drama. Save for three scenes, the play is written in blank verse. The author’s appeal throughout is to the reader’s imagina-

tion and human sympathy, rather than to his interest in history and archaeology, and the plot and the characters alike will interest lovers of high-class dramatic composition.

world are here portrayed in words and photographic pictures. The book should appeal to all habitués of the cinema.

Murugan—The Tiller. By K. S. Venkataramani (Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co., Ltd., Stationer's Hall Court, London, E. C. 1 and Sretnarayana Ashramam, Mylapore, Madras) 1927.

Mr. K. S. Venkataramani has already made his mark in the field of imaginative literature as the author of *Paper Boats*—ten splendid little vignettes of South Indian life—and *Sand Dunes* in which he muses on life and its problems in poetic prose. His present attempt called *Murugan: The Tiller* is more ambitious being cast in the form of a regular novel depicting South Indian life on a broad canvas. For such a task the author is pre-eminently qualified. He has a refined imagination, a graphic pen, a rare capacity for depicting scenes and sights with intense local colour, a deep insight into the lights and shadows of South Indian life, and above all an enviable sense of proportion which enables him always to keep within the bounds of propriety. The result is a capital story which offers a vivid picture of life in Southern India and which possesses unbounded interest alike for the Indian and the European reader.

Forensic Fables and Further Forensic Fables. By "O." (Butterworth & Co., Ltd., Bell Yard, Temple Bar, London) 1927-8.

Ostensibly legal works, these two volumes by "O." are justly claimed by him to be "essays of the imagination," in the main—though cast in the form of legal statements; and as such they are entitled to appreciation. No doubt, they will be primarily read—as perhaps they are intended to be—by lawyers, but there is no reason why they should not command a wider public, as they are well-written and interesting and each "fable," carries a moral on the face of it.

Alice in Movieland. By Alice M. (=Mrs.) Williamson (A. M. Philpot, Ltd., 69, Great Russell Street, London, W. C. 1) 1927.

The title of Mrs. Williamson's book is frankly modelled upon *Alice in Wonderland*, but it is not a work of imagination, though we group it here by reason of its name and not its subject-matter. It is a beautifully-illustrated record of the film-stars in "movieland." All the familiar figures of the cinema

XII. ON THE EDITOR'S TABLE: MISCELLANEOUS LITERATURE

To their "Legacy" series—in which have already appeared the two notable volumes, called *The Legacy of Greece* and *The Legacy of Rome*—there is now added an equally informative volume (by the Oxford University Press, London and Bombay), called *The Legacy of Israel*, edited by Messrs. E. R. Bevan and Charles Singer and containing a series of instructive essays contributed by eminent scholars and veteran specialists in Hebrewism. This new volume deals with those elements that Western Civilization has drawn from Israel throughout the Ages. It is recognized that the Jewish point of view was of great importance in moulding the outlook of the early Christian centuries and of the medieval period. It is also shown that the Hebrew modes of thought have affected almost every department of activity in the West in more modern times. The book is concerned with the history and character of Israel only in so far as these have determined Israel's gifts to the Western World, and thus the conception of a Legacy is thrown into high relief. The book is fully and beautifully illustrated. Many of the figures are unique. A number have been chosen as throwing light on English social history. The book should be studied by all students of cultural and spiritual progress.

Mr. George Gordon's *Companionable Books* (Chatto & Windus, London) is a collection of short essays on Pepys's *Diary*, Walton's *Complete Angler*, Sterne's *Tristram Shandy*, Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, Cowper's *Letters*, Kingslake's *Eothen*, and "The Humour of Charles Lamb." These essays—or, rather, talks—were originally delivered as lectures. They enjoyed great popularity, and repeated requests were received that they should be printed—both from those familiar with the subjects and from those who seldom open a book and who had only heard of Pepys and Sterne. They are here presented in a considerably revised and expanded form, and form the first series. They will be followed by a second series, dealing with *Don Quixote*, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, Johnson's *Lives of the Poets*, Lamb's *Letters*, Lockhart's *Life of Scott* and Trollope's *Autobiography*. Mr. Gordon's book should appeal to a large circle of readers, as they are alike informative and interesting.

The literature of journalism is appreciably on the increase and scarcely a month passes without the appearance some work on one or other aspect of it. The latest arrival is Mr. Philip Harrison's *Free-Lance Fallacies* (Hutchinson & Co., Ltd., Paternoster Row, London) which purports to be "straight talks to young writers." The author—who is the editor of that well-known periodical, *The Writer*, has written an excellent handbook of fresh and unconventional advice on free-lancing, especially devoted to the problems which perplex the beginner. The author's object has been to help the young writer to cultivate his own judgment and powers of self-criticism instead of accepting blindly the opinions and advice of others. The book is well-planned and will be highly useful to beginners in free-lance journalism.

Mr. Iolo Williams's *Elements of Book Collecting* (Elkin Mathews and Marrot, Ltd., 54, Bloomsbury Street, London, W.C. 1) is a very useful addition to bibliographical literature. It does not deal with technical aspects. On the reputation of the author of this book it is needless to enlarge. He has employed his skill in the writing of a volume which, while it is addressed primarily to book-lovers (whose means and experience are limited) affords a fund of practical information and suggestions which will prove invaluable even to the most ambitious collectors. Several blank leaves have been left at the end to receive the careful reader's own notes, while the section headed "Some Books of Reference" will be found highly serviceable. Altogether, the *Elements of Book Collecting* is a meritorious manual which deserves appreciation, as it is an excellent introduction to general bibliography combined with practical suggestions for book-collecting.

The Cambridge University Press (Fetter Lane, London, E.C. 4) deserve felicitations on having brought out, in six handy volumes, cheap pocket editions of the collected essays of Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch. These are *On the Art of Writing*, *On the Art of Reading*, *Studies in Literature* (two series), *Adventures in Criticism* and *Charles Dickens and other Victorians*. Sir Arthur is one of the most famous contemporary essayists and the six volumes of his essays—enumerated above—should command an extensive circulation amongst lovers of good literature.

Mr. P. Morton Shand is an authority on wines and is well-known as the author of *A Book of Wines* and *A Book of French Wines*. His *Racquet or Wine To-day and To-morrow* (Kegan Paul, French, Fräbner & Co., Ltd., 68-74, Carter Lane, London, E. C.) is an entrancing little volume, prognosticating the future of wine and wine-drinking from a social, commercial, and, more especially from a vinous point of view. As

expected of him, the author writes vigorously against prohibition, and the increasing effect of feminine influence on wine and wine-drinking. He has some harsh words to say about wines not of French or German origin. But on the finest brands he waxes lyrical, and should be of untold assistance to those about to start a cellar. The other book Mr. Shand has written is called *A Book of Food* (Jonathan Cape, 30, Bedford Square, London). His new book is built on the same plan as *A Book of Wine*. Here he gathers together the knowledge and lessons which we can get from such a master cook as Brillat-Savarin. He compares the cooking of all the countries of the world, one with another. The colour, flavour, smell and taste of food are discussed, and, in particular, English cooking with its shortcomings as well as its merits. Bread, scones, cakes, condiments, soup, the egg, fish, meat, vegetables, fruits, puddings, savouries, sauces and beverages all come within his range. It is a book over which not only the wise housewife will pore for long hours, but which will be read by all those people who prefer good cooking to bad, a quiet to an unquiet digestion, a delicate blending of flavours to the crudities of water-logged cabbage and savourless rice pudding.

A melancholy interest attaches to the publication of the late Mr. Govind Das's *Hindu Ethics* (G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras), which was intended by the author to be a companion volume to his well-known book on Hinduism. Mr. Govinda Das was busy preparing the copy for the press soon after the publication of the other book, but death intervening, the new volume could not see the light of day. Happily, his literary remains were entrusted to the care of his great friend and admirer, Dr. Ganganatha Jha, whose learning and scholarship entitle him to deal with the copy in a manner worthy of his lamented friend. It is a great satisfaction that this work has been completed under the immediate guidance of Dr. Jha, who has not only revised the copy and passed the proofs but also written an invaluable Foreword. Another striking feature of this important work is the introduction from the pen of Babu Bhagvan Das, the author's learned brother, who has written with exceptional knowledge and authority on the subject of Hindu Ethics. The book is invaluable to legislators and social and religious reformers.

Dr. David Math's *The Antiquity of Hindu Medicine* (Baillière, Tinsall & Cox, 7-8, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, London, W.C.) is a learned and luminous excursus on a subject of great importance alike to the Science of Medicine and to medical studies in India, where there has been of late a distinct revival of the old, indigenous system. This

moment is likely to receive great impetus from the publication of Dr. Maiba's work, which is a scientific and critical survey of the whole subject.

Food and Health by A. Barbara Callow, is the latest addition to the "World's Manuals" (Oxford University Press, Bombay). It is a lucid exposition of the science of Dietetics and gives within a small compass much sound and sensible information to laymen. It deserves careful study by all seekers after good health.

Periodically, millions of men are thrown out of work, at the very time when there are abundant tools to work with and materials to work upon, and a world in dire need of the goods which these idle men, by the use of these idle machines, would gladly make out of these surplus materials. During 1921, for example, thousands upon thousands of people, even in the United States, were suffering for want of innumerable products of labor. At the same time there were vast stocks of unsold, finished goods awaiting consumption, warehouses crowded with raw materials, factories and machines ready to do their part, and several millions of idle men and women who were eager to go to work. Yet there was sustained business depression. Why? That is the problem which William Trufant Foster and Waddill Catchings raised on the first page of *Money*. (Pollak Foundation for Economic Research, Newton, U.S.A.).

In a later book, *Profits*, they said: "The problem can be solved. All its chief factors are subject to human control. In order to reach a solution, it is not necessary to abolish selfishness, stabilize human tastes, regulate the weather, or remove the sun spots. Drought and floods, it is true, fire and frost, earthquakes and pests are not entirely controllable; but such acts of God cause far less economic loss than acts of men. Inadequate consumer demand is not a visitation of Providence . . . Systems of currency, bank credit, taxation, tariffs, and public works have been contrived by man, presumably for his own benefit; and for his benefit he can alter these systems at will. They are no more sacred than flintlock muskets. There is no warrant for comparing the 'laws of business depression' with the laws of physics; there is no basis for the Economics of Despair.

"Far-reaching changes are sure to come, for the people are, and of right ought to be, dissatisfied with a system which uses our vast resources, human and material, to such poor advantage; and the people are becoming increasingly aware of their political power. The only question is whether changes will be made stupidly or intelligently, by destroyers or by builders.

"The trouble in the past has not been our failure to understand economic theories, but the fact that nobody has explained, with any approach to precision as to quantities and time relations, how the mechanism works when it does work and what happens when it does not work. Above all else, we need more exact knowledge concerning the flow of consumers' goods in relation to the flow of consumers' income and, on the basis of such knowledge, the wisdom and courage to act. The task before us is to take human nature and the present structure of society very much as they are; and to modify the structure year after year so that human beings, with all their imperfections, will be enabled to create and to enjoy better products and more of them."

The third book in the Foster and Catchings series, *Business Without a Buyer*, ends with these words: "Must the world continue to depend on chance? We do not take that hopeless view; we do not believe in the Economics of Despair. We are confident that we can propose a simple, feasible, and immediate way out of the Dilemma of Thrift—a way to save and thrive—a cure for business depressions—a means of enabling the people as a whole to gain greater and more durable satisfactions out of the marvelous machinery of modern business. That is the subject we purpose to discuss in our next book."

That book, *The Road to Plenty*, has just been published. It is the story of a journey from Boston to Chicago, in the course of which a Lawyer, a Professor, a Congressman, and a Salesman fall into discussion with a Business Man, who proposes a way out of the Dilemma—a definite Plan for Prosperity. These men are persuaded to do something about it by the Little Gray Man—a Thorn in the Flesh—and by his Comrade of the Quest, an understanding woman.

In competition for a prize of five thousand dollars, 431 adverse criticisms of *Profits* were received. The authors' own criticism is *The Road to Plenty*.

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SIR JOHN SIMON'S LATEST CLIMB-DOWN.

By SIR TRJ. BHADUR SAPRU, K.C.S.I., LL.D.

I.

The decision of Sir John Simon not to expel the members of the Provincial Legislatures from the Commission when recording some evidence of a confidential character is one on which whether the Punjab politicians, who have been congratulating themselves on their triumph, may or may not be congratulated Sir John Simon himself cannot be congratulated. With a priggish regard for first principles he appears to have rejected all advice to the contrary given to him at Delhi by those who believed in his Commission, if not in him, and it has taken him nearly six months to discover his mistake!! My own reading of the situation is that more calculating minds have forced their decision on him in the hope and belief that it may make it easier to get committees appointed in other Legislatures also. Whether those tactics will succeed everywhere, and if so, to what extent, remains to be seen.

Speaking for the Liberal Party as a whole, I can say with confidence that Sir John Simon's decision will not make the least impression on the Liberals. They never wanted these committees, and their whole objection has been to the association of Indians with the work of the Commission in this subordinate manner. The well-recognized political parties in India will have nothing to do with the Commission, whether the latter kindly allows these subsidiary committees to stay in or gently asks them to walk out at certain stages of the proceedings.

That is not our idea of equal status, and if anything, Sir John Simon's decision only serves to emphasize the contrast between the status of the Commission and that of the committees.

An English friend of mine wrote to me from England a few days ago that Mr. Hartshorn was reported to have said that he was not prepared to ask Sir John Simon to take that step, if it would only be regarded in India as an indication that they were "on the run" and used by India merely as a further step in bargaining. This was, of course, before Mr. Hartshorn made himself famous over the Tatas. The same friend writes to me about another member of the Commission that he lays great stress on the view that he has formed that the provincial Councils represent the people to a far greater extent than does the Central Legislature. This member of the Commission has been trying to minimize the representative character of the Assembly party leaders. It is not difficult for an outsider to understand from a distance the tactics that are being followed. Those Provincial Legislatures which will co-operate with the Commission will no doubt enjoy a truly representative character. Those others which will not, will be denied representative character and as the Central Legislature does not, in the opinion of this worthy member of the Commission, represent the people, it may well be ignored. Readers of the articles which have recently appeared in the *Manchester Guardian* can well realize that this feeling is

not confined to this worthy member of the Commission. Either it is held by others also or a deliberate attempt is being made to make it popular in English Parliamentary circles.

As I have said more than once before, so long as these attempts of manoeuvring for positions continue, so long there will be an absolute distrust of the Commission and its supporters both in England and in India. What is wanted is a bold and courageous policy on the part of the Government in England. Of that there has been no evidence so far and there is not likely to be any in future. This being the position there is absolutely no reason for us to alter or modify our attitude. On the contrary the contempt with which the vote of the Assembly and the votes of so many Provincial Councils have been treated, the utter disregard which has been shown by the Government in England to the opinion of old Indian political parties and the unscrupulous propaganda which has been carried on in certain sections of the press in England and in India against them only point to one course, and that is that the Simon Commission must be left by us even more severely alone than it has hitherto been.

II.

By SIR CHIMANLAL SETALVAD, K.C.I.E.

Sir Muhammad Shafi says that after Sir John Simon's latest announcement, all desiring the constitutional advance of India should heartily co-operate with the Simon Commission. So little does Sir Muhammad Shafi understand, so little does he represent the real present day India, the India that matters—not the India that is visible on railway platforms and hunders to welcome and garland high officials, not the India that wants to bask in the sunshine of official favour and seeks jobs—but the India that has awakened and is yearning for freedom which she has set her heart on achieving by the help and guidance of England, if England so wills, in all sincerity, the India which England and her statesmen have woefully failed to understand. It is an audacious travesty of facts to describe the recent announcement of the Simon Commission withdrawing the reservation about *in camera* evidence as securing 'equality of status'. The withdrawal of a reservation which was wholly indefensible and

the removal of a glaring defect in procedure cannot be magnified into a great concession. Just consider what the reservation meant. The basic suggestion whereon a purely Parliamentary Commission had been advocated by its apologists is that it is going to pass its verdict on the working of the Reforms and the fitness of the people of India for a further advance and, therefore, those on whose acts a verdict is to be pronounced cannot be members of the Commission, and yet the committees representing the Legislatures were to be excluded from hearing or cross-examining witnesses who were expected to give damaging evidence against the fitness of India and its Legislature for a further advance towards responsible government. It is amazing that a lawyer and a statesman of the eminence of Sir John Simon should have taken months to discover the iniquity of the reservation. It was not until the force of circumstances proved too strong for him, even a committee of the Legislature of a province which had been represented to be eager to co-operate with the Commission having revolted against it, that he had withdrawn from his untenable position. It is really astounding to say that this withdrawal of the reservation about *in camera* evidence brings about 'equality of status' in the committee of the Central Legislature. Sir John Simon and his Commission cannot create or confer equality of status. That can only be done by the authority that created the status of the Commission.

The position remains entirely unchanged as far as the Liberal party and other parties holding similar views on this question are concerned. Unless equality of status, authority and powers are created we cannot participate in the work of the Commission. It should not be beyond the genius of British statesmanship to take a bold and courageous step which would bring about conditions which would make it possible for politically-minded India to co-operate with the Commission on honourable terms of perfect equality. I still hope that the responsible authorities, both in India and England, will grasp the realities of the situation and take effective measures to remove the present impasse. But time is of essence, delay is bound to stiffen the opposition. What might have satisfied people a few months ago will not satisfy them now and what might satisfy them today will not satisfy them a month hence. I hope and trust that Lord Irwin, whose sincerity

and simplicity attract all who come in contact with him, will make it plain to the Cabinet at home what is essentially necessary to be done if India's faith in the sincerity of England is

to be restored. A bold and courageous policy is needed that will catch the imagination of the people, not pettifogging amendments of and tinkering with procedure.

THE SIMON COMMISSION AND THE BUTLER COMMITTEE: AN INSIDIOUS MOVE.

By PANDIT MOTILAL NEHRU, M.L.A.

A friendly gesture of sympathy from the ruling Princes is very welcome, but before I can fully appreciate it I must know what is the exact place they are trying to find for themselves in the India of the future. The creation of constitutional means for the adjustment of relations between the states and British India conveys to my mind the creation of two Indias, each independent of the other, with some kind of machinery to avoid conflicts. It looks like two separate states having diplomatic relations with each other quite irrespective of the form of government prevailing in each. How is this going to fit in with British India enjoying at any time even Dominion status to say nothing of independence? The answer will probably be that independence is unthinkable and Dominion status a far cry. But unless I am right in thinking that the famous preamble to the Government of India Act pledging Great Britain to the 'progressive realisation of responsible government' is a 'mere scrap of paper' not binding on future Parliaments, it will have to be considered that Dominion status is not merely a possibility but a stage of development which Great Britain is in all honour bound to help India to reach as soon as possible. If this is so, the right policy for the Princes to adopt is to prepare themselves to form an integral part of the India of the future, taking steps at the same time to protect the special rights and prerogatives they claim. But the resolutions show that what they are clearly aiming at is to form themselves into entirely separate entities having nothing in common with each other or with British India. This is made

quite clear by the authoritative interpretation of the resolutions that 'they are intended as a message to British India, but there is nothing in the policy of the Princes which need be in any way antagonistic to the development of British India on its own lines'. I find it impossible to conceive the development of the Indian States on any lines other than those adopted for British India in any scheme intended to give Dominion status to the latter even in the distant future. If this is not so, what is to be the constitution and form of government of the Indian States when British India becomes a Dominion? Is it to be uniform in all the States, big and small? Or is it to take as many forms as there are States? Are the States to treat jointly in the common interests of all or individually each in its own interests with the Dominion of India? What is to determine the relations of the States *inter se*? Are they all to enter into treaties with each other as well as with India as a Dominion? If not, on what basis will the proposed Union Court decide disputes arising between the States *inter se* on the one hand and between the States and the Dominion of India on the other?

BRITAIN TO LORD OVER.

The only possible answer to these questions is that no closer union between British India and the States is contemplated and that there are to be no direct dealings between the States and British India or between the States *inter se*. This, in other words, means that British India is never to have Dominion status and Great

Britain is for ever to continue to be overlord having the destinies of both in her own hands.

The Princes may pride themselves in having a policy of their own and try to carry it out. The fact is that it is the policy of the British Government which either consciously or unconsciously they are adopting as their own. That policy is clearly foreshadowed by the appointment of an Enquiry Committee for the States, and a Statutory Commission for British India, each to conduct its own investigations on its own terms of reference independently of the other. The first fruit of that policy is that the Princes have been induced to say to the British India, 'Go ahead on your lines. We have nothing to do with you and will proceed on our own.'

AN INSIDIOUS MOVE.

Putting myself in the place of the British Cabinet I would argue it out something like this: 'Let us keep British India occupied with controversy over the Simon Commission and meanwhile see that a permanent and impene-trable barrier is created between British India and the States leaving both at our mercy. The Princes with no political insight and jealous of their own prerogatives would be alarmed at the political activities of British India and welcome any proposal which would appear to secure to them their present rank, dignity and freedom in the internal affairs of their States under the protection of the strong arm of Great Britain. The vexed question whether the States are constitutionally in alliance with the British Crown or the Government of India will be automatically solved by the Princes accepting the proposals and recommendations of the Butler Committee which will form a fresh basis of future relation between them and Great Britain. It is not expected that the recommendations of the Simon Commission will go any higher near the grant of Dominion status to British India, but the demand for it is so insistent that it is wise to have an effective weapon ready at hand to kill it. This weapon will be the so-called sovereign rights of the Princes and the treaty obligations of Great Britain under the new arrangements brought about by the States Enquiry Committee making

it incumbent on Great Britain to retain control of the army and some other important departments in her own hand and thus make it impossible for India to achieve Dominion status.'

NO RULE OF LAW.

The only flaw in the above argument is that there are four essential parties to any possible scheme of the future government of India: The British Government, the people of British India, the rulers of Indian States and the people of those States—but the last of these essential parties numbering millions has been entirely ignored. All that the Princes promise their own people is the 'rule of law', a very much abused and, if I may say so, prostituted phrase of the English language. There can be no rule of law in the modern world where there is no rule of the people. In the States as they are at present constituted the only rule of law is the will of the Princes. Is it conceivable that the people of these States who are fired by the same ambitions and aspirations as the people in British India will quietly submit to such a rule for any length of time; or that the people in British India having the closest ties of family, race and religion with them will acquiesce in their brethren on the other side of an imaginary line being governed by little autocrats while they themselves enjoy some kind of responsible government?

The policy I have described may seem to be useful for the time being, but is in the long run bound to leave all the parties concerned much worse off than they are at present. In fact, it can only form the starting point of a new and more serious conflict than anything that we have yet seen.

True statesmanship would seem unmistakably to point to a course which would enable the four essential parties referred to above to make common cause and work together. So far as the Princes are concerned it is not only true statesmanship but in their best interest to take their own people and the people of British India into their confidence and through them to secure their special rights and privileges which will otherwise never be safe; most certainly not if the people come into their own in spite of the Princes.

THE SIR LESLIE SCOTT SCHEME: A CRITICAL EXAMINATION.

By AN "INDIAN STATE MINISTER."

The *Times of India*, on 21st May, 1928 published the Scheme prepared by the eminent Counsel whose name is given in the heading of this article. It is an admitted fact that the existence of the Indian States on the Indian Continent present problems which have no parallel anywhere in the world. It is also true that despite royal proclamations, the Indian States have just causes for complaint and for fear as regards their future position.

The eminent Counsel has, therefore, framed the scheme, to quote his own words "with a view to satisfying the following requirements—

- (a) Effectively protecting the States in the enjoyment of their rights, political and economic, to which they are really entitled, thus facilitating their efforts to develop their resources and to advance the cause of good and beneficent government.
- (b) Providing for joint consultation with British India in matters of common concern, with a view to common action under conditions of reciprocity, with British India, in the interests of India as a whole and of the Empire.
- (c) Providing for the exercise, under effective safeguards such as are specified in 5 (i) and (ii) below of certain ultimate powers of intervention in the event of gross misgovernment or flagrant injustice."

The evils to be remedied are:—

- (1) Interference in internal affairs;
- (2) Unifying of the jurisdiction in industrial, commercial and fiscal matters un mindful of political boundaries; and
- (3) decision of disputes by the party interested (*viz.*, the paramount power).

These are aggravated by (1) secrecy, (2) the weaker party having no share in the taking of decisions and (3) there being no room for

legally testing decisions of the paramount power, at least, in matters affecting judicial rights.

The main point to be borne in mind in suggesting remedies is that in theory at any rate the paramount power and its subordinate allies, a position peculiar to India, are not bound by ties of federation but by written documents. The present condition is that the paramount power is the British Crown, as constituted by law. It has for certain purposes delegated its powers to the Governor-General in India, the Viceroy having no statutory recognition. A further complication arises from the fact that the same functionary has to exercise certain powers in British India, with which the smaller portion, *viz.*, the States India, is interwoven.

"The Scheme contemplates the creation of three new bodies, the Viceroy in Indian States' Council, the Union Council (that is the Indian States' Council and the Governor-General's Council sitting together to settle matters of common-concern) and the Union Supreme Court; it also contemplates the enlargement of the powers of the present Chamber of Princes; and an improvement of the organization and the functions of the Political Department."

As far as the relations between the British Government, at present represented by the Government of India, and the Indian States are concerned, the system, owing to there being relations between a stronger and a weaker party, has become faulty in its working. It had its origin in diplomatic relations, of which there are ample proofs in the treaties themselves (*e.g.*, exchange of Ministers at the respective courts) but it has given place to the relations between a suzerain, or even a sovereign, State, and a subordinate one. In order to remove the defects in the agency which works the system, the Scheme proposes to limit the activities of the Political Officers:—

- (a) by clearly defining occasions of their interference, which too will be

worked under not the Viceroy but a Council as a consequence of which the records of the department too will be under that body; and

(b) by issuing a new Manual of Instructions to them.

It is evident that the proposals are boldly conceived, but do they not go farther than is compatible with the acknowledged supremacy of the British Crown over the Princes? How far the provision, "the existing records of the Political Department will be transferred to the record office to the Indian States Council, or its Officers, and will be available to the scrutiny of the Prince or State concerned, when a question arises affecting him" is practicable, is doubtful. Not even in Judicial Courts all the records of a party are available to the other. It is difficult to understand the significance of the portion italicized by the present writer in the quotation. There is use of much loose phraseology and if one may say so, confusion of thought.

It is not the Political Officers, sometimes not even the Government of India, but the British Cabinet, or its representative and mouth-piece, the Secretary of State for India, who has affected the main currents of the policy governing the relations between the British Government and the Indian States.

The individual Political Officers generally have been men of intensely human nature, large-hearted, broad-minded and desirous of both serving their masters and helping the people placed under their charge. Sometimes having regard to their position as representatives of the stronger power and unable to bear acts of injustice they may have exposed themselves to the charge of high-handedness. But many a prince and peasant still and now, remembers with gratitude the memory of a Political Officer who ministered to his comforts during his minority and promoted his welfare and dispensed even-handed justice or enforced justice in hard cases.

Remembering that union is strength, Sir Leslie proposes to have a States Council, in which the representative Indian Princes will be in a strong minority. The Viceroy, who is the counter-part of the Governor-General of India, which at present includes the Indian States, will be the head of the States Council.

There being no federation among the Indian States the constitution of this Council cannot

but be defective. The three Indian Princes Members cannot be representatives of their order, although they may be representative Members, even if they be elected by a loosely-knit body like the Princes Chamber. Much less can their Ministers be so. The only benefit this Council may promote would be that a matter will receive the consideration of this Council also. It does not appear that it will have any plenipotentiary authority. It will be a fifth wheel to the coach. Apart from that the two foreign Members with the knowledge of diplomatic affairs will not fail to be a very costly affair. Besides it is not clear whether they will do the routine work which is done by the Political Secretary, and if not what work five out of the seven Members will ordinarily do. In fact it appears that these five appointments will be, more or less highly paid sinecures, like the Secretary of State for India's Council in England. The very safeguards proposed by Sir Leslie, one of which is reminiscent of the middle ages, show the little usefulness of this Council.

In one place Sir Leslie provides for an unjust exercise of its powers by this Council by an appeal to the Supreme Court which he proposes to establish. Now it is not clear whether he would transfer the powers of the Viceroy to this Council. If so will the powers of the Secretary of State at present exercised by him be excluded, because an appeal against the decision of the Supreme Court would under this Scheme, lie to the Privy Council?

The next provision of giving the moral authority to the decisions of the Council by enlarging the functions of the Chamber of Princes leads to the conclusion that the powers now exercised by the Viceroy and Governor-General as an Agent of the Secretary of State, are to be transferred to this Council, as far as, at any rate, intervention by the paramount power "in the event of gross misgovernment or flagrant injustice in any State" are concerned. Unless the Office of the Secretary of State for India is to be abolished, which is nowhere expressly provided for in this Scheme, the point seems to be ambiguous. It is, however, Sir Leslie's remedy to protect the autonomy of the Indian States.

There are two criticisms against the object. Since it will have to have some statutory recognition, even by way of an order in Council from the British Crown, it will make the

relations between the two parties administrative and not political, or diplomatic, as at present [para. 5 (b) (ii)]. When the Chamber of Princes was being constituted an Indian Prince made a protest against its being incorporated in the constitution, as was perhaps intended to be done, and there is reason to believe that it had its effect. The other objection is that it places almost autocratic powers in the hands of the Viceroy [paragraph (c)] subject to disallowance by the Union Supreme Court [paragraph 5 (b) (iv)].

There are also two objections to its composition, *viz.* :—

- (1) it will not have sufficient work;
- (2) its cost will be heavy.

Arising out of the last objection, the question as to who will bear it has to be considered.

If the two objections mentioned in the last but one paragraph are sustained this council, would be redundant. All the functions assigned to it could be discharged by the Standing Committee of the Princes Chamber with some additions to its personnel and functions.

The Union Council (paragraph 6) is proposed to safeguard the evil No. 3 mentioned in the opening paragraph of this note. This work can also be entrusted to the Princes Chamber, as will be presently shown, specially as the safeguards proposed 6(b)(1) to (iv) are unworkable.

To enter into details:—

6(b)(i) and (ii).—Although at present the Governor-General's Council is not responsible to the electorates the tendency is in that direction. Neither the present Council nor the future Council will tolerate any hindrance to its powers in matters over which it has control on account of geographical or political considerations.

6(b)(iii).—The Viceroy in face of the growing democracy all over the world will not be able to use his power of certification, even if it is retained, on behalf of the Indian States which form but a smaller portion of the Indian population, to the detriment of the interests of the larger portion.

6(b)(iv).—The other remedy suggested in this section is unworkable as an every day proposition. The resort to court must be cumbersome. Mr. S. Srinivas Ayangar in his *Swarajya Constitution* which is likely to appeal

to the majority in British India, if not also to the subjects of the Indian States, and which if considerations of the political boundaries, *i.e.*, rights of sovereignties, are not to stand in the way, is a most equitable solution, has suggested two remedies for the removal of the grievance No. 3 discussed in a preceding paragraph. He suggests (1) to give the same franchise for the legislature in British India to the Indian States subjects as to British Indian subjects and (2) to admit on certain conditions such Indian States as desire it to the status of autonomous provinces of British India. The latter will also remedy the evil No. 1 enumerated in the opening paragraph of this Note.

Another remedy which, while not inconsistent with the sovereignty of any of the parties, will give fair play to all is as follows:—

The machinery proposed by the Montford Scheme, *via.*, joint deliberation between the representatives of the Chamber of Princes and the Council of State for discussion of subjects of common interest be brought into force. In no case shall the number of members representing the Indian States for the joint deliberation be greater than the number of members of the Council of State but the number may be equal. The Governor-General in Council shall certify the decision of the joint body in case of opposition of the lower Chamber. The subject shall be scheduled and shall neither be added to nor deducted from, without the consent of the lower Chamber. Such subjects are:—

- (1) Customs;
- (2) Currency,
- (3) State Bank,
- (4) Taxation consisting of:—

- (a) salt,
- (b) revenues from the posts and telegraphs;
- (c) opium, etc.

The devising of the Indian States Council and the Union Council, being both partly impracticable and fraught with danger to treaty rights the only device is to strengthen the Chamber. All what is said in paragraph 8 is acceptable.

In places of the Indian States Council (paragraph 4) the Standing Committee of the Chamber should function. It may have as permanent advisers two English Members as suggested in paragraph 4, or such advisers may

be called from time to time. Its functions will be the same as in 5 (a) to (g) with modifications due to the change in its composition, *e.g.*, among safeguards, 5(i)(d) may have to be omitted.

The Supreme Court presupposes the existence of constituent States equal in status. The transference to it, as is proposed, of the power of deciding disputes between the paramount power and other States, then providing for an appeal to the privy Council does away with the functions of paramountcy altogether. But this does not raise the status of the Indian States because it brings them within the administrative fold of the British Empire and breaks asunder the diplomatic ties binding them. The analogy of the Hague Tribunal does not apply because its functions are of a limited nature and the States which are entitled to seek its advice or judgment, being politically independent, do not run the danger of being enrolled in the administrative system of a paramount power.

Besides this there are no less than two other objections as regards its constitution and working. One is that it will not have sufficient work and the second is that it will be a costly affair and like that of the expenses of the States Council, the question arises as to who will pay for it.

While the Scheme adumbrated by Sir Leslie would cover the three occasions, *viz.*, (1) Minority, (2) Disputed or Indirect Succession and (3) misrule or abuses, on which the paramount power claims to interfere and settle the affairs in the Indian States, the question of the trial of an Indian Ruler has been left alone. It being a complicated question deserves a special treatment. The scheme exempts the person of an Indian Ruler from the jurisdiction of the proposed Union Supreme Court. The Montford Report suggested a tribunal of five judges, of which two shall be Indian Princes to hold such a trial. In Europe too the question of the trial of a Ruler for national or even personal crimes has not been settled. In a recent case an Indian Prince denied the possession of any such right by anybody either under the international Law or any treaty. History affords cases in which a nation has tried and punished its ruler, both in the East and the West. Failing adjudication of his guilt by other means, a trial by his peers in the case of an Indian Prince seems to be a proper solution. But if possible the sanctity of his person

should be maintained. There should be no trial but a Committee of investigation. The safeguard in 5 (c) (1) is not sufficient since in 5 (e) the Viceroy seems to have been invested with powers not possessed by any individual servant in any civilised country.

Sir Leslie Scott's entire Scheme overlooks the fact that while dominion status has been definitely promised to British India, the status of the Indian States—such of them as are entitled to it—is based on treaties and is higher than that of the Dominions. The latter are in individual treaty relations and beyond certain common elements there is no joint sovereignty. Until one is created by means of a sort of federation, the means suggested for the discussion and decision of subjects affecting common interests cannot be effective.

Either the British Government does or does not desire to raise British India to the status of a dominion. In the absence of any declared policy to the contrary it must be believed that British India will be given the status of a self-governing British Dominion by gradual stages. It would not be compatible with that status to create another half, antagonistic to it. The situation is simply unthinkable.

One possible means of evolving the Indian States on sound lines would be to establish with them relations as those of mandatory powers under the League of Nations. These relations may be established between British India and States or even the British Government direct and the latter.

The following other remedies are suggested to generally better the condition of the Indian States to such an extent as to enable them to bargain or negotiate for a federation, or an Imperial Customs, or other Unions, on terms of equality:—

(1) Classification of States be made and treatment accorded to them by the paramount power in accordance with the treaties and traditions of the former.

(2) Status of States, which are equal in area or revenue to many a State bigger in status, be enhanced in accordance with the extent and revenue of its territories.

(3) For purposes of improvement in matters administrative, judicial, fiscal, etc., smaller States should seek affiliation to larger States.

(4) The Chamber of Princes be authorised to appoint Boards of Conciliation to settle disputes among States, or between a Ruler and

his subjects on the proposal, in the latter case, of any member that the Chamber should take cognisance of the disagreement.

(5) In the case of a dispute between the paramount power and an Indian State, on the motion of the latter, it may be referred to a Board of Conciliation appointed by the Chamber, and if it fails to settle matters, it may be referred to an Union Supreme Court for decision. The

expenses shall be borne by the losing party or they may be shared as the tribunal may decide.

The Scheme, as outlined in the preceding pages, will, it is hoped, while preserving the diplomatic relations between the Paramount Power do away with the many evils which have crept in owing to the diplomatic relations having to be conducted between a strong and a weak party.

THE BARDOLI SATYAGRAHA STRUGGLE.

By MESSRS. H. N. KUNZRU, M.L.A. AND S. G. VAZE.

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru, M.L.A., and Mr. S. G. Vaze, who were deputed by the Servants of India Society to enquire into, and report on, the situation at Bardoli, co-opted Mr. A. V. Thakkar, another member of the Society, to assist them in their task. They have issued the following report:—

The last settlement of the Bardoli Taluka of the Surat District, which was made in 1890 came under revision recently in the usual course of things. The Assistant Settlement Officer, to the regret of the Settlement Commissioner, "almost exclusively confined his consideration to the gross value of the produce" and recommended an enhancement of the Government demand by 30.59 per cent. The Assistant Settlement Officer's method was open to the criticism that he had not taken into account the rise in the cost of cultivation, which might have neutralised the rise in the gross value of the produce. Anticipating this criticism, the Settlement Commissioner observed in his Report: "The whole of his conclusions could be rushed and overthrown in a moment without there being in his report a single word of reply by any one who alleges that the cost of production has increased more than the price of the produce. Perhaps now when this is realised it will be seen how exceedingly important it is to base one's settlement proposals 'on rentals' and not on gross produce and prices. Rentals, of course, do take into strict account every item of cost of production as well as value of produce.

No man can possibly pay a single anna of increased rent until he had definitely ascertained that the value of the produce at the end of the year is likely to 'exceed the cost of the production' by one anna more than it did previously." Treating rental values as his "one true guide" he made proposals which would have raised the existing assessment by about 29 per cent and in view of "the great difficulty of determining assessment for a period of thirty years ahead," which he remarked was "as Government are well aware a task beyond human power," recommended that the revised assessment should be sanctioned "for not more than fifteen years." "I think it is impossible and also most unfair," he wrote, "to sanction rates for so long a period as thirty years."

AGITATION AGAINST NEW ASSESSMENT.

These proposals gave rise to great dissatisfaction and the representatives of the Surat District in the Bombay Legislative Council, who took strong exception to the validity of the grounds on which the proposals were based, took the lead in carrying on a sustained agitation against them. Memorials against the proposed enhancement were sent to Government by a large number of villages. Government, while not meeting the objections raised against the procedure adopted in revising the assessment, and approving the principle followed by the Settlement Commissioner of basing the

assessment on rental values modified the proposals submitted to them and reduced the enhancements to about 22 per cent. This reduction, however, did not allay dissatisfaction and on the 6th February last Mr. Vallabhai Patel addressed Government on behalf of the peasants of Bardoli, a letter challenging the principle on which the Settlement Commissioner had proceeded and asking either that the old assessment should be continued or that an impartial tribunal should be appointed to make a fresh inquiry. He informed Government that if neither of these courses was adopted he would be compelled, in response to the wishes of the peasants of the Bardoli taluka, to lead the agitation against the payment of the new assessment, which had already spread to 70 villages. Government declined to suspend or reconsider the settlement or to make any further concessions, but subsequently issued orders which had the effect of lowering the increase in the assessment to about 20 per cent. In consequence of the refusal of Government to examine the larger issues involved in the revision of the settlement, a campaign against the payment of the enhanced assessment was started on the 12th February. The campaign is being carried on vigorously, the coercive methods adopted by Government to realise the assessment have proved a failure and the spirit of resistance among the people appears to be gaining in strength.

To understand the merits of the controversy regarding the resettlement of the Bardoli taluka, it is necessary to consider four questions. As the enhancement is based on rents which land-owners demand from their tenants it is of the utmost importance to determine whether the table relating to the rents paid by the tenants has been prepared with due care so as to exhibit economic rents only. If it is found to be seriously defective, all conclusions drawn from it must be regarded as being valueless. Again, it seems reasonable that before competitive rents are accepted as the foundation of the settlement policy, it should be determined what proportion of the cultivated area is in the hands of tenants paying cash rents. The third question which demands consideration is whether abnormal periods have been excluded in enquiring into the course followed by rents during the currency of the old settlement. Lastly, we have to consider to what extent the Land Revenue Code and the Settlement Manual justify almost

exclusive reliance on rental values for the purpose of determining new assessment rates.

THE SETTLEMENT OFFICER'S DUTY.

In order to obtain reliable figures regarding cash rents the Settlement Officer is required by the Settlement Manual "to make careful local enquiries—village by village and group by group." It is further his duty to exclude abnormal rents, e.g., rents paid by mortgagor-tenants, as they are not genuine rents but "repayments of capital and interest," and to enquire whether the recorded rents are paid in full and with regularity. We went personally to many places in the taluka and our investigation covered more than a dozen villages. The Assistant Settlement Officer had passed through many of them, but we were informed in answer to our questions that in none of the places visited by us had any enquiries been made from the people concerned. They did not even know the exact purpose of his visit. Nor, so far as we could ascertain, was the local knowledge of the talatis availed of. Our enquiries have led us to the conclusion that the figures relating to cash rents and the area cultivated by tenants were prepared by the talatis and accepted without any scrutiny by the Assistant Settlement Officer. We actually saw the calculations made in some of the villages for the Assistant Settlement Officer and found that the figures entered in his tabular statement were the totals of the figures prepared by the talatis for the years 1918-19 to 1924-25 which included uneconomic rents. We have good reason to believe in the case of villages about which we made enquiries, that the talatis did not exclude either mortgage transactions, or rents which they knew were not realised in full, or nominal sales accompanied by verbal agreements that the vendor would recover possession of the land on repayment of the price received by him for it.

No allowance was made for high rents charged in consequence of improvements made at the expense of the land-owner. They compiled figures relating to the area cultivated by tenants without concerning themselves with the nature of the transaction between the landowner and the tenant. We have ourselves seen tenancy pattas in which the rent agreed to did not merely represent interest on the loan advanced to the tenant, but also included the

assessment and the local fund cess. In genuine leases rents were much lower. Generally speaking wherever rents were very high, it was discovered that the tenants were really paying interest on the money borrowed by them. We are aware that the Assistant Settlement Officer states in his report that the figures had been checked, but the utter absence of scrutiny in the cases which we investigated disposes us to believe that the checks to which the Assistant Settlement Officer refers, were perfunctorily applied. We find ourselves unable in these circumstances to attach much value to the table relating to rental values, appended to the report of the Assistant Settlement Officer, and are of opinion that no reliable conclusions can be based on them.

BASIS FOR SETTLEMENT.

The Settlement Manual lays down that the Settlement Officer should always bear in mind that rents "cannot be used as the basis for definite conclusions as regards the general incidence of the assessments in a village or group, unless they exist in considerable volume and unless their reliability has been carefully tested." We shall now consider the extent of the area to which they relate. We have from para. 49 of the Assistant Settlement Officer's report that of the cultivated area about 97,500 acres are in the hands of the agriculturists and about 24,000 acres in the hands of non-agriculturists. Assuming that the whole of the latter area is tenanted and that a portion of the land owned by the agriculturists was leased to tenants it would appear *prima facie* that the tenanted area was from 25 to 30 per cent. of the cultivated area. But we have been warned by the Director of Information that the old distinction between agriculturists and non-agriculturists is "quite unsound and meaningless" and that the figure relating to land held by non-agriculturists, although based on local enquiries, "has no value as an indication to the proportion of land tenanted." The Assistant Settlement Officer himself, however, says in para. 51 of his report that "more than two-thirds of the land is in the hands of those who cultivate it." He further says with reference to the Bardoli Taluka proper and the Valod Mahal of the taluka respectively, "there are 3,958 and 1,976 holdings of from 6 to 25 acres, and these chiefly represent the great

body of cultivators. The holdings below 6 acres number 7,463 and 2,916 and this class consists of agriculturists who besides cultivating their own land also cultivate as tenants, the lands belonging to others." In the absence of more detailed enquiries the conclusions of the Assistant Settlement Officer, who is described in the communique of the Director of Information as "a capable and experienced Indian official" and as having "carefully and fully given all the usual and available facts in his report and appendices" that about 30 per cent. of the cultivated area is tenanted may at least provisionally be accepted as correct. Of this 30 per cent. area for which rents are paid in kind will form no small proportion. We shall assume that it is less than the cash-rental area and that it is not more than 10 per cent. The cash-rented area may, therefore, be taken to be in the neighbourhood of 20 per cent.

The Director of Information lays stress on the Hall system and seems to argue that the land for the cultivation of which *Halis* are employed should be regarded as tenanted. It is not easy to take this argument seriously. Cultivation by regularly employed servants and hired labour is not unknown in other parts of India, but we do not know if such cultivation is regarded anywhere as tantamount to the letting of land. Besides, the man who employs *Halis* continues to bear solely the economic responsibilities connected with his holding. He does not shift them to the shoulders of another person as happens when the land is leased to a tenant.

THE ECONOMIC SITUATION.

The Director of Information has informed us that in order to have direct evidence with regard to the proportion of tenanted land "a good block in Valod has been tested, and we find that the tenanted area is 55.2 per cent." We understand that enquiries were made in 11 or 12 villages out of the 44 villages in the Valod Mahal. The Valod Mahal has a large Kaliparaj (Raniparaj) population. The Kaliparaj Section is to a large extent in the grip of moneylenders and perhaps no small proportion of it is in a state of serfdom. We gathered from the information received by us that among the villages tested by Government there are many which in point of population are dominated by Kaliparaj cultivators. The pro-

portion of 55.2 per cent. referred to above is, therefore, not likely to apply to the whole Mahal. Even persons well disposed towards Government did not think that the proportion would not be higher than 40 per cent. in the whole Mahal. To be on the safe side, however, we shall assume it to be 45 per cent. According to the figures given in para. 49 of the Assistant Settlement Officer's report and referred to above, in 1923-24 out of the cultivated area of about 1,21,000 acres Valod Pete accounted for about 44,000 acres or 37 per cent. of the total area. The proportion of 45 per cent. for Valod would therefore mean that the tenanted area in Valod was about 17 per cent. of the cultivated area in the whole of the Bardoli Taluka.

SOCIAL CONDITIONS.

The social conditions in the Bardoli Taluka proper are believed on all hands to be substantially different from those prevailing in the Valod Mahal, and the tenanted area is believed to be appreciably less. We shall probably not be guilty of any understatement if we say that the tenanted area in the whole Taluka may be taken to be about 30 per cent. of the cultivated area, and this proportion again includes lands for which rent is paid in kind. The direct enquiries made by Government, therefore, appear to confirm the Assistant Settlement Officer's conclusions. It must however be borne in mind that uneconomic rents are believed to be the rule in Kaliparaj areas. As such rents should not be taken into account, the rents in Valod Mahal, where mostly Kaliparaj tenants are found, should not be relied upon in determining the relation between the assessment and economic rents.

It will be interesting to draw attention to the remarks made in this connection by Mr. Fernandez, who revised the settlement of the Bardoli Taluka in 1895. "I find," he said, "that in Bardoli 94 per cent. of the occupants and owners cultivate themselves." The figures given by him in Appendix 1 to his report show that only 3 per cent. of the Government and Inam numbers were cultivated by tenants, either in partnership with the occupants or on the money rent or grain rent system. In view of this even a proportion of 30 per cent. as the land cultivated by tenants appears surprisingly large to-day.

CASH RENTS.

The Assistant Settlement Officer collected figures of Cash rents for about 43,000 acres. This led the Settlement Commissioner to remark that they related to about one-third of the total area, and that if the produce rent area was taken into account, about half the area in the Bardoli Taluka would be found to be in the hands of tenants. It was pointed out that as these figures related to a period of 7 years, the average for one year would be found to be only about 6,000 acres, or only about 5 per cent. of the cultivated area. The Director of Information, however, says "But all the leases were by no means for seven years; many were for one year only," and adds that the "cash-rented area as tabulated by Mr. Jayakar (Assistant Settlement Officer) was about half to one-third of 42,923 acres." As stated above, so far as we have been able to enquire, the talatis in preparing the figures for the rented area for the period 1918-19 to 1924-25 added up the figures for each year. Even if all the leases were annual, the average annual cash-rented area for which figures have been tabulated would still appear to be only a little more than 6,000 acres, or 5 per cent. of the cultivated area in 1923-24. The period of the lease does not seem to affect the calculation in the least. As we have already arrived at an independent estimate of the total cash-rented area, the explanation offered by the Director of Information, even if correct, does not vitiate our conclusion. But it is in any case clear that rental values were obtained for only a small part of the cultivated area and that even these were not scrutinized.

RENTS FOR ABNORMAL PERIODS.

The period covering the years 1918-19 to 1924-25 will we hope, be acknowledged on all hands to have been a boom period. It is well-known that the price of cotton has fallen substantially during the last three years. Land, too, has fallen in value. The enquiries made by us in villages showed that the price of rice and jowari which are the principal food crops grown in the Bardoli Taluka had also gone down and that rents too, in cases where old leases had expired and no special cases were at work, were on the downward grade. The high prices and rents prevailing in the period referred to above cannot therefore be taken as a criterion for revising the assessment.

The Revenue Member of the Bombay Government, the Hon'ble Mr. Rieu, speaking on behalf of Government on R. B. Bhimbhai Naik's resolution about land revenue assessments, said: "Rents for any abnormal period are always excluded from consideration." Nevertheless the Bombay Government in their Resolution on the resettlement of the Churasi Taluka of the Surat district, in dealing with the representations received in connection with the revision of the Churasi and Bardoli talukas say, "If cotton cultivation is not now profitable the present cultivators of cotton can turn their attention to some crop, the price of which is not dependent on world-wide conditions."

The crops which the cultivators should grow in future are not specified, but this argument leaves Government open to the charge that they are taxing not present but prospective incomes. But they say that whatever abnormality there may have been during the period referred to above, prices had risen permanently since 1914 and add that by reducing the rates recommended by the Settlement Commissioner "Government have made suitable allowance for the fall in cotton prices and for the probability of some decline in rentals taking place in consequence thereof." With regard to the first point it may be observed that the rise in the cost of cultivation and the difficulties that are being experienced owing to the fall in prices should not be left out of account; and with regard to the second that a proper basis for the revision of the assessment being wanting reductions in assessment rates, which may be more or less arbitrary, can scarcely be regarded as satisfying the ends of justice.

VALUE OF RENTAL STATISTICS.

The Land Revenue Code requires that in revising the assessment of agricultural land regard shall be had to the value of land and the profits of agriculture. The settlement Manual prescribes the method for determining the profits of agriculture. It requires that both direct and indirect enquiries should be made, the direct enquiry consisting in the ascertainment of the prevailing rents. Rule 9 in "Instructions for Settlement Officers" lays down that the results of the direct enquiry should be used only "to check and supplement

his general conclusions." Rule 18, which is more explicit, says: "It must, however, be clearly understood that the arguments for enhancements should be based primarily on the indirect evidence of the general considerations referred to in para. 4 above and that the rental statistics should be employed only as a check to prevent the enhancement from going too high and as a guide to secure a proper distribution of the assessment between the various groups." Yet the Assistant Settlement Officer has been censured for having relied on an indirect line of enquiry and Government have approved the Settlement Commissioner's method of relying exclusively on the statistics of leases and rental values. It has been claimed that the Settlement Commissioner's method was actually advantageous to the peasants as, instead of an increase of 30.59 per cent. recommended by the Assistant Settlement Officer, he recommended an increase of 29.03 per cent. only.

It is, however, evident from the remarks of the Settlement Commissioner that he chose rental values as his "one true guide" not to check the results of the indirect inquiry, but to avoid having to consider and allow for an increase in the cost of cultivation, which might have greatly reduced or swallowed up the profits of cultivation. It is difficult to escape the conclusion that rental statistics have been used not to moderate but to enhance assessment rates. In any case making rental values the deciding factor in revising assessments as the Settlement Commissioner has done, whether the Bombay Government approve of it or not, is against the express instructions contained in the Settlement Manual. If the determination of the profits of agriculture is to be narrowed down to the ascertainment of rents more than a change in the "Instructions for Settlement Officers" may be required. The Law itself may have to be changed. The Bombay Land Revenue Code (Amendment) Bill which seeks to base assessment primarily on rental values, shows that Government themselves are doubtful of the legality of the present procedure. For Government to use rental statistics of a very small proportion of the cultivated area in order to fix the assessment on about 70 per cent. of the area cultivated by the owners and occupants themselves is to reduce landowners to the position of tenants and to act as a rack-renting landlord.

CALL FOR FRESH ENQUIRY.

In view of the considerations dealt with above we are clearly of opinion that the demand of the peasants of Bardoli for a fresh inquiry is fully justified. A new inquiry is necessary

in the interests of justice. The recent announcement that the revision of the settlement of the Viramgam Taluka in the Ahmedabad district will be reconsidered makes the case for the reconsideration of the settlement of the Bardoli Taluka unanswerable.

HINDUISM AND CONVERSION.

By SIR P. S. SIVASWAMY Aiyer, K.C.S.I.

During the last few years an attempt has been made in Northern India on a considerable scale for the conversion of non-Hindus to Hinduism. The Shuddhi movement, as it has been called, is not apparently intended to be confined to apostates from Hinduism who have embraced other religions like Islam or Christianity. If the descendants of those who have lapsed from Hinduism can be brought back into the Hindu fold after some generations, there is no reason for any distinction between their case and that of persons whose ancestors were not members of the Hindu community at any time. If reconversion of the descendants of an apostate is justifiable, conversion also is equally proper. The movement raises a fundamental issue, whether conversion to Hinduism is possible or not. The most spectacular case in which this issue has been forced upon the public notice is the conversion of Miss Miller, an American lady, by the Shankaracharya of the Karvir Pith. The question whether conversion to Hinduism is legally possible has not, so far as I am aware, been the subject of any legal adjudication. It is open to doubt whether there is any textual authority forbidding such conversions. It would be, however, idle to deny that the Hindu Smritis or canon law proceeds upon the assumption that caste is a matter of birth and not of adoption. The system of Hindu Law is a system of personal law binding upon the members of the caste organisations recognised by it. It is not a system of territorial law claiming allegiance on the ground of residence within a particular country. The applicability

of the Hindu Code to any particular person would depend upon the answer to the question whether he has been admitted by Hindu society, or is recognised by it as a member of their body. If Hindu society chose to admit any stranger within its fold, it is not for the courts to say that the society had no right to do so. It is essentially the right of each society to decide for itself any matters of this kind and it is not for the courts to fetter the discretion of the community or tie it down by any rules or prescriptions.

WHAT IS HINDUISM?

Here the question arises, what exactly is meant by Hinduism. Does it mean merely a body of religious tenets and ethical rules, or a social organisation, or both? As a matter of fact, it is the social organisation with its peculiar characteristics that would seem to be connoted by the term Hinduism rather than any particular religious belief. Far be it from me to say that Hinduism does not imply any religious belief of one kind or another, but there is no system of theology in the world which has allowed such a vast amount of intellectual freedom to its followers in matters of faith and doctrine and sanctioned such large varieties of religious belief. We have all a more or less vague idea of what Hinduism is, but it would baffle the ingenuity of the learned to lay down a comprehensive and at the same time sharp and logical definition of Hinduism. It is the accommodating capacity of Hinduism that has enabled it in the past to absorb many

communities and many religious beliefs and to resist the shocks of collusion with alien and hostile races and religions. One thing that has enabled it in the past to survive the impact of so many attacks is the social structure to which it has tenaciously clung. But this very structure founded upon the development of the caste organisation, which has been the strength of Hinduism in the past, is now proving to be a source of weakness to itself and to the country and Nation at large. No one can deny the right of any person or community to convert others by persuasion to his or its own religious belief or the right of any society to receive any stranger into its bosom. That the caste organisation of the Hindus was not always so rigid as it now appears is clearly borne out by history. That several of the tribes and communities with which the Hindus came in contact were gradually admitted within the pale is borne out by historical evidence. The enlargement of the Hindu pantheon itself is one of the obvious results of this process. Several members of foreign tribes which invaded the country like the Greeks and the Scythians became Hinduised and some of them received the Kshatriya status and rank. The means by which this assimilation was effected might have been conversion or legal fiction or some one or other of the devices familiar to us in ancient history. Evidence of the resort to fictitious theories may be found in one of the oldest Smritis. There is a text of Gautama in his Dharma Sutra which states that, according to some authorities the Yavanas (i.e., the Greeks) were the off-spring of mixed marriages between men of the Kshatriya caste and women of the Shudra caste. This interesting text is an illustration of the many fictitious theories which might have been employed for the purpose of reconciling society to the inevitable adjustments to new social environments. That society has a right to act for itself in these matters cannot be gainsaid

by any reasonable person. Whether in any particular case, the action of any particular section of the community can be regarded as an expression of the will of the community is a question upon which it is impossible to lay down any rules. The first steps of the social reformers are like those of the men who start to establish a right of way through an enclosed field. After several successive instances, what was at first an unauthorised innovation tends to become a well-established right of the public.

THE ORTHODOX VIEW POINT.

There is no doubt that the conversion of Miss Miller will be looked upon in many orthodox quarters as a flouting of public opinion and that it may be deplored as subversive of the very foundations of Hinduism. On the other hand, there must be large numbers among the educated sections of our countrymen who would welcome this event as marking an epoch and as a proof of the continuing adaptability of Hinduism to the conditions of the time. I for one am disposed to congratulate the Shankaracharya who sanctioned, and assisted in, the conversion of Miss Miller on his high moral courage and patriotism in broadening the foundations of Hinduism and promoting national progress. It is the first shot fired into the citadel of the exclusive organisation of Hindu society. The first faint cracks are visible and there can be no doubt that they are bound to widen into a breach sufficient to allow of its being stormed in the near future. We may be told by social die-hards that there is hardly any race or society in the world which has not got its colour bars and racial and caste prejudices, but the existence of such prejudices is no proof of their desirability or of their fitness for survival under modern conditions.

SOME IMPRESSIONS OF SOVIET RUSSIA.

By PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU.

I.—INDIA'S INTEREST IN RUSSIA.

Since my return from Europe I have frequently been asked about Russia. On the strength of a very brief visit to Moscow I have been treated almost as an expert on Russia and all manner of questions have been put to me, often to my great embarrassment. When asked to speak, specially at student gatherings, the subject suggested was almost invariably Soviet Russia. In spite however of limited knowledge of the subject I have gladly responded for I have welcomed this spirit of enquiry and this interest in a country which has many points of contact with ours, and which has launched on one of the mightiest experiments in history. All the world is watching her, some with fear and hatred, and others with passionate hope and the longing to follow in her path.

It is difficult to feel indifferent towards Russia and it is still more difficult to judge of her achievements and her failures impartially. She is to-day too much of a live wire to be touched without a violent reaction, and those who write about her can seldom avoid superlatives of praise or denunciation. Much depends on the angle of vision and the philosophy of life of the observer; much also on the prejudices and preconceived notions which he brings to his task. But whichever view may be right, no one can deny the fascination of this strange Eurasian country of the hammer and sickle, where workers and peasants sit on the thrones of the mighty and upset the best-laid schemes of mice and men.

INDIA AND RUSSIA.

For us in India the fascination is even greater and even our self-interest compels us to understand the vast forces which have upset the old order of things and brought a new world into existence, where values have changed utterly and old standards have given place to new. We are a conservative people, not over fond of change, always trying to forget our

present misery and degradation in vague fancies of our glorious past and an immortal civilisation. But the past is dead and gone and our immortal civilisation does not help us greatly in solving the problems of to-day. If we desire to find a solution for these problems we shall have to venture forth along new avenues of thought and search for new methods. The world changes and the truths of yesterday and the day before may be singularly inapplicable to-day. We have to follow the line of life in its ever-varying curves and an attempt to adhere rigidly to an outworn creed may take us off at a tangent from this curve of life and lead us to disaster.

Russia thus interests us because it may help us to find some solution for the great problems which face the world to-day. It interests us specially because conditions there have not been, and are not even now, very dissimilar to conditions in India. Both are vast agricultural countries with only the beginnings of industrialisation, and both have to face poverty and illiteracy. If Russia finds a satisfactory solution for these, our work in India is made easier.

Russia again cannot be ignored by us because she is our neighbour, a powerful neighbour which may be friendly with us and co-operate with us, or may be a thorn in our side. In either event we have to know her and understand her and shape our policy accordingly. The bogey of war with Russia is ever with us. In the days of the Tsar we were told that Russian imperialism wanted an outlet to the sea; now that the Tsar has gone we are warned against the insidious attempts of communists to subvert a peaceful and well-ordered world. The old political rivalry between England and Russia continues whoever may occupy the seats of power in Whitehall or in Moscow or Petrograd. How far must India inherit this rivalry or be made to suffer from it? There are rumours and alarms of war and the problem is an urgent one for us.

SUPPLIERS OF NEWS ABOUT RUSSIA.

It is right therefore that India should be eager to learn more about Russia. So far her information has been largely derived from subsidised news agencies inimical to Russia and the most fantastic stories about her have been circulated. The question most frequently put to me has been about the alleged nationalisation of women. The most prolific suppliers of news about Russia have been the Riga correspondents of British and other newspapers. A writer in the New York "Nation" described recently how Riga correspondents are made. He wrote as follows:

"The first time I served as a Riga correspondent was in London. An editor made a correspondent of me by giving me an editorial leader clipped from one of the morning papers. He instructed me to recast part of it in the form of a dispatch and date it from Riga. The editorial was one reviewing in some detail the pernicious activities of the Third International. I must have rewritten it rather well, for later I was entrusted with other tasks of the same delicate nature. I became the paper's regular Riga correspondent—'from our own correspondent,' as they like to say in Fleet Street.

"A year later I was in Paris and attached to a newspaper there. And in Paris I found myself again a Riga correspondent. The work was two-fold now. There were French journals and English journals to rewrite. All of them including the one in London which formerly employed me, seemed to boast of Riga correspondents. In all their dispatches there were revelations—Bolshevist atrocities, Cheka executions, Soviet economic difficulties, dissatisfaction of the people with the Government. As in London, this material was turned over to me; and out of the mass another composite Riga correspondent was born.

"Whenever I think of Riga now I do not visualize a city, but a newspaper office—old desks, paste-posts shears, typewriters, waste paper. Riga is a newspaper office city. It may have a geographical location. For all I know it may be populated with individuals absorbed in their own affairs; eating well, sleeping well, dreaming of owning automobiles. You cannot prove it by me. Once, in a moment of inexcusable curiosity, I went to the trouble of hunting up Riga in the Encyclopædia Britannica. That fount of current information describes it as a thriving port on the Baltic

Sea, from which agricultural products, chiefly, oats, are exported to England. Obviously, it was an old edition of the Encyclopædia. By this time the rumours far outnumber the oats.

"If cities ever received decorations for signal service, the Western world should confer prime honours upon Riga. By its mere existence as a four-letter word used for a dispatch date-line it has served as a barrier against the plots of the Soviets, thus keeping sacred and inviolate the idealism of Western Europe. Riga defends the world against the insidious propaganda of the Soviets. Red lies break against its intrepid front."

II.—Moscow Today.

I remember attending a banquet given by the scientists and professors in Moscow. There were people from many countries present and speeches in a variety of languages were made. I remember specially a speech given by a young student who had come from far Uruguay in South America. He had come on behalf of his fellow students to see this strange land for himself and the impressions he had gathered had filled him with fiery enthusiasm. He spoke in the beautiful sonorous periods of the Spanish language and he told us that he was going back to his distant country with the red star of Soviet Russia engraved on his heart and carrying the message of social freedom to his young comrades in Uruguay. Such was the reaction of Soviet Russia on his young and generous heart. And yet there are many who tell us that Russia is a land of anarchy and misery and the Bolsheviks are assassins and murderers who have cast themselves outside the pale of human society.

Who is right? Or is it that both are right in some measure? I shall not venture to pass judgment or to give final opinions. I too am impressionable and I must confess that the impressions I carried back with me from Moscow were very favourable and all my reading has confirmed these impressions, although there is much that I do not understand and much that I do not like or admire. I shall only note down what I saw and leave it to others to draw their own conclusions, well realising that what I saw was a very small part of what might have been seen.

But personal impressions as Professor K. T. Shah has pointed out in his interesting series of lectures "The Russian Experiments 1917-

1927" (Tataporevala) are seldom very reliable guides although they may give a touch of colour to a bald narrative. Those who are interested should go to the books on the subject and read both sides of the question. There is already a vast and growing literature and, as I have often been asked to suggest books on Russia, I shall name some that I have come across. There are quite a large number of books in English written in criticism of the Bolshevik regime. Pro-Bolshevik literature is not so well represented in English as in German and other languages. But recently a number of little books have come out in English which, though critical of many aspects of communism, are written with some sympathy for its basic ideas and achievements.

BOOKS ON RUSSIA.

A proper study of Bolshevism must start with some knowledge of the theory of communism and its historical development. "Ignorance and communism are incompatible" said Blanqui, the father of the Paris commune of 1871, and it is extraordinary how even to-day communists are eager to educate everyone in the principles of their doctrine. If they wish to convert any one they will hurl at him a number of fat tomes from Marx's "Capital"—the bible of the communists—and Engel's writings to the books of Lenin and Bakunin. But life is perhaps too short to read all this heavy literature. A little book by the master of Balliol College, Oxford, A. D. Lindsay, on "Karl Marx's Capital" (Oxford University Press) is helpful in giving some idea of Marx's theories. It is a critical book and even more so is F. R. Salter's "Karl Marx and Modern Socialism" (Macmillan). The communist view point is best given in Bukharin's "Historic Materialism" (George Allen and Unwin) and his "Economic Theory of the Leisure Class" (Martin Lawrence). Bogdanoff's "Short Course of Economic Science" (Communist Party, London) is still, I believe, used as a text book in Russia. There are several books of Lenin available, I think, in English, but the only one I have come across is his "Imperialism—the last stage of capitalism" (Communist Party, London). Those who are interested in the controversy between the Bolsheviks and the German Karl Kautsky, who, though vigorously attacking the Bolsheviks, claims to be a true

follower of Marx, may like to read Kautsky's "The Labour Revolution" (George Allen and Unwin). Lenin replied to this and Trotsky's brilliant polemic "In defence of terrorism" is also a reply.

A very ably written book is Prof. Laski's "Communism" in the Home University Library. It criticises the theory and practice and it has called forth, I am told, an equally able reply from the British Communist Party but I have not seen the latter.

These books, or even some of them, should enabled the enquirer to have some idea of what Bolsheviks stand for. Two other controversial books might also be mentioned: Trotsky's "Where is Britain going?" and Norman Angell's "Must Britain Follow the Moscow Road?" (Noel Douglas). Another book—"The Bolshevik Theory" by R. W. Postgate (Grant Richards) is a clear and good and sometimes critical account of the theory underlying the Soviet system, but the book is somewhat out of date, unless a new edition has come out since 1920.

Thus for the theory. But to understand the great drama of the Russian revolution and the inner forces that shaped and brought the great change about, a study of cold theory is of little use. The October revolution was undoubtedly one of the great events of World history, the greatest since the first French revolution, and its story is more absorbing, from the human and the dramatic point of view, than any tale of phantasy. Something of its elemental power can be felt in two accounts of eye witnesses—an Englishman and an American. The former, M. Phillips Price, was the correspondent of the "Manchester Guardian" in Russia, and in his book—"My Reminiscences of the Russian Revolution" (George Allen and Unwin) he has told us the day to day story of Russia during those eventful days. From the March Revolution he has told the story, when Kerensky came into power, of how the red dawn broke in Moscow and the shackles of centuries of Tsardom were suddenly removed; of the coming of Lenin and of how he was jeered at in the very Soviet which a few months later was to make him the dictator of a vast territory; of the pitiful shufflings of Kerensky and his weak compromise with reaction; of the growth of the soviets and their victory and ultimate capture by the Bolsheviks. He has also told us of the months of struggle against external and internal

enemies when the Soviet power held on by a thread by sheer tenacity when all hope seemed to be lost.

The second book—"Ten Days that Shook the World"—is by John Reed, an American correspondent. This deals in even greater detail with the first ten days of the October Revolution. And as one reads, with horror and pain at times, the wonder grows that such a miracle could have happened and succeeded. And above all these is admiration for the group of men who did not flinch at the mightiest of obstacles, and, in the midst of war and rebellion with a cruel death and disaster continually facing them, sat down to evolve a socialist order out of the chaos that surrounded them. They had time even on the fourth day of the revolution, with firing going on in the streets, to establish the eight hour day for the workers and formulate their policy for a system of popular education. Within a week they had tackled the problem of minorities, which like the poor is always with us in India, and declared:

1. "The equality and sovereignty of the people of Russia.
2. The right of the peoples of Russia to free self-determination, even to the point of separation and the formation of an independent state.
3. The abolition of any and all national and religious privileges and disabilities.
4. The free development of national minorities and ethnographic groups inhabiting the the territory of Russia."

III.—LENIN.

I have already referred to a number of books which might help in understanding the background of the Russian revolution. Like every other great upheaval it had its causes deep down in history and in the misery of generations of human beings. Economic factors, we are told, govern the world and politics is rapidly becoming a handmaid of economics. But Russia also repeats the lesson of history that men also shape destiny and sometimes the will of one man alters the lives of millions. It is instructive therefore to study the careers of some of the makers of the revolution, who out of anarchy and chaos created a new and strong Russia. Exiles, with no knowledge of military affairs, creating great and victorious armies; with no experience of diplomacy,

treating successfully with the well seasoned diplomats of other countries; with no knowledge of business or administration running an enormous state machine which controlled all production and distribution. Specially, it is worthwhile to know something of the greatest of these, Lenin.

Many people have paid their tribute of admiration to him, but I have unfortunately not come across a satisfactory account of his life. A book which will interest Indian readers is Rene Fullop Miller's "Lenin and Gandhi" (Putnam). It is somewhat superficial and does not satisfy but it contains some good pen-pictures of Lenin. A short and interesting sketch on Lenin is also to be found in Emil Ludwig's "Genius and Character" (Jonathan Cape).

Four years ago Lenin died. He was just over fifty, of which thirty years had been spent in preparation and ceaseless toil varied with persecution and flight and Siberia. Victory came to him in the end but with it came years of tremendous difficulty and danger. He died as the result of a bullet wound but before he died he had conquered over these difficulties and dangers and he passed away in the knowledge of his triumph. To-day he lies embalmed in a simple mausoleum in the beautiful Red Square of Moscow under the shadow of the Kremlin. He lies asleep as it were and it is difficult to believe that he is dead. In life they say he was not beautiful to look at. He had too much of common clay in him and about him was the "smell of the Russian soil." But in death there is a strange beauty and his brow is peaceful and unclouded. On his lips there hovers a smile and there is a suggestion of pugnacity, of work done and success achieved. He has a uniform on and one of his hands is lightly clenched. Even in death he is the dictator.

To this resting place of Lenin's body come people from distant parts to do reverence to his memory. Every evening the doors are thrown open for some hours and a continuous stream of the peasants and workers, for whom he lived and died and who loved him, passes by. The orthodox Church is at a discount in Russia but the cult of Lenin is everywhere in evidence. Every shop, every room almost, has his picture or bust. "In a religious age," says Maxim Gorky, "people would have made him a saint." In India he would certainly have

been canonised, but saints are not held in repute in Soviet circles, and the people of Russia have done him the higher honour of loving him as one of themselves. To each of them he was a brother, a comrade, who knew and laboured for them and to whom they could always turn when in distress.

"I know a pair of eyes which have been for ever numbed by the burning sorrow of the Terror," said Gorky of Lenin. This sorrow did not leave him to the end. It made him a fierce fanatic and gave him the strength of will to persevere and achieve. But sorrow for the misery of his fellow men did not make him gloomy or reserved. He was "filled to the brim with the sap of life" and even "in the unhappiest moments of his existence, he was serene and always prone to gay laughter."

A FIRM BELIEVER IN ACTION.

Lenin's early years were typical of the man. When he was seventeen, his elder brother was hanged for an attempt on the life of the Tsar. He was profoundly moved but even then he saw clearly that nothing could be gained by terroristic methods. "We cannot succeed in that way; it is not the right way," he said. But that did not mean his giving up the struggle. He set about preparing in his own way. It was a long way and a wearisome way but quietly and persistently he worked at it for thirty years of his life. He did not suddenly develop into a champion of the workers. He paid little attention to speaking in public or writing but set himself down to investigate and understand thoroughly the masses. In after years he had little patience with orators and fine speakers; he was always afraid of too many words preventing actions. For him action was the only thing that counted. "Revolutions," according to him "must not remain on paper, they must be carried out in action; and the proper execution of even the most unimportant measure was more important for the existence of Soviet Russia than ten Soviet resolutions." Thus as Maxim Gorky has said: "His heroism lacked almost all external glitter. It was the modest ascetic zeal, not seldom seen in Russia, of a revolutionary who believed in the possibility of justice on earth, the heroism of a man who, for the sake of his heavy task, renounced all worldly joys."

A classic instance is often given of his utter calmness in emergency and his attention to trivial detail even when the life of the State was threatened. During the critical days of 1917 when Moscow itself was threatened by the enemy and most people thought the Soviet power was going to collapse, Lenin thought of the introduction of electric light in the villages and issued an ordinance for the immediate supply of electric light to certain areas.

Lenin has been called the coldest of fanatics. He would never let himself be carried away by enthusiasm and would not give in to the heat of his friends even at the risk of a break. He had no use for sympathisers who did not actively join the fray. Only full-blooded adherents were to his liking, experts in revolution who devoted themselves wholly to the cause. Revolution was to be prepared for cautiously and quietly by educating "revolutionary experts, men who were revolutionaries by profession and not mere enthusiasts, idealists or dilettante." He realised what we in India are dimly beginning to appreciate that it is a difficult, if not an impossible task, for amateurs, with little time to spare from their daily routine and no special training, to fight whole timers who are experts at their business of defending the existing regime. "Let our comrades," he wrote, "permit the use of the rigorous term 'technical expert,' for when I speak of inadequate preparations the accusation applies also to myself. I have worked with men who set themselves very high and difficult responsibilities, yet we suffered painfully from the feeling that we were but amateurs. The more ashamed I am to confess this, the more bitter I feel towards those sham socialists who fail to realise that we dare not lower the revolutionary to the level of the amateur." With how much greater truth does this apply to all of us in India who dabble in politics!

Lenin was no believer in a patched up unity of which we hear so much in our country. He deliberately broke up his party as early as 1903 by his insistence on action, and was accused by his own colleague, Trotsky, of being the "destroyer of the party." He insisted that the rules of the party should lay down that each member must actively participate in the work and not merely give monetary help. The minority of the party

wanted to give sympathy and financial aid only, but Lenin would have neither unless action followed. And so the men of action separated from the men of sympathy and money. When later he was approached with proposals for unity he said with a smile: "I recognise only one form of conciliation with political opponents, *ecraser—smash them*," words spoken without the least emotion or excitement.

Gradually his colleagues left him but he had no fear and did not budge an inch. "I shall perhaps be alone," he said, "but I shall never be turned aside from my opinions; I shall never cease to champion them and follow the straight line."

"A GENIUS AT OPPORTUNISM."

And yet fanatic as he was and unbending, he was a realist and ever willing to change his policy if the situation demanded it. Lunacharsky, a friend of his and the present Commissar of Education in Russia, has called him "a genius at opportunism." "It is childish," Lenin wrote, "to reject compromise on principle.....One must simply know how to analyse the circumstances and the concrete conditions of each issue." And again when accused of departing from some maxim of socialism he said: "You are worse than hens. A hen has not the courage to cross a chalk line, but it can at least justify itself by pointing out that the chalk circle was drawn by somebody else. But you have drawn your own circle and are now gazing at the chalk line instead of seeing reality!" Perhaps we may find many of these chalk lines of our own making in India also, which keep us from looking at reality.

One of the greatest shocks that he gave to his followers was after the failure of the 1905 revolution. Not daunted by this, the advocate of an armed rising suddenly recommended a participation in the moderate and semi-official Duma, and asked his adherents to study the detailed reports of its sessions. This was with no desire to give up his principles or to adopt the evolutionary method. But he felt that the only platform open to him then for carrying on revolutionary propaganda was through the Duma. He was decried as a weakling and a victim of parliamentarianism but regardless of censure he pursued his path,

nonetheless keeping armed revolution as his goal. To us in India with our controversies about Council-entry, his change of front must prove interesting.

LENIN'S VIEWS ON PACTS AND UNITY CONFERENCES.

In these days of pacts and unity conferences, Lenin's views on the subject may be of interest. In a letter to a friend in 1912, he wrote: "The bourgeoisie, the liberals and the social revolutionaries, who never deal with 'great problems' seriously, but trot one behind the other, make pacts and go on in the old grooves with eclecticism, are always crying out about the dissensions and discords in social democracy. That is the exact difference between all of them and social democracy; the fight between the individual social democratic groups comes from deep roots of thought, whereas with them even the differences are varnished over on the surface, while inside they are empty, petty and superficial. Never at any price would I exchange the vigorous fighting of the various tendencies in social democracy for the togged-up emptiness and poverty of the social revolutionaries and their partners."

So Lenin prepared for the great day. And when this came early in 1917 and he was summoned from Switzerland to his country to lead the revolution, he left a message to the Swiss workers. There was no hint of excitement or exaltation at the approaching fruition of the labour of a life-time. Carefully, like a scientist, he stated what the conditions in Russia were and what he wished to do.

It is difficult for most of us to think of our ideals and our theories in terms of reality. We have talked and written of Swaraj for years but when Swaraj comes it will probably take us by surprise. We have passed the independence resolution at the Congress, and yet how many of us realise its full implications? How many belie it by their words and actions? For them it is something to be considered as a distant goal, not as a thing of to-day or to-morrow. They talk of Swaraj and independence in their conferences and their councils but their minds are full of reservations and their acts are feeble and halting.

In Russia also the revolutionaries of an older generation lived in a world of theory and

hardly believed in the realisation of their ideals. But Lenin came with his directness and realism and shook the fabric of old time orthodox socialism and revolution. He taught people to think that the ideal they had dreamed of and worked for was not mere theory but something to be realised then and there. By amazing power of will he hypnotised a nation and filled a disunited and demoralised people with energy and determination and the strength to endure and suffer for a cause.

Many had their full share in this remarkable triumph, among them, specially Trotsky who now lives in Siberia. But Lenin stood supreme. Saint or sinner, the miracle was chiefly of his doing. And we may well say with Romain Rolland that Lenin was "the greatest man of action in our century and at the same time the most selfless."

IV.—THE RESULTS OF THE REVOLUTION.

I have suggested that an attempt to understand Russia as she is to-day should begin with the study of the theory of communism and the history of the Russian revolution. With my limited knowledge of the subject I have mentioned the names of a few books that might help in this enquiry. But the real test of the success of the revolution does not lie in the theory, or in the courage and enthusiasm of the people, or even in the greatness of Lenin. Nor can the revolution be said to have been a failure because the Bolsheviks ruthlessly exterminated their opponents and countered the white terror with the red. The real test of success can only be the measure of happiness of the masses of the people. It is partly a question of psychology but partly also of material condition and facts and figures. It is not easy to judge the psychology of a people without the most intimate knowledge. It may be that freedom from oppression is preferable even though it results in a diminution of material well-being for a time; and visitors to Russia tell us that in the early years of the revolution when civil war and the blockade had brought the population to the verge of starvation, the new freedom more than compensated for the suffering and lack of food and all comforts. But leaving the realms of psychology alone, we can at least study the material conditions that have resulted from the revolution and follow their changes from year to

year and perhaps be able to indicate the lines of future progress or retrogression.

There is now an abundance of material for this study but my own knowledge of it is unfortunately meagre. I shall only mention here some of the books I have read and some I have heard spoken of. "Bolshevist Russia" by Anton Karlgren, Professor of Slav at the University of Copenhagen (George Allen and Unwin) is patently anti-Bolshevik propaganda. I mention it so that the other side of the case may be fully known. Bertrand Russell's "Theory and Practice of Bolshevism" (George Allen and Unwin) is also a criticism of the Soviet system, though a temperate one. Bertrand Russell and his wife both visited Russia and it is curious that they returned with entirely different impressions—he was depressed with much that he saw, she was enthusiastic and believed that the foundations of a happier order were being laid by the Bolsheviks. Their visit took place in the earlier years before Russia had sufficiently recovered from the dark days of the civil war.

A ponderous book worth consulting, if only for the fine pictures it contains, is Rene Falop-Miller's "Mind and Pace of Bolshevism" (Putnam). It deals with the cultural side of Russia, and though very critical and not appreciative of much, is helpful in giving some idea of many of the tendencies of modern Russia.

A recent book, highly spoken of, but which I have not read, is Maurice Dobbs' "Russian Economic Developments since the Revolution" (Routledge). Dobbs is an eminent economist with considerable sympathy for the basic ideas of the revolution, but withal critical and scientific. He deals with the growth and changes in Russia's economic policy, of the interaction of the communist in the cities and the conservative peasantry in the villages, and specially with the effects on production.

BRITISH WORKERS' DELEGATION'S REPORT

Another recent publication is the report of the British Workers' Delegations to the Tenth Anniversary celebrations in Russia last year. This is called "Soviet Russia To-day" (Labour Research Department, London). It is frankly a report of the friends of Russia but is nonetheless valuable and full of information. It is signed by 92 representatives of workers'

organisations in England and Scotland and no such document however partisan it may be can be lightly treated. It is not very critical and is full of enthusiasm for what they saw. Indeed as they themselves say: "No writing can adequately express the intense emotional experiences of every day of our visit, when we realised that in this country the crushing weight of feudalism and capitalism had been thrown off, and the highest achievements of knowledge and industrial development were here at the service of the working class." That Russia should produce such a reaction on representative hard-headed workers is itself a significant fact. It gives us a glimpse of how the Russian revolution is creeping into the hearts of workers in different countries and Moscow is becoming the Mecca of the proletariat. Soviet Russia by translating their dreams into reality has given them a new hope and a new courage.

I remember meeting a Negro worker who had come from South Africa to the Brussels Congress against Imperialism. He was not a well read or well informed man; he was just a simple worker. He said at the Congress that although he had been told a great deal against Russia, somehow he felt that it could not be all true, and he and his kind had a soft corner in their hearts for Russia, and looked to her with hope.

This report of the British Labour Delegation gives us a great many facts and impressions in a short compass. It deals with the factories and working conditions; with wages, rents and housing; with education; with prisons; the peasantry; and co-operation. Having read it one feels that if only half of what is written is true, Russia indeed is a land of hope.

One other series of books I shall mention. This is now being issued by the Vanguard Press of New York, at 50 cents a volume, and it comprises 13 volumes dealing with almost every phase of life and work in Russia. The authors are distinguished writers, all with some special knowledge of the country. The first of the series is "How the Soviets Work" by H. N. Brailsford. Then there are books on Russia's foreign policy, her religion, village life, economic organisation, the family, the schools, civil liberties, trade unions, national minorities, and art and culture. The series should be a valuable addition to the literature on Russia.

Russia has passed through ten years since the Bolshevik revolution. But it must be remembered that the first five of these ten years were entirely taken up in war against foreign and internal enemies and in the harder struggle against famine and blockade. A host of enemies attacked and tried to strangle her by cutting off her food supplies. For years the revolution hung in the balance and the economic life of the nation went to pieces. It is only during the past five years that she has had comparative peace and the chance to develop her resources. But even during this period she has had to contend against the hostility of most of the governments of Europe and of the super-capitalist United States of America. Having little money to develop her resources she has been denied credits and capital abroad. If she has progressed then during these five years it has been despite these difficulties. And the testimony of all competent observers is that she has progressed and has already made good the losses of the war period of eight years. To-day her production is greater than it was in 1914 when the German war broke out and it is said to be increasing rapidly.

FOREIGN VISITORS TO RUSSIA.

The United States of America do not officially recognise the Soviet Government but in spite of this official hostility the progress that Russia is making is attracting numbers of American businessmen to her, and many professors and students who go to study conditions on the spot. Indeed, Russia has many foreign visitors now, not the tourists who fill every corner of Western Europe but earnest students and enquirers; not socialists only who go to admire, but thinking capitalists who go in search of business and to find out what this strange opponent of their time-honoured ideas is like. The eastern countries are well represented in this band of enquirers—China, Persia and Afghanistan. They go to study specially the educational system, agriculture, co-operation and the military machine. During our visit to the commissariat of Education in Moscow we were surprised to come across two high officials of the Afghan Ministry of Education—one of them an ex-student of Aligarh College.

It would be an excellent thing if our professors and students also paid visits of enquiry and studied the educational and agricultural developments in Russia. Their visits would be even more helpful to us than those of politicians. Our universities could easily arrange for a small but competent delegation for this purpose.

Our universities and others interested could also without any difficulty, unless the British Government intervenes, get into touch by means of letters with educational and cultural establishments in Russia and exchange publications with them. The Russians will welcome such co-operation and will gladly supply

any information. They publish periodically pamphlets and little books in various languages, including English, showing the progress made. These will of course be entirely one-sided but they will represent the official viewpoint and they will give the latest figures. The Information Bureau of the People's Commissariat of Education, Moscow, issues regularly statistics regarding education and annual reports.

The "Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries" issues a weekly bulletin in Russian, English, French and German besides other publications. The address of this society is Malaya Nikitskaya 6, Moscow.

INDIA'S INDIVIDUALITY AND ORIGINALITY.*

By THE HON'BLE MR. CRUMP, C.I.E., I.C.S.

(*British Resident at Mysore*).

Now, a certain Professor Bradley of my college at Oxford, on being asked to define optimism, declared it to be a belief that "this is the best of all possible worlds and every thing in it is a necessary evil." The last few years have forced me, with not unnatural reluctance, into the belief not only that Residents have to be accepted by society at large as necessary evils but further that they have to face many unnecessary ones. I am called on to preside over and, what is much worse, to contribute to the funds of the societies, religious, philanthropic, artistic, athletic, to referee in polo matches, to advise football teams, to exhort boy-scouts and girl guides and in fact as the Provincial Mayor said "to be, like Caesar's wife, all things to all men." But at any rate there is one thing I have never been asked to do before and that is to preside over a "Mythic Society." When I heard the name I wondered what it meant. It suggested an assemblage of phan-

toms from the realms of non-existence or to quote Mr. Weller's definition of a King's Arms, "a collection of fabulous animals." At any rate, the Society has visibly demonstrated its existence and I have learnt something of its aims and objects. Still, I, on my part, am here to-night, as an unnecessary evil for there was no obligation on you to ask me to address you. If therefore I bore you or disturb your susceptibilities for a few minutes, you should, in kindness to me, realise that you have brought your blood on your own heads and that I am not a wilful or perverse criminal. However, as my head clerk once said to me "But Sir, there is a silver lining to every wet blanket" and I promise you I shall not keep the wet blanket for long over your heads and even when it is there, I hope you'll secure four annas from the silver lining.

Some three or four years ago, in what may or may not have been a moment of inspiration, I addressed to India a series of three sonnets which I commenced with this line "Land, that has never learnt to stand alone." At the moment my thought was

*An address delivered to the Mythic Society, Bangalore.

perhaps on the historical aspect of the case. It is not the time or place for me to discuss political facts, probabilities and possibilities and I will say no more on this point than that if, or perhaps I should go further and say, when India does stand alone she will owe her political balance to the help of the British Empire in training her to use her feet.

That is however a mere *obiter dictum* and I come now to the subjects of Indian Art and architecture, literature and religion, which are those with which this society is primarily concerned. In this connection, however, my phrase must be qualified and largely qualified. In all these matters India has stood alone in the past. She produced probably the earliest religion, which had a basis in a considered and a tenable system of philosophy. Following on that she produced the sublime morality of Buddhism, which though dead in India, has spread the influence of Indian thought through Burma, Tibet, Ceylon and China. She gave birth to the great epics of the Mahabharata and the Ramayana and to the sublime dramas of Kalidasa. She developed her own system of architecture and though alien invasion has profoundly modified this, the essential Indian touch has been preserved and the same may be said over the art of painting, where, though possibly the impulse to revival after the passing of the earlier Ajanta, Bagh and Ellora came from the Persian artists, imported by the Mogul Emperors, yet subsequent developments were essentially Indian in character and workmanship.

Now to get back to my text—If a person or a country is to stand alone, much more to walk alone, it must have confidence in itself and as regards art anyhow, what I have noticed in conversations with Indians or in books by Indians or on Indian artistic subjects is a lack of confidence. This shows itself in what I may express in G. W. Russell's definition of the chief Harrovian characteristic, as "a curious kind of shy bumptiousness" and a consequent resentment of any criticism to the effect that Indian art, literature, architecture or religion have been in any way influenced from outside. To my mind not only is this position not tenable but it is absurd. With India's wonderful history, her wonderful traditions, her wonderful record of achievements in all these various lines, in all of which she has displayed her own individual and unique genius, I see no reason, why

obvious facts should be denied and why India with supreme confidence in herself and her own individuality should not reply "Yes, I admit the external influences but I took them, made them my own and used them for my own purposes." Even in the days, whereof there is little record, we know from the Ajanta and the Bagh frescoes, that people from all over Asia came to the courts of the Indian kings and if they came to learn, it is equally certain that they also taught and that Indians would be and were ready to learn from them. In the capital pillars of Sanchi and Amravati and many other places the ways and influence of Syrian and Assyrian art is clear. In painting, as already observed, much is due to the inspiration and influence of the early Persian School. In sculpture similarly India owes much to the Greek influence especially in the Gandhara school. In architecture where a strong Arabic and Persian influence came in with the Moguls and Pathans, again the effect of the alien impulse is obvious and in modern painting something is owed to some French schools and also to Japan. Nor can the Bengali school of novelists be held to owe no debt to the West.

Yet the main point I want to make is not that India has been influenced by the various alien forces but that, though she has been influenced in so many directions by outside forces, she has never lost her own individuality. Perhaps more than any other great poet Shakespeare was the greatest borrower of other poets' thoughts but he took them into his own soul and re-coined them in the mint of his own genius. Similarly India has taken into herself whatever style or shape of art or architecture, or religion or literature she felt was of use to her and has absorbed it for her own purpose and then when the time of production came, her artistic children have been stamped indelibly with the marks of the personality of the great Mother, who brought them into the world. From this point of view at any rate, there is no reason why India should not stand or walk or even run alone. Nor is there any reason for the sensitiveness to criticism on which I have commented. The right reply of the Indian is not a touchy denial of outside influences. It always was, and with the world in effect shrinking daily as communications improve, it becomes daily more absurd to reject or deny the power of external and alien influences. India is big enough to stand on her own legs

and admit the extent to which she has been influenced and to deny that such influence has resulted merely in slavish imitation. She can assert, and assert with truth, that in all influences that have been brought to bear on her from outside, religious, literary or artistic, she has been strong enough to absorb and transform them without ever giving up her own

character, her own individuality, her own personality. And, to revert to where I began, the great need for India to-day is the self-confidence of strength. I believe that in politics as in art she will develop what the times call for. But to close on a word of warning—strength lies in unity and unity cannot be obtained without tolerance.

CONSOLIDATION OF VILLAGE HOLDINGS : THE BOMBAY BILL.

By "AN INDIAN MEMBER OF THE *Indian Civil Service*."

Agriculture has been the main stay of India and its Rulers from times immemorial have looked upon the ownership of land as more of the nature of a trust than private ownership. No doubt the land belonged to him who first broke the glebe but when the colony had settled down and population had grown to the full extent of food available, the Rulers felt the need of emphasising the usufructuary character of the occupier of land. It was the king's duty to see that steps were taken to raise optimum crops from the land. He had to cultivate it in the interests of the community and obtain optimum outturn out of it. The Royal coronation oath enjoined that the Ruler should rule as well as govern, tend the peasants and develop agriculture. It is only in this sense that one can understand the remarks of Kautilya in Book II, Chapter I, of his memorable Arthashastra under heading "Formation of villages." "Lands may be confiscated from them who do not cultivate them and given to others; or they may be cultivated by village labourers." The Mauryan Machiavelli was all for a strong self contained monarchical state and like his confrere List, in the Germany of the seventies of last century, insisted on production of ample home-grown-food. He cannot allow privately owned land to be excepted from the land pool for food production.

Mr. Shyam Shastri in his edition of Arthashastra has quoted a saying symptomatic

of the *macht-theory* of state which when translated runs as follows:—

"Those who are well-versed in the Sastras admit that the king is the owner of both land and water and that the people can exercise their right of ownership over all other things excepting these two." This has roused the wrath of Dr. Jayaswal who has dealt with the subject at a considerable length in his stimulating chapters on Hindu Polity on the subject of people's ownership of land. The writer considers that originally the land did belong to the individual who prepared it for cultivation but when settled form of administration came in and the King had to think of the ways and means of supporting the growing population from limited resources, the novel view came into vogue that the land really belonged to the community or to the King as the head and that it could not be put to any mis-use and that the owner of it was in so far differentiated from the owners of other ordinary chattels. The Bombay Government in introducing Bill No. XVI of 1937, "An Act to prevent the excessive subdivision of agricultural land and to promote the consolidation of such land" has followed the Mauryan view. It has taken courage in both hands by maintaining that private owners of lands have no rights to abuse this important instrument of wealth creation by treating it as a chattel to whose exclusive and unobstructed use its owner was entitled. The proposed

legislation, in taking in a sense a socialistic view, is in harmony with modern land legislation all over Europe. Private ownership has given way to considerations of common weal and the King or the Parliament as representing *la volonté générale* has restricted individual enjoyment of land that the majority may not suffer. The Hon'ble Sir C. V. Mehta, Finance Member of the Bombay Council, has stated the evils of fragmented plots in clear, unmistakable language as follows:

- (a) they impede cultivation and cause waste of time;
- (b) they prevent permanent improvements to land being undertaken as it is impossible to use labour-saving implements or even iron ploughs on land which is broken up into scattered pieces;
- (c) they preclude the proper organization of labour and capital and cause a waste of a large amount of arable land in boundaries;
- (d) they prevent a cultivator from living on his farm, result in second crops not being grown when they can be, in some cases send the land out of cultivation altogether, cause enmity amongst neighbours leading to quarrels and litigation, and, generally speaking, produce an uneconomic situation. The excessive sub-division of land in certain areas of the Presidency has gone so far as to amount to a serious hindrance to cultivation resulting in a general diminution of their crop output. In the interests of cultivation, therefore, it is necessary now to take measures to check the evil.

2. The object of this Bill is to remedy these evils so far as it is possible to do so. This it is proposed to do in three ways—

- (1) by prohibiting all future sub-divisions of land into plots which are agriculturally uneconomic; (2) by ensuring that all transfers of land shall henceforth be towards the consolidation of holdings instead of in the direction of their fragmentation; and (3) by setting up machinery which will, where necessary, redistribute into plots that can be cultivated at a profit, holdings which have become so fragmented as to be no longer worth cultivating.

The Baroda Government has an act on the subject and the Bombay Government had before it a bill dealing with the subject introduced by Dewan Bahadur Godbole and sponsored by that friend of the Bombay Agriculturists Mr. Keatinge. The Punjab Government have used the agency of co-operative societies for purposes of consolidation of holdings. Both Mr. Strickland and Mr. Calvert have given enthusiastic descriptions of the success of this agency in bringing about consolidation of village holdings. The writer had occasion to discuss the work done in the Punjab with a deputation of Practical Agriculturists sent out by the Baroda Government. One of the prominent men who himself is a cultivator of land and employer of agricultural labour said that they visited certain villages in Jallundhar Division. The population was Muslim; the consolidating agency was exclusively rural and predominantly Muslim; the result was good. The readers of these remarks will draw the necessary inference that the consolidating scheme becomes easy when one has to deal with a homogenous group and the agency is in sympathy with the individuals it has to drill and bring into line. The voluntary element which is the distinguishing characteristic of consolidation by co-operative societies will be as the Hon'ble mover of the bill in Bombay remarked "a very slow process." The writer entirely agrees with this view. In the United Provinces except where the population consists of low middle class agriculturists like Koeris, Kurmis, Kachhis, Gujars or Jats, the difficulty of voluntary consolidating is patent to any one who has taken the trouble of initiating it. If we are not merely to drift or choose to take the line of least resistance which evidently here is the line of longest duration, some sort of coercive measure is necessary to bring people in line. The Bombay Government has faced this difficulty with a courage for which the economists of India will be grateful to the Hon'ble Sir C. V. Mehta. The bill falls naturally into two parts. The first 36 clauses are intended to provide remedies against future morcellement and part II provides the agency for restripping and consolidation.

The action of code Napoleon in France and other continental countries has brought about compulsory dismemberment of a holding amongst sons and daughters. As a result, the advocates of a high standard of comfort have

preached curtailment of population and the control of the morcellement which is the necessary corollary to Napoleonic code of inheritance. Even where it is not possible to prevent the breaking up of a holding one of the sons is induced to enter the church which in Roman Catholic countries insists on celibacy, or the youngest member of the family takes his share in the landed property in cash and emigrates in search of fresh fields and pastures new. In India security of life has not been sufficiently wrested from death and malthusianism has been so far considered distinctly dysgenic. Under these circumstances a holding which is economic becomes in a couple of generations hopelessly fragmented and uneconomic. Not only is the individual holding small but this holding consists of scattered individual plots incapable of being economically exploited. There has been a feeble protest against this division by mates and bounds in so far as it leaves the Civil Court the option on partition of giving one of the sharers, money equivalent when the subject of partition is incapable of fractional division necessitated by allotting *pro-rata* share to the different claimants of the property. But courage has been wanting and this provision has not been efficacious in preventing fragmentation. In these provinces the question of consolidation except in Single Zamindari villages is complicated by the fact that on the one hand there is a co-parcenary body in cultivating possession of the land and on the other there are various subordinate tenures the characteristic of which are not legally susceptible of interchange by transfers. Some day or other our legislature will have to undertake a measure on the lines adopted in France for mechanical transfer of all incidents attached to plots. The salient points of the Bombay Bill are put down for the consideration of persons interested in the agricultural advancement of these historic provinces. The bill should be carefully read and inwardly digested and not shoved aside as a measure which a satanic Government have introduced to create trouble between zamindars and tenants. An Indian Nationalist would not have been its accomplice if it had the tendency of creating class war and for once let the Government be given credit for their honest intention.

The strongest objection that can be taken against this paternal measure is that we shall

thereby be interfering with the personal law of parties. We have already given reasons why the state in its care for the whole sacrifices sometimes the interests of individuals. In the tenancy legislation of the U. P. inheritance has been restricted amongst certain descendants only claiming from the *præpositus* and tenancy has not been allowed to descend like land. The reason is that commutation of a holding of an occupancy or non-occupancy tenant militates against its efficient cultivation. For this reason the descent is confined to the main line and on its failure, to a certain extent, to an agnatic collateral or to daughter's son; otherwise the holding escheats to the landlord. The second point that is to be taken into consideration is that we shall be creating thereby a class of landless proletariat who will be divorced from land. It is sometimes said that in India a landless man is apt to become a lawless man, that he does not seek emigration for fresh fields and even if emigration takes place we are likely to lose the most enterprising and more farseeing of our population who would leave the more stagnant and unenterprising elements behind to carry on ancestral cultivation after the stereotyped style. There is already a movement on foot in certain European countries known by the name of "Own Home movement" with the object of keeping the peasant population in the country by allotting to them small farms, too small to be paying, and the deficiency is made-up by wages earned by working on the farms of big State-holders. In these eastern countries the Sir-holder is always in need of ploughmen and he gives to these ploughmen what is otherwise an uneconomic holding because what with the income from this holding which is held at a favourable rent and the wages of labour, the landless labourer is able to eke out a living. There is no desire to squeeze out the small holder and to build up big estates. The very fact that the uneconomic holding when on sale will go preferentially to the neighbouring holding would militate against any land grabbing and certain uneconomic holdings falling under the category of old fragmented holding will always remain available for the few ploughmen. All the same we are deliberately prepared to face the situation in which certain landless men will be brought into existence but it is hoped that they will migrate to towns and form proper material for the training of the artizan. He has never

become an efficient hand on account of the fact that generally he does not stick to the town life for more than 18 to 24 months. The labouring classes in towns are drawn from casual labour which has a tendency to return to the village on the slightest provocation. The one desire that the villager has after he has lived in a town is to collect enough to go back to the village, pay a big premium and become the proprietor of cultivable land. He can indulge in this weakness because of the present unrestricted character of the sale of uneconomic holdings. The best way of winning him from this habit is to offer better security in money, in town investment, in industry or trade. Land is bound to be dethroned from its artificial pedestal swallowing moloch-like men and their earnings in return for the hall mark of gentility which the possession of land bestows on a villager. The people in villages have remained poor because they have put all their eggs in one basket namely agriculture and there are more people on land than can be supported by it under the present inefficient and unscientific system of cultivation, either as the Japanese have done land will have to be cultivated with the spade like a garden plot or people must be withdrawn from land to seek town careers. We are attempting improvement in two different directions and hope that what with allocating land to its proper place in the scheme of wealth creation, and introducing methods of improving cultivation, we hope to improve the lot of the villager.

II.

A most important definition in the Bombay Bill is that of a "fragmented holding." It means any plot of land in any local area which is of less extent than the standard unit at the time when this act is applied to the area. "New fragmented holding" means any plot of land less in extent than the standard unit which comes into existence in any local area after this act has come into force. Local area is defined to be that area for which the Commissioner of the division has determined standard units. The standard unit means the area of land determined as the minimum necessary land for profitable cultivation in the case of any class of soil in any local area. In Bombay generally there are three types of land, Jarayati land, Baghait land

and Kyari or ordinary arable land, land for growing garden crops and rice land. The first question to be taken up when the Act is made applicable to a particular area is the appointment for that district of a Standard Unit Determination Committee. The Collector shall be the chairman. The Deputy Director of Agriculture as an expert member and three members of the district local board will bring local knowledge to bear on the deliberations of the committee. It will determine for each class of soil for a particular area the minimum area that can be cultivated profitably as a separate compact plot. The Commissioner considers the proposals of the committee after the latter has heard objections to the fixing of the areas and then declares certain areas to be the standard units for Jarayati, Baghaiti, and Kyari land. Then comes in the novel principle introduced by this bill namely the right that Government has of getting entries made in the records of rights that areas falling below this standard unit are to be "fragmented holdings." From the date parties are fixed with notice of this entry, no such fragmented holding shall be sold, exchanged, mortgaged with possession or leased except as directed in the Act and any alienation contrary to the provisions of this Act shall be void. If a person wants to sell a fragmented holding to another who is not a neighbour then he must notify this fact through the Tahsildar and thereupon any neighbour shall have a right to purchase the fragmented holding on terms mentioned in the notice. Section 13 lays down that if no pre-emptor comes forward to purchase the proposed holding at the price notified the vendor can sell the property to any one he likes. Clause 14(2) gives to the Court the right to determine the terms on which the fragmented holding can be transferred to any outsider in preference to the pre-emptor. This provision will have a salutary effect of keeping the vendor from including in his notice under clause (14) an artificially inflated price so that the neighbour may be frightened into acquiescence and submit to an outsider coming in. If this proviso is well acted on it would enable the Court to determine the proper price of the land and to accept the price offered by the pre-emptor as notified in the notice, as reasonable. Any one acquainted with pre-emption litigation in these provinces would see the advisability of keeping some check on the

tendency of the vendor to victimise the possible pre-emptor. If a person wants to lease a fragmented holding he cannot lease it to any one except to his neighbour. So far we have dealt with holdings which are treated as fragmented and which are held in this condition at the time the Act comes to be applied to a particular area. The bill takes stronger action in the case of holdings which have become fragmented after the Act has come into force in a particular area. Government does not interfere with the cultivation of a holding that is already existing as a fragmented holding when the Act comes into force in that particular area but as soon as it has been brought to the notice of Government that in that particular area a new fragmented holding has come into being then a notice will be served on that party that it is a new fragmented holding. Such a new fragmented holding shall not be sold, exchanged, mortgaged or otherwise transferred except to the occupant or owner of a contiguous holding. In case of a lease it can be leased to the lessee of a contiguous holding. No new fragmented holding shall be cultivated unless it is combined with a contiguous plot or plots so that the total area so cultivated shall be equal to or in excess of the standard unit. This provision is to be read with the reference already made to Kautilya's *Arthashastra*. Government in the interests of the community steps in and says "Thou shalt not tackle an area less in extent than the minimum area necessary for economic cultivation of a holding because thereby thou shalt not be producing upto the standard of wealth necessary to keep up economic efficiency." There will be people who will be prepared to protest against this interference of Government with the enjoyment of private rights in property. The reply of the legislature is that the weal of the people is the highest law. Clause 21 lays down that whenever there is an occasion for partitioning revenue paying estates in an area where the Act has been made applicable the Collector shall divide the estate in such a manner as not to leave a single share in the condition of new fragmented holding. These sharers in the property whose *pro rata* share will bring the dividend upto or above the standard get their shares first. If any portion is left over it shall be divided into as many shares as can be made without creating a new fragmented holding and allotted to those whose

shares are the largest. The rest of the sharers shall have to be compensated in cash. It empowers the Collector to auction a holding which is not capable of being divided and it shall then be sold to those neighbours who can combine the purchased plots with the fragmented holdings already in their possession and can show to the Collector that the purchase has created a holding larger in area than the standard unit. Section 22 lays down the penalty for the infringement of the act which extends to a fine of Rs. 50/-. The question arises as to how the holders of small shares are to be compensated in cash by others who get the major portion of the holding. A land bank, it is understood, is being brought into being. Clause 23 lays down that takavi advances can be given under Act XII of 1884 (Agricultural Loans Act) to enable one to purchase a neighbour's share. The Government have exempted the documents needed for bringing about consolidation from stamp and registration duties. The first part of the bill lays down the ideal to be approximated to. That ideal will be reached in full consultation with local opinion to suit local conditions. Public opinion would be thoroughly canvassed by the inclusion on the Unit Decision Committee of three District Board members. The District Board, it is presumed, would be allowed the liberty of selecting these three members on to the board and both the Government and the District Board should be empowered to remove them for various reasons when they are found incapable of discharging their duties satisfactorily. We have made it thoroughly clear that the political thinkers all over the world are of opinion that Government as representing the people have a right to see that land as instrument of wealth creation on account of its being limited in area, must be put to the best use in the interest of the community and Government have a right to frame rules for the purpose of its utilization in the best interests of the community. Then comes in the provision about the *modus operandi* to be adopted to bring about restripping. The Collector *suo motu* or at the instance of certain interested parties can apply to the Government for the issue of necessary notification for consolidation. All who are interested in the land are required to attend and failure to attend without reasonable cause is met with sanctions. Thereafter the same action is taken which in Prussia was

taken under the *lex adites* which empowered a board of local authorities to treat the area as one subject to local estate planning. Holdings would be carved out approximately equal in area to the aggregate of the fragmented plots formerly possessed by the Khatodars. Village tracks would be made through areas for the purpose of taking cattle to the village tank for watering or gain to the village threshing floor for threshing. The Collector has to ascertain that $\frac{2}{3}$ of the holders of plots and not less than $\frac{1}{2}$ of the owners of land in the area affected consent to bring about consolidation. Government appoints a Consolidation Officer and he proceeds to the village and takes the assistance of 3 persons from the local panchayat committee who act as assessors and bring local knowledge to bear on any problem for solution. The Consolidation officer divides up the area to be consolidated in compact blocks and passes the scheme for criticism. He formally disposes off objections which are preferred against the scheme. If there is any dispute as to the apportionment of the land the Consolidation Officer shall refer the dispute to the President of the tribunal of arbitration which according to clause 42 shall consist of a President, namely, the District Judge and 2 assessors, one being the person having no interest in the land of the village and appointed by the District Judge and the other the Consolidation Officer. The assessors help the Officer presiding in determining the question of facts and President applies the law and his decision is final. The Consolidation Officer is not allowed to make any block less in area for that particular type of land than the standard unit. A *pro rata* allotment of the Jarayat, Kyari and Baghait land will be as far as possible given. Section 54 lays down that re-distributing scheme shall provide for roads, tanks, and water courses and such conveniences so as to ensure that re-constituted plots shall be cultivable to the greatest advantage. If any person is not willing to take the consolidated block but wishes to be compensated in cash he is allowed to elect this mode of compensation. The value of the new holding is debited against the value of his old holding. In this way everybody is paid land by land or land and cash according to the extent of his interest on the day on which consolidation begins. Section 67 is a very important provision. The scheme provides that any charges pladed on

the land will be defrayed by a loan under the Land Improvement Act XIX of 1883. The interest on which shall then form the first charge on the land or it shall be defrayed by annual payment as under the Bundelkhand Encumbered Estate Act which if not realised shall be recovered as an arrear of land revenue. The other provision namely the one embodied in Clause 74 (b) is of great interest. By it is remitted half the assessment on the consolidated area for 3 years. This would reconcile most of the persons who have been mulcted more or less in fighting out their claims. The scheme is then finally sent to the Governor in Council for sanction and on his sanction being received each party is given a Sanad by the Collector. This is a beneficent bill in every sense of the term.

Precaution requires however to be taken in two directions—Firstly the tribunal which is set up on the lines of the Bombay Improvement Trust Tribunal is likely to be an expensive tribunal in the sense that the cost of litigation before it will be high. There is no direct provision made for transfer of liens and charges from one plot to another as a result of exchange brought about by the consolidation officer. This is invariably provided for in Continental countries. The second point is the responsibility thrown on the parties concerned for meeting the cost of consolidation to be shared on the basis of benefits gained. Anyone who is acquainted with the Danish scheme will at once find out that the Danish Government went out of its way to meet most of the costs and even paid for the houses of tenants in getting the same moved from the Abadi on to the compact cultivation block. It will not do merely to remit stamp and registration charges. The cost incurred in bringing about consolidation will, it is represented have to be met by Government to a considerable extent. The writer understands that Government have passed orders creating a sort of land bank to advance money on mortgages of land. This is very necessary to render a scheme directly aiming at prevention of fragmentation practicable. The whole measure requires to be carefully read and canvassed on press and platform of these provinces. We have onerous difficulties here. We are not dealing with peasant proprietors as in the ryotwari Bombay. We have zamindars and tenants. In any scheme of consolidation of the tenants' holding,

the spectre of a coparcenary to each individual of which the tenant may be responsible for the rent of the component plots of his holding looms large as an inhibiting factor. Consolidation has not yet been successfully tried in a coparcenary village where there has been no partition of tenants amongst co-sharers. But that will have to come. No Agricultural Commission will do any good till the unit of cultivation is improved. Section 37 of Act III of 1926 can be altered in the sense that no holding will be divided if the component part falls below a certain area but there is nothing to prevent private partition and unless legislative steps in to prevent morcellement, every partition accentuates the trouble. What could have been a compact holding under a copar-

tenary cannot possibly be one when the co-sharers have divided and taken plots of tenants holding under their separate zamindari administration. The interests of the cultivator will have to be kept paramount, be he a tenant or zamindar. The unit he will be allowed to tackle will not be allowed to fall below a certain area. There will be in future zamindari Sir cultivation or Tenant cultivation of areas not below standard units for the locality and the sub-tenants will cease unless they are treated as metayers. Will the legislature summon sufficient courage to take up the question? If it will not, the lessons of Scandinavian agriculture will be lost and the recommendations of the Linlithgow commission will remain infructuous like addled eggs.

THE GIFTS OF ARYANS TO INDIA.

By PROFESSOR JADU NATH SARKAR, C.I.E.

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We usually study the history of India as divided into watertight compartments or periods. One great defect of this method of study is that we thereby lose sight of the life of the nation as a whole, we fail to realise that India has been the home of a living, growing people, with a continuity running through all the ages,—each generation using, expending or modifying what its long line of predecessors had left to it.

No careful student of our history can help being struck by one supreme characteristic of the Indian people. It is their vitality as a distinct type, with a distinct civilisation of their own and a mind as active after centuries of foreign rule as ever in the past. The Indian people to-day are no doubt a composite ethnical product; but whatever their different constituent elements may have been in origin, they have all acquired a common Indian stamp, and have all been contributing to a common culture and building up a common type of traditions, thought and literature. Even Sir Herbert

Risley, who is so sceptical about the Indians' claim to be considered as one people, has been forced to admit that "Beneath the manifold diversity of physical and social type, language, custom and religion, which strikes the observer in India, there can still be discerned a certain 'underlying uniformity of life from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin.' There is in fact an Indian character, a general Indian personality, which we cannot resolve into its component elements." (*People of India*, 2nd edition, p. 200).

This common Indian type has stood the test of time, it has outlived the shock of dynastic revolutions, foreign invasions, religious conflicts, and widespread natural disasters. Its best right to live is the vital power displayed by it through many thousand years of cataclysmic change in our land.

When we deeply ponder over the philosophy of Indian history, instead of confining our gaze to the usual text-book narratives of political change, when we survey the course of India's

growth through the ages as a whole, we are bound to realise a wonderful rhythm running through all these epochs. We feel that we are to-day what our past has made us, and we see how that past has made us what we are. Each race or creed that has chosen India for its home, each dynasty that has enjoyed settled rule among us for some time, each school of thought that has dominated the human mind even in a single province of India,—has left its gifts which have worked in all the provinces and through many centuries, till they have lost their identity by being transformed and assimilated into the common store of India's legacy from the forgotten past,—just as millions and millions of small coral insects through countless ages have given up their bodies in building up the reefs on which many of the Pacific islands now stand secure from the rage of the fiercest tempest.

It is the duty of the historian not to let the past be forgotten. He must trace these gifts back to their sources, give them their due places in the time-scheme, and show how they influenced or prepared the succeeding ages, and what portion of present-day Indian life and thought is the distinctive contribution of each race or creed that has lived in this land.

Such an analysis, in the present state of our knowledge, cannot be expected to be mathematically accurate or documented in every detail. It requires the highest historical imagination to reconstruct our past in this light, and, where imagination is the motive force, individual differences of opinion must occur. We cannot altogether eliminate the personal factor in such cases. But the attempt has to be made, if we are ever to rise above the level of our school text-books of Indian history. And, in spite of the risks attending a first attempt in a new field and the limited time at my disposal, I propose at present to treat of India's inner life and outer growth from the standpoint of evolutionary development through the ages.

In India, as in every other country of the world, the geographical factor has profoundly influenced history. India is a continent, rather than one country, in respect of the diversity of the physical conditions of its different provinces. Leaving the Himalayan slopes and secluded valleys out of our account, we have Hindustan proper or North India, forming one boundless plain with assured water-supply, which permits cavalry hordes to sweep from one end of it to

the other in the dry season that begins in October. Hence, North India has been the seat of vast empires, each of which has, in its day, ruled over many provinces, maintained rich and learned Courts, and added to the common culture of all India. The Madras Coast or the Eastern Karnatak has the same features, though in a narrower area. But the Deccan proper, or the tableland of the south, is cut up by nature into small isolated districts, where racial and linguistic differences have been preserved through ages with very little change. And, hence, the history of the Deccan proper has been the rise of numberless petty kingdoms, their eternal contest with their neighbours, and downfall one after another. Unlike Hindustan, this region of the South has failed to exert any influence on the other parts of India, but has succumbed to Hindustan or the Karnatak whenever its geographical isolation has been broken by the aggression of some great empire of those parts.

IMMIGRATIONS INTO INDIA.

The main stream of immigration into India has come through the north-western passes. It is true that at the other extreme or the north-eastern frontier, we have some routes leading into India from Upper Burma and from Arracan. But the heavy rainfall of this region, exceeding a hundred inches in the year concentrated into four months, soon washes away the roads and promotes a dense growth of trees and underwood which closes the routes altogether in a few years. Moreover, Central Asia, the cradle-land of mankind for many ages, is near our north-western passes, while China,—another home of a teeming and overflowing population,—is cut off from the N. E. corner of Assam by almost insuperable natural obstacles. The few foreign strains that are known to have entered India through the north-eastern passes were small in numerical strength. They were: (i) a Tibetan dynasty that established a short-lived kingship in North Bengal in the 10th century; (ii) the Ahoms who crossed the Patkoi range into the valley of the Brahmaputra early in the 13th century and fell completely under Hindu influence three centuries later; and (iii) the Burmese who invaded Assam in 1816, to be expelled by the English at the end of nine years. The Mongolian settlement in Eastern Bengal is now an entirely lost chapter of Indian history, but it must have been spread over several centuries and seems to have

adopted the land and sea routes alike. Not only have the north-western passes poured forth teeming thousands into India ever since the dawn of history, but our western sea-board has been equally hospitable to immigrants. Phœnicians of the Biblical times, then Arabs, then Greeks and Alexandrian Romans, Persians, Abyssinians and other foreigners have traded with the western ports of India and made settlements on this coast. We know that Greek mercenary soldiers were engaged by some Hindu Kings in historic times, as French adventurers were employed by Sindhia and the Nizam in the eighteenth century.

At the end of the middle ages, our undefended western sea-board was penetrated by the Portuguese, and later by the Dutch, the English, and the French; but the foreign settlements on our West Coast were of an even earlier origin, as the Portuguese on their arrival (1498) found the Arabs already settled at the ports of Malabar.

We know that the first body of Parsis migrated to the Bombay coast about 735 A. D. The Chitpavan and Nagar Brahmans are two other immigrant foreign clans, if their traditions and inscriptions can be relied upon to lift the veil from their racial origins. An analysis of the population of Gujrat shows many foreign races settled there but now completely Indianized. The Navaiyat Arabs and the Beni-Israel of Konkan are two other examples of this class, besides the Abyssinians of Junjira and the Nestorian Christians of Malabar.

COLONISATION BY INDIANS.

But, on our East Coast, the ancient Indians were more enterprising and more skilled in navigation; they were colonisers, traders, givers of civilisation to foreign lands and not borrowers. In historic times the Chola fleet dominated the Bay of Bengal and Rajendra Chola I (*circa* 1026 A.D.) captured the capital of Pegu (Lower Burma) and annexed the Andaman and Nicobar islands. Indian emigrants,—mostly from the Pallava country, with several also from the Gangetic Valley in the north,—colonised Sumatra, Java, Bali, Borneo, Cambodia and Siam, and gave a new religion, civilisation and art to the natives though they did not establish political dominion there. The Indian mariners of the East Coast,—whether from Tamluk in Bengal or Masulipatam in Madras—disputed the monopoly of the trade in the Bay of Bengal

and the eastern seas with the Chinese sailors, as readers of *Travels* know.

INTERNAL UNIFYING INFLUENCES.

Within the limits of India itself province was isolated from province by differences of Government, language, climate and manners, by high hills, dense forests and deep rivers, and by the absence of roads and of easy means of conveyance. But from early Hindu times, this internal isolation was often broken and an All-Indian community of ideas, customs and culture was created by certain agencies. These were: (i) the pilgrim student, (ii) the soldier of fortune, (iii) the imperial conqueror, and (iv) the son-in-law imported from the centres of blue blood (such as Kanauj or Prayag for Brahmans and Mewar and Marwar in the case of Rajputs) for the purpose of hypergamy or raising the social status of a rich man settled among lower castes in a far-off province.

The great holy cities of the different provinces were regarded as sources of sanctity by all Indians alike. They were, besides, seats of the highest Sanskrit learning, or Universities of the type of the mediæval University of Paris. Such were Benares and Nalanda, Mathura and Taxila, Ujjain and Prayag, Kanchi and Madura, and to a lesser extent Navadwip in Bengal. The sacred streams and temples of the north were looked up to with veneration and a life-long yearning to visit them, by the men of the south, and in the same way, Puri and Kanchi, Setubandh and Sringeri, Dwaraka and Nasik were eagerly visited by devoted pilgrims from the north of India, in spite of the immense distances to be crossed. Further more, for the benefit of those who could not travel, some local rivers and cities of the south were named after those of the north and regarded as equally sanctifying. Thus, Madura is the southern Mathura, and the Godavari is the southern Ganges. Great Sanskrit scholars and saints, like Sankaracharya and Chaitanya, have passed from one end of Hindu India to another, conquering their rivals in disputation, as Samudragupta and other kings bent on *dig-vijay* did in arms. This presupposed cultural uniformity.

The Hindu pilgrims and wandering Brahmin students and saints formed a connecting link between the different provinces of India and they tended to leaven the mass of their stay-at-home countrymen with some amount of com-

minity of life and thought—though that amount was not comparable to the wholesale standardisation that is going on throughout India in these days of the railway, the newspaper, the telegraph, All-India conferences for every imaginable and unimaginable purpose, and a common administrative system and cultural language.

Similarly, military adventurers, especially of the Rajput stock, penetrated into the more backward and obscure provinces in search of a career which was denied to younger brothers in their over-crowded homeland. For example, Shivaji's ancestors are said to have migrated from Chitor. Yachappa Nair (the chieftain of Satgarh, 26 miles west of Vellore) who was killed in 1694, claimed descent from the Rathors of Kanauj; the State of Vizianagram was founded in the 16th century by a Rajput general of the Muslim Sultan of Golkonda.

The result of all these forces was that, in spite of political disunion, differences of language, tradition and custom, a uniform Sanskrit stamp was printed upon the literature and thought of all the provinces of this vast country. There was unity of religion, philosophy, literary ideas and convention, and outlook upon life, through Hindu India. If we take a broad and sweeping view, without being too particular, we may even go so far as to say that there has been achieved something of an approximation also in physical type and mode of life among the various races that have lived long enough in India, and fed on the same crops, drank of the same streams, basked under the same sun. Even the immigrant India Muslims have, in the course of centuries, received the imprint of this country and come to differ in many essential points from their brethren living in other parts of Asia.

FOUR GREAT LANDMARKS.

When we make a broad survey of India's evolution through the last four thousand years, we cannot miss the four great landmarks that stand out prominent and clear in this expanse of time. Four distinct races or creeds have, each in its own age, determined this country's destiny. The Vedic Aryans, the Buddhists, the Mussalmans, and the British have each introduced a new element into India, each of them has conferred gifts which have worked through the

succeeding ages and modified our life and thought, no less than our political history.

We start with the Aryans, not only because they were the first in point of time among the races whose records have been preserved, but chiefly because they have succeeded in impressing upon the other races of India the stamp of their religion, philosophy, vocabulary, literary form and tradition, administrative system,—in short, their ideas and culture. Tribes that cannot truly claim to have a drop of Aryan blood in their veins have accepted the Aryan influence and tried desperately to give their ancestors an Aryan pedigree. Aryan culture, with the addition of some elements borrowed from the Dravidians, but transformed in its own way,—rules all India and gives to it an inner unity, in spite of the diversity created by our geography, ethnology and political history.

THE GIFTS OF THE ARYANS.

What, then, are the elements with which the Aryans have enriched Indian life? The gifts of the Aryans are six, namely: (i) a lofty spirituality which has sublimated even the non-Aryan elements borrowed in the grand synthesis which is called Hinduism; (ii) the spirit of systematising, or the methodical arrangement of every branch of thought; (iii) ordered imagination in literary or artistic creation, as distinguished from extravagance, grotesqueness, or emotional abandon; (iv) the grading of the people into mutually exclusive castes, based upon differences of function and of supposed ancestry; (v) honour to woman, while rejecting feminist institutions like matriarchy and polyandry, which prevailed in the north and south of the Aryan wedge driven into "the middle kingdom"; (vi) the institution of hermitages, which were distinct alike from the city universities and celibate monasteries of Christian Europe.

ARYAN PENETRATION INTO NORTH-WEST INDIA.

Let us try to visualise what followed the Aryan penetration into north-western India. It did not lead to an utter extermination of the original inhabitants of the country (as in Australia), nor to their wholesale confinement in isolated reservations (as in North America). It is now admitted by historians that the Anglo-

Saxon invasion of England was not followed by a wholesale massacre or enslavement of the native Britons, but large numbers of the latter remained on their lands, though in a politically subordinate condition, and a quick and complete fusion of the two races took place, the composite product being dominated by the language and institutions of the conquering minority. This has also been the case with the European colonisation of Latin America. Similarly, the Vedic Aryans who conquered the Punjab formed an even smaller ratio to the non-Aryans already in possession of the soil than the Angles and Saxons did to the Britons. Most of the Aryan newcomers had to take non-Aryan wives, if they were to have any wives at all.

A grand compromise with the non-Aryan religions and customs was forced on the conquerors by the circumstances. Some non-Aryan gods and religious rites were accepted by them, but made purer and more philosophical. The old vedic religion which was entirely ritualistic and the special possession of a particular race, now gave place to that all-embracing but undefinable system of toleration or synthesis which we call Hinduism, and which shelters within its catholic bosom every form of belief and practice that will agree to its few general conventions. The absorption of alien races and creeds into Hindu society has gone on in historic times and has failed only in the case of rigidly exclusive creeds like Islam and Christianity.

The cult of the snake, once universal throughout India and now surviving among the aborigines and in the Dravidian south and the adoration of rude stones as manifestations of the deity,—either as the Shiva Linga or as the Shalagrama,—are clearly aboriginal faiths which the Aryans adopted with necessary modifications and made parts of the new common creed of the two races. The southern non-Aryan God Shiva,—the patron of the Ceylonese King Ravan—was declared to be another name of the Vedic Rudra, though the functions and attributes of the latter were quite different from Shiva's. But the coarser elements of the original Shiva worship were purged away from the composite faith. The nagas took a subordinate place in the Hindu pantheon, as attendants on the gods or on good kings. The round pebble picked up from the bed of the Gandak river and adored by local tribes, now became an emblem of Vishnu the Preserver. The old popular creeds were thus spiritualised and the

rude aboriginal gods were, by the invention of new legends and allegorical interpretations, invested with the halo of a loftier philosophy.

In the domain of thought, the Aryans created a far-reaching revolution by introducing system or methodical arrangement into everything that they handled. The Sutra literature is the best example of orderly arrangement in the various branches of human knowledge then in the possession of the Aryans. They wrote systematic treatises on medicine, philosophy, polity, grammar, law, domestic ritual and geometry. Panini's grammar is the most scientific treatment of the subject ever known.

In art, the Indo-Aryans had not the fertility of invention and exuberant imagination of the Dravidians; but what imagination they displayed was restrained and refined, though they did not approach the perfect order of form and chaste elegance of beauty for which the Aryans of Greece still stand unrivalled among mankind. This point will become clear when we contrast the latest Vedic literature and the Sutras with the heterogeneous medley of fact and fiction created much later under local and preponderantly non-Aryan influence and designated as the Puranas in which we find imagination running riot.

THE HERMITAGES.

But the most powerful and most beneficent factor of Aryan influence consisted in the hermitages of the *Rishis*, which grew up in what is popularly called the epic age, i.e., after the Aryans had advanced to the fertile Gangetic valley and established large and rich kingdoms, with crowded cities and magnificent courts, and peace and leisure for the population.

The hermits or *Rishis* who lived in these forest homes (*tapovans*) were not lonely recluses or celibate anchorites cut off from the society of women and the family. They formed family groups, living with their wives and children, but not pursuing wealth or fame or material advancement like ordinary householders. All their attention was devoted to the practice of virtue and the cultivation of knowledge. Thus they lived in the world, but were not of it. They had frequent touch with the cities and the royal court by means of respectful invitations to the domestic ceremonies of the Kings and rich men, and the visits made by the latter to these hermitages in the spirit of pilgrimage. Their

pupils included their own children and also boys from the busy world, who lived with the hermits, shared their toils, studied under them, and served them like their own sons. Then, when their education was completed, they would bow down to their guru, pay their thanks-offering (*dakshina*), and come to the busy world to take their places among the men of action.

Thus, the ancient Hindu University, without being rigidly isolated, was kept at a safe distance from the noisy luxurious capitals and gave the purest form of physical, intellectual and moral culture possible in any age, if we leave out natural science and mechanics. Learning was developed by the *Rishis*, who were maintained in learned leisure partly by their pupils' foraging in the ownerless woods and fields of that age and partly by the gifts of Kings and rich householders.

These hermitages were as effectual for the promotion of knowledge and the growth of serious literature as the cathedrals of mediæval Europe, but without the unnatural monachism of the latter.

Lecky remarks about the celibate clergy of the Catholic world: "The effect of the mortification of the domestic affections upon the general character was probably very pernicious. In Protestant countries, where the marriage of the clergy is fully recognised, it has, indeed, been productive of the greatest and most unequivocal benefits. Nowhere does Christianity assume a more beneficial or a more winning

form than in those gentle clerical households which stud our land, constituting, as Coleridge said, 'the one idyl of modern life,' the most perfect type of domestic peace, the centre of civilisation in the remotest village. Among the Catholic priesthood, on the other hand, where the vow of celibacy is faithfully observed, a character of a different type is formed, which with very grave and deadly faults combines some of the noblest excellences to which humanity can attain. (*History of European Morals* cabinet ed., ff. 137, 334-335). This evil was avoided in ancient India.

The Brahmins of old enjoyed popular veneration and social supremacy, but they used their influence and prestige solely for the promotion of learning and religion, and not for enriching themselves or gratifying their passions. The nation as a whole benefited by this arrangement. But it was possible only in a purely Hindu State, without a dense population and with science and technical arts in a simple undeveloped condition.

In the calm of these sylvan retreats were developed our systems of philosophy, ethics, theology and even several branches of literature proper. Witness the vivid scene of the discussion of political science and morality in the Naimish forest as described in the Mahabharat.

Herein lay the true spring-head of the ancient civilisation of the Hindus, and this we owe entirely to the Indo-Aryans of the earliest or Brahmanic age.

THE INDIAN HIGH COURTS BILL IN PARLIAMENT.

By SIR C. SETALVAD, K.C.I.E.

The Indian High Courts Bill, now that its real implications are realised has rightly aroused genuine protests from the country. It is regrettable that under the ostensible guise of putting advocates and pleaders on a footing of equality with Barristers as regards the office of Chief Justice, a change of great magnitude, contrary to the established practice and traditions for over 700 years, should have been introduced without

drawing attention to the same, either in the speeches in Parliament on the Bill or by the publication of the text of the Bill in this country.

This change makes the Civilian Judges of the High Court eligible for the office of the Chief Justice. It must be noted that while demands have been persistently made for many years that advocates and pleaders should for all

purposes be on an equality with barristers, nobody (not even the Civilian Judges) has demanded that the present ineligibility of the Civilian Judges for the office of the Chief Justice be removed.

Ever since the establishment of the High Court in India and even before that in the Recorder's Court and the Supreme Court eligibility for the office of Chief Justice was confined to members of the Bar. This principle was embodied in the first High Court Act and has been preserved in the Government of India Act. The judiciary in any country should be perfectly independent of Government and nothing should be done which would create even the remotest suspicion in that matter. This is still more essential in a country like India, ruled by an alien Government, carrying on the administration through a bureaucracy.

What makes for the stability of the British Government in India more than anything else is the public belief in the impartial administration of justice. The High Courts have always been looked up to by the people as the one bulwark for the defence of the liberty and right of the subjects against unjustifiable acts of the executive Government.

It is therefore a cherished faith that in order to preserve the independence of the High Courts as well as the subordinate courts, the head of the judiciary in every province, namely the Chief Justice, must be a member of the bar and not a member of the permanent civil service. Indeed the view has been held and advocated very often, that the members of the civil service should not be Puisne Judges of the High Court or be Judges of the Subordinate Courts. And it has been urged that all the judicial appointments should be held by trained lawyers taken from the bar as is the case in England.

But whatever that may be, it is immensely desirable and necessary that the Chief Justice should be a member of the Bar. I am not unmindful of the fact that the Civil Service has given some very eminent Judges of the High Court. It is equally true that some Barrister Judges have not made good Judges of the High Courts. But this is not a matter that is to be judged by a consideration of individual cases. It is not suggested that Civilian Judges do not conscientiously and impartially administer justice. But a great principle is involved. The training that a Civilian gets as a member of the permanent service before he comes to the High

Court, naturally produces a mentality which is much different from the outlook and mentality of a person trained at the Bar. Further the experience and insight that a man at the bar gets can never be gained by civilian Judges. Moreover in a question of this character it is of incalculable value to make sure of public confidence and it is axiomatic that any Civilian Chief Judge, however, able and impartial he may be, will never command that public confidence which will be almost invariably inspired by a Barrister Chief Justice.

In Bombay the great courage and independence showed by that eminent Chief Justice Sir Michael Westropp in dealing with important litigation between the Government and the subjects are traditionally remembered. The great reputation that the High Court deservedly acquired during his regime was maintained by his successors Sir Charles Sargent, Sir Charles Farren and Chief Justice Lawrence Jenkins. The same may be said about the great barrister Chief Justices in the other Provinces.

I venture to say that the present proposal to make the civilians eligible for the office of Chief Justice is a retrograde measure and will largely imperil the confidence of the public in the Judiciary in India. It is surprising that such a momentous change should be so stealthily attempted to be brought about at a juncture when a Royal Commission is considering the whole future Constitution of India.

The provisions regarding the High Court form a part of the Government of India Act, the revision of which is before the Commission. Surely the proposed amendment should be considered by the Royal Commission whose president happens to be an eminent English lawyer.

There is really no justification for rushing through this Bill. The demand for placing Advocates and Vakils on an equality with Barristers for the office of Chief Justice has been made for a long time. It was in the year 1924 that the Government told the Legislative Assembly that they had recommended that change and the matter was under the consideration of the Secretary of State. If the Secretary of State has waited seven or eight years during which time pleader Judges like Sir Lalubhai Shaw were denied the office of Chief Justice, one fails to see why the matter cannot wait till it has been considered by the Royal Commission. The public never demanded and it is presumed the Government of India never recommended,

that civilians be made eligible for the office of Chief Justice. At no time has this change been suggested by Government to the Legislatures in India.

It is entirely inexcusable to rush through this Bill in this manner, involving a momentous change of far-reaching consequences of making Civilian Judges eligible for the office of Chief Justice.

Indian abstention from co-operation with the

Simon Commission is no excuse. Such abstention has not induced the Government to withdraw from the Commission any part of the question referred to it. The Royal Commission has decided to go through the question of revision of the Constitution of India in all other aspects, whether it is boycotted or not. Why cannot they deal with the constitution of the High Courts along with other parts of the Government of India Act?

THE TRUTH ABOUT INDIA'S WOMEN.

A REPLY TO KATHERINE MAYO.

By DR. R. P. PARANJPUR, M.A., D.Sc.

*(Member of the India Council; late Minister of Education,
Bombay; late Principal, Fergusson College, Poona;
late Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge;
first Indian Senior Wrangler.)*

Miss Mayo's lurid pages in *Mother India* about the women of India have caused deep resentment among the people, as they feel that she has taken some isolated facts, distorted others, and shown altogether such a disregard for truth that no reasonable person should attach any weight to her account. She has many items of indictment against Indian women, and I shall select a few of them and explain the real state of things.

As regards child marriage and too early consummation of marriage, it should be known that while marriage at a very early age is prevalent in some castes, this marriage means only an irrevocable engagement which makes the girl a member of the husband's family and enables her to fall into the ways of the new family, which is essential in the case of the joint family system.

Marriage does not mean among the Hindus that the young man leaves the family hearth and makes a new home for himself with his wife. While his father and mother are living the newly

married couple live with them, and it is considered improper for the married persons even to talk to each other in the presence of the elders.

Before the age of about fourteen or fifteen the girl does not know her husband even in the most orthodox families. In a letter recently published by an English doctor in the *Times of India* the ages of women at their first delivery were quoted from hospital figures, which showed no case before the age of fourteen.

In recent days this age of marriage, even in the Indian sense of the term, is being gradually raised even in the villages, in which the vast percentage of India's millions live. I come myself from a little village south of Bombay from a family of small agriculturists and have kept in constant touch with it. While forty years ago parents began to think about the marriage of their daughters at the age of eight or nine, nobody now thinks of it till they are twelve or thirteen, and in any village you can see many unmarried girls of fourteen.

The theoretical ban against a girl's remaining unmarried after the appearance of puberty has virtually disappeared even in the most orthodox families. In fact young men, who know the increasing difficulty of earning a living, are not willing to encumber themselves with a wife till they are at least about twenty.

As principal of the Fergusson College at Poona for over twenty years I used to collect statistics of the age and marriage condition of my pupils, who numbered over a thousand and were between sixteen and twenty-three years of age. While twenty-five years ago an appreciable fraction of the boys in the first-year class were married, now it is a rare exception to see any married boy in that class, and even in the final-year class there are no more than 30 per cent. married boys.

In the same college, while twenty-five years ago there was hardly any girl student, at present there are about fifty girls studying in various classes, most of them unmarried, and about half a dozen widows.

As regards disparity in the marriage ages of the husband and wife, I admit that widowers belonging to castes in which the marriage of widows is not allowed have to marry young girls, but they try to get them as grown up as possible. An old man marrying a young girl is looked down upon, and I may mention a Marathi play called "Sharada" which has been popular in Maharashtra for over twenty-five years. The theme is that of an old man wanting to marry a young girl. He is heaped with ridicule, and the popular songs in that play are shouted at any old man wanting to marry again. The evil is rapidly disappearing both because the marriage age of girls is rising and also, to a certain extent, because widow marriage is not now so unpopular as it used to be. Public opinion is strongly against the marriage of old men and girls, and it is only a very poor father who will agree to sell his daughter to a widower of mature years. But marriages in which considerations of money enter are not unknown even in America.

Much is made of the prohibition of widow marriages. But it must not be forgotten that this prohibition exists only in a few of the highest castes, and that castes totalling about 80 per cent. of the Hindus allow both marriage of widows and divorce. The widow-marriage movement is spreading and a widow-marriage now creates not a thousandth part of the commotion that it did forty years ago. The work

of Professor Karve in Poona, Sir Ganga Ram in Punjab, Vireslingam Pantulu in Madras, and Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar in Bengal in this connection is well known. But apart from this it is a mistake to think that as a general rule widows are badly treated in Hindu families. They are, of course, debarred from taking part in certain religious ceremonies which a married couple only can conduct, but they wield a good deal of influence in an ordinary Hindu family. A widow has a legal claim for maintenance on her deceased husband's property and can exercise it if she declines to live in the family of his brothers or, occasionally even with her son.

As a matter of fact, she will cling to her husband's family and will generally refuse to transfer herself to the house of her parents or brothers or sisters. Occasionally she does lead a miserable existence, but it is the exception and not the rule. The Hindu is, in fact, too much inclined to harbour all kinds of relatives, even distantly connected with him, and the family tie is much stronger than in the West.

It is the foulest libel to say that widows in India habitually lead an immoral life. Examples of lapse on their part are very rare and their general behaviour compares very favourably with that of spinsters or widows in any country in the West.

Social reformers in India attach great importance to this widow-marriage question, as we wish to see every individual in India given perfect liberty to lead his own life in his own way without too much interference from society or religious heads; but it is not right to magnify the extent of the evil.

In spite of the women being largely uneducated in the technical sense of the word, women in India exercise great influence in their families, and husbands will take no important steps without consulting their wives. Hindu religion teaches women to revere their husbands and, if you like, to worship them as gods. The latter, on their part, work for them, cherish them, and love them. As somebody has well put it, a Hindu loves the woman he marries, while a European marries the woman he loves. While this has not produced as many romantic marriages in India as in the West, it has, on the other hand, saved India from the practical breakdown of the marriage system that we see in America, where in some cities, we are told, there is one divorce for every two marriages.

It is impossible in the space at my disposal to deal with all points in Miss Mayo's book regarding women. The feeling caused against her book in India is due to the one-sided nature of her descriptions, to her not giving credit where it is due, to her misunderstanding of the real Indian woman, and, above all, to the tone of superiority which she affects towards Indians. We know there are evils in India; what country can boast of having none? We welcome the help even of foreigners like Mrs. Besant, Mr. Andrews, or Sister Nivedita, who came to the consideration of the various questions with sympathy and good will.

But we, even the most extreme social reformers among us, resent this wholesale condemnation of our social system and, in particular, this libel upon our women at the hands of a woman

who appears steeped in racial arrogance, who assumes such superior airs, and who is blind to similar evils among her own people.

Miss Mayo says that she has written this book from a sense of duty to India as well as to her own people. Is it too much to hope that she will next take up problems nearer home and use her undoubted abilities to turn a fierce light upon the condition of Negroes and coloured races in America itself, to the state of law and order in Chicago, to the divorce laws in various States, to the activities of the Ku Klux Klan, to the administration of the Prohibition law, to the oil scandals, and to various other evils in her own country, and not to insult the manhood and womanhood of a whole country simply because it is down?

MY VISIT TO THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.*

By THE HON. MIAN SIR FAZL-I-HUSAIN, K.T., *Bar-at-Law*
(*Member of the Punjab Government*).

The conception of the League of Nations is by no means new. Years ago both in the west and in the orient, even novelists used to talk of a league of birds of the universe, and many a book in Asia is written on that hypothesis. Coming to modern history, I have no doubt you remember that towards the end of the 19th century the conception of maintaining the peace of the world and settling disputes between states through pacific means was evolved in that country which is now keeping away from the League of Nations, I mean Russia. It is one of the tricks of fortune that the great country whose ruler had raised this question as early as 1898, should have in the first place brutally done away with the rules during the war and in the second place should have kept away from the League of Nations. The immediate cause of the creation of the League of Nations was the

peace of Versailles. Before the conclusion of peace, as you all remember, Wilson's fourteen points had created a world-wide interest in the problem of saving the world from the terrors of the next war. It was found necessary that the world must be made safe for peace; and all the countries including the belligerents were absolutely sick of the war and anxious to enter upon a career of peace wherein the vast damage done by the war could be righted. But here again as a result of the trick of fortune the great country represented by Wilson is not a member of the League of Nations. However, the Peace of Versailles was concluded on the very terms which were prominently mentioned in Wilson's fourteen points, one of which was that none of the belligerents was to be allowed to profit by the war in as much as no territorial expansion was permissible. What was the result? The result was that a number of territories unfit to govern themselves were to be held under some sort of tutelage and naturally not under the

*An address delivered at the Y. M. C. A. Hall, Lahore.

tutelage of any of the belligerents, because that would have directly come in conflict with the principle that none of the belligerents was to profit by the war to the extent of adding some territory to the territory which they already possessed. That led to the creation of a system of mandatory powers, and the colonies that were cut away from Germany and other powers had naturally to be administered by the mandatory system and the League of Nations was necessary in order to keep control over the mandatory system. Thus you will readily agree that the creation of the League of Nations was essential if no one country was to profit by the war to the extent of adding territory to its existing territory.

THE REASONS.

The second reason for the creation of the League of Nations was the fact that under the fourteen points of Wilson one essential thing was the right of self-determination. Under that head a number of small countries of Central Europe came into being claiming independence under that principle. Those countries wanted to have nothing more to do with Germany or Austria. Their claim could not be resisted with the result that a number of small independent countries came into being, which if left alone, there would have followed undoubtedly a war either by the countries from which those countries were taken away or by their neighbours. So these small independent countries which had come into being on the conclusion of the war needed a protector and no one of the belligerents could possibly come forward to protect them, because that again would have meant disturbance of the balance which had been arrived at through the peace terms. So all the belligerents agreed that the League of Nations would be the institution which would guarantee these small nations which had won their freedom newly against all aggression or against all wars of aggression. Thus the security for the independent and newly created nations demanded the creation of an all-world institution. That is the second reason for the conclusion of the Peace of Versailles necessitating the creation of the League of Nations.

The third reason was this. The great war had created ravages throughout the world and in particular in Europe. Who was responsible for making good that damage? Those countries

undoubtedly would be financially incapable of putting right the damage done during the war. No other country could come forward to put right that damage. The result was that a sort of co-operative society, the League of Nations was necessary in order to save those countries and put right the ravages made during the war by the belligerents. There were thousands and thousands of refugees who had to be restored to their respective countries, there were thousands and thousands of prisoners who had to be sent back to their own countries. The misery of these refugees and these prisoners, those who had access to the blue books of the League of Nations can realise, was simply unspeakable; and that work had to be done by an institution which would have moral and financial support of the civilised world behind it and that institution was the League of Nations. The work done by the League in this connection is something commendable and the number of volunteer workers of great eminence, of great organising capacity really reveals the pleasing fact that the power to do good, the power to do charitable work honorarily does exist in the world to a very remarkable extent indeed.

MAKING THE WORLD SAFE

This leads me to say that the aftermath of the Great War so far as humanity is concerned consisted in making the world safe for peace, consisted in putting right the damage done by the war and in the third place consisted in insuring the safety of the new nations and fourthly in making sure that in future such wars did not recur.

Now it is generally said that only if Britain, France and America would disarm themselves war will come to an end. I venture to disagree with that statement. Reduction in armaments cannot prevent war. It can only prevent war from the very beginning being on a very large scale. Even with such armaments as all nations agree should be kept by the different nations the possibility of the occurrence of war is not excluded; only its being very violent at its first stage is excluded or minimised. What really is needed is the development of an international mentality which will not permit the nations to get into a rage with one another, which will make the nations think calmly and dispassionately and make them have their disputes settled by pacific means. After all the nations come to

war on some one or other question either of financial gain or loss or of prestige which again can be traced back to some financial consideration or other. Is it not possible, the league asked, for these financial gains or losses to be so adjusted and settled as to prevent the occurrence of war? Therefore the proposal has been in the past and is now that the world can be made secure for peace if such a mentality is developed in the new generation which prefers settlement of disputes by pacific means to appeal to brute force. That is the message of the League to the young generation, because after all it is the mentality of the new generation, which will prevent recourse to war in the future. It is said that in order to make sure that a machinery exists for the settlement of all disputes, what is needed is a Court of Justice staffed by men of great probity, of very great learning in the International Law. That is one prominent part of the League of Nations, the Court of Justice. In order to have a supply of such great scholars and the material they need, the League of Nations has been taking pains to have international understandings codified and made definite. A great deal of work in that direction has been done. The Court of Justice functions in matters that are referred to it, it decides all disputes, and without being idealistic or partisan so far as the League is concerned, I think I can with justice claim that during the past 5 or 9 years the League has succeeded in preventing the occurrence of a great war. Those who know the conditions of Central Europe and the number of innumerable problems any one of which could have inflamed one country to go to war will realise that this service alone rendered by the League is of very considerable value to humanity. The League has done more. It has created or has tended to create a mentality which is more sober, more thoughtful, more anxious to avoid recurrence to brute force than the one which existed before the war. The mentality before the war was in leading countries of Europe one that was like a box of matches. Just the smallest flicker of fire was enough to set it ablaze and burn down the civilisation that existed then. The mentality to-day, whether in the universities or in public life is such in most countries that people are inclined to weigh in the balance of their own judgment the disputes that may come forward for settlement.

Then the next function of the League is to make the world safe against disease, against

epidemics that cause ravages in the world. That again is a work which no one nation can do. That is a calamity from which no nation, however well administered, can save itself, and therefore it is necessary that all nations should combine together to take steps against the prevalence of epidemic diseases or such diseases as travel from one country to another. In this direction the work done by the League is very considerable. The establishment of a Bureau at Singapore, the establishment of the various understandings between the nations are such that they are a very considerable advance over the arrangements that subsisted before 1919.

INDIA'S PART

In this connection I may mention that India's part in the work of the League of Nations has been acknowledged by the League to be of very considerable value. This fact, I have no doubt, will be acclaimed with great joy by you, because some people have been taking pains to show that India is so backward and so ill-administered as to be a danger to the civilised world. That is a contention which the League of Nations would repudiate if it were put in that way.

The other work which I should just touch upon, but on which I do not propose to dwell at length, is the work of international intellectual co-operation, the evolution of a mentality which I was just now discussing. The League of Nations believes that the mentality to be developed is an international mentality and not national mentality in the sense that it develops a sort of individualism in terms of the nation which may encourage conflict with other nations. It does not discourage patriotism, but it does encourage internationalism. It aims at involving an international culture in preference to evolving individualistic culture. By individualistic culture I mean individualistic with reference to a particular nation. The object to be aimed at is that each nation should contribute the best of it to the evolution of the international culture which would be the joint culture of all civilised nations of the world rather than each one nation should develop an individual national culture of its own which may become intolerant and aggressive to its neighbours. The result achieved in this direction, I may say from such little experience as I had the occasion to acquire, is very considerable. I have seen in Paris, Germans, Russians and other

people who were believed to be intolerant of France coming there, staying there to acquire those international ideals and study the way they work in France and taking them back with the object of starting similar institutions in their own country. That is a thing which it is worthwhile for India also to learn, not so much in respect of other nations as in respect of the various communities that live in India. If in the League of Nations the members of different countries professing different religions at different stages of civilisation could meet together and try to evolve an international mentality, is it impossible for the Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Parsis, Sikhs here in India to evolve an Indian mentality where the best of each mentality will be reproduced and what is not the best in each of these mentalities will not be brought in? I say with great pleasure that that is the mentality which you young men tend to develop when you are in Europe and which unfortunately you tend to set aside when you have lived again in your own country for some years. We must consider the reasons for this change. We must try to do away with the circumstances which effect that change. I had very great pleasure in meeting a very large number of Punjabi students in Europe; and so far as I could gather the mentality they had was anything but either Muslim or Hindu or Sikh. They had very strongly developed what I would call Indian mentality and their relations later so were of the most cordial nature and it was impossible for Europeans who came across them to realise that those who profess the religions of these students in India could on religious ground be at war with one another. That is of course by the way. But that is the lesson which I have no doubt we should learn from this great institution, the League of Nations.

CONSTITUTION OF THE LEAGUE.

I should now proceed to state what the constitution of the League of Nations is and how the objects they have in view they try to achieve through that constitution. The League of Nations consists of firstly the Assembly of the League of Nations. There are as many as 55 nations represented on it. In Europe there is not a single nation except one which is not represented on it. In Asia, Japan, China, India, Persia and Siam are on it. Thus you

will see that barring Russia, Turkey, Arabia and Afghanistan, all the Asiatic powers are on it, others being mandatory. There is a crowd of Latin American nations that are members of the League. They have an excellent time of it, because the League of Nations is a democratic institution, the nation that pays a thousand rupees towards contribution has a vote as against another nation which pays perhaps one hundred thousand rupees. So whenever there is anything coming in of the nature of election and so on, you will find the Latin American powers always having their own way. Similarly small powers of Northern Europe such as Sweden, Norway, Denmark and Finland, these acquire a great deal of prominence there. Really small powers rule the League of Nations, so far as one can see. The President of the Assembly this year is De Guine, representative of Peruquay, one of these small powers. We the Indian representatives used to say in Geneva that they are not big enough to be compared with the Central Provinces or the North-West Frontier Province. But I assure you they produce men of extra-ordinarily great ability and learning. The President of the Assembly is a representative of Peruquay. I am sure I did not know where Peruquay was on the map of the world before I went to Geneva.

Now coming to the election to the Council of the League of Nations, there were three vacancies and Belgium which had been on the Council of the League since its inception, that is for seven or eight years, could not stand in the Council elections unless the Assembly by two-thirds majority permitted it to be eligible for election. Keeping in mind what Belgium had suffered terribly during the war every one felt that Belgium by getting this two-thirds majority will become eligible for election. But when the votes were taken Belgium did not get the two-thirds majority. The chief reason was that the Assembly felt that if they had made a rule that a special majority is required to become eligible for election and if they did not want these seats in the Council to become any one country's preserve for ever, it is necessary for the Assembly to assert its independence and to act according to the general rule and not give eligibility. The spirit in which the Foreign Minister of Belgium stood up and spoke on the platform after the result was announced was remarkable. "We no doubt are unhappy because we are no longer to be on the

Council on which we had served for eight years, but I assure the Assembly that that will not prevent us from continuing to owe allegiance to the League as we have been doing." There was a very great applause from every quarter of the Assembly on that announcement.

Now coming to the elections, you will be surprised to hear that the nation that polled the largest number of votes was Cuba, getting 40 votes. The next one was Finland getting 36 votes. For the first time in the history of the League of Nations the Colony of Canada got in with 26 votes and the one that was left out got 24 votes. So you will see that it was a narrow shave. Sir Austen Chamberlain was suspected of having helped Canada and it was said that but for the joint vote of the various members of the British Empire Canada would not have got in. There was much heartburning just as there are in the elections to the Punjab Council and various clubs and Committees and so on. That only shows how very much alike human beings in various parts of the world are to each other.

THE ASSEMBLY.

Now passing on to the constitution of the Assembly, I was saying that there are 55 nations. The main nations that are out of it are Russia, United States of America and Turkey. As I said before it is curious that Russia and America which have done so much in connection with the principle on which the League of Nations is based should remain out of it. The peculiar feature of the Assembly is that first of all there is a very general discussion in which every member makes a long speech which is listened to by some and not listened to by many till the work is split up and handed over to various committees. There are as many as six committees of the Assembly. The first one deals with legal matters, international law and so on. The second which is called Technical Organisations Committee is a very interesting committee and probably the most interesting of all. It deals with public health organisation, international intellectual co-operation, economic matters, matters relating to refugees, how to settle them and how to help them and so on. The third committee is one which deals with armaments. From the point of view of the League of Nations this is the most important committee. This committee sits for hours and

hours and for two weeks running and the members of the committee insist that their speeches should be recorded verbatim and circulated before the next day. I believe extracts from them were at once telegraphed all over Europe. The fourth committee is the Finance Committee. It is generally not an interesting body, but this year it afforded considerable interest and to philosophically minded people some amusement. The fifth one was the so-called Women's Committee, dealing with very interesting subjects of a moral nature such as child welfare, slave trade, opium, alcohol, how to improve the world on moral lines and so on. The sixth committee was the Mandatory Commission dealing with mandatory states.

The particularly noticeable point about the whole thing is this. In the committee you can carry your point by a majority, you may have a matter decided in a committee by a majority of votes, but that decision is not of any value unless it is ratified by the Assembly and in the Assembly you cannot have it ratified unless it be by the unanimous vote of the Assembly. Therefore what happens is that unless you have squared your opponents in the committee so that they may not oppose you in the Assembly the decision obtained from the committee by a majority is valueless. That is a very interesting point. Because an institution which is based on this principle that nothing can be said to have been decided by it unless it is decided unanimously by the 55 nations of the world must have great force behind it. At first it may look all nonsense to have an institution like that, it may appear that such an institution cannot exist, cannot work, cannot do any good because out of the 55 nations there will be at least one which will not agree with the rest. But I may assure you that although I myself entertained that belief, at Geneva I found that somehow or other absolutely divergent views expressed in committees gradually tended to come nearer to each other till they coalesced, and if they did not coalesce in the committee, they did coalesce in the Assembly.

One may ask the question, how is it that when there is what we call honest difference of opinion, where every one has got a right to his own opinion, how can a man who has got up on his legs and said 'my view is so and so on such and such a question' with what sense can he an hour or two hence just put away what he has said and accept something else?

I have seen it done and I assure you I have seen it done by men for whom I entertain the highest respect and I have no doubt if you knew them you will also entertain very high respect for them. What was agreed upon towards the end in most cases was the thing which neither side could have said 'this was my view'. The whole thing came gradually so close to each other that eventually there was but one view and either side could say 'this is my view'. In the Indian delegation to the Assembly there were two of us, myself and Lord Lytton who were new to the Assembly. Lord Lytton said "This is marvellous, the way the people fight and fight and at last there is but one view". What is the trick about it? We came to the conclusion that it is the necessity of agreement which has got a great moral effect. They all know that if they differ they can do nothing. They all know that there is a great deal of force in their individual views, but if they had to achieve anything they must agree and therefore they tend to agree and eventually do agree. I may illustrate this point. There was one point on which there was no agreement. In the Finance Committee it was decided that a certain work which the International Law Committee had urged should be done need not be done this year as the budget provision was very small already and that it might better wait till next year. Ordinarily no one would have bothered about it. This decision was communicated to the first committee by the fourth committee and we thought the matter had ended there. But the first committee stood out and agitated and agitated over the matter in the Assembly and when the votes were taken they were in favour of the view which was opposed to the view of the fourth committee, the Finance Committee. A great difficulty arose because under the law the decision of the fourth committee would stand although the Assembly had decided against it by a majority of votes. Then they referred to some more rules and it was decided that under the circumstances in deference to the Assembly's wishes the fourth committee might be asked to reconsider the matter. This decision was arrived at about 7.30 in the evening. The fourth committee met at 9 o'clock and there was fierce discussion and at half past eleven I ventured to get up and say "Had I gone yesterday from Geneva I would have taken with me what may be called the great Geneva

spirit of conciliation, but here I find the discussion going on not in the Geneva spirit." That made some people think a little, and would you believe it, about three quarters of an hour later we were all friends and we had arrived at unanimity and the following morning the Assembly passed unanimously a resolution on this very point and neither party was dissatisfied. The reason why I emphasise this point is that here in India we are inclined to lay so much stress upon 'my view' and urging that 'my view' must be right and there is something derogatory and even immoral in surrendering 'my view.' I do not find that mentality in the west or at all events in the Assembly of the League of Nations.

Passing on from the Assembly to the Council of the League there are some permanent members of the Council and some elected members. The canvassing for these elections is more intense, more thorough than in India but on the day after the elections no impression whatsoever of the election is left. That is another thing which we might very well copy from the League of Nations.

Besides the Council of the League of Nations, there is one institution which I must not forget to mention, that is the Secretariat. The Secretariat of the League of Nations is something really wonderful. The amount of work they get through, and the thoroughness of that work are remarkable. The proceedings of the committees and of the Assembly that had concluded at 7.30 in the evening were in our hands at 8.30 next morning and distributed all over Geneva. Not only is the despatch of work in the Secretariat very quick, but when a problem is sent to it for investigation, the investigation they make is so thorough, there is so much scholarly research in it that one cannot help admiring it. The investigation, the documentation and despatch, all three are developed to the very highest limit of efficiency.

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE.

The fourth institution is the International Labour Office. I think that I have no time to enter upon its constitution or its work, but I must say this much that the International Labour Office has a very considerable share in making the world safe against disturbances or against war. The work done by the Labour

Office is such that it must have our unstinted applause and appreciation.

These are the various institutions of the League of Nations. I cannot compare the work of this one with that of the other within the short time at my disposal. The Armaments Year-Book that is produced by the League of Nations places the position of each country so clearly that it would be a rash country which decides to enter upon a war with its neighbour or somebody else knowing full well their strength. This year the Assembly passed a resolution in connection with the armaments making the world safe against war. The occasion was most impressive, because the President called upon each nation to stand up and announce that it is against all wars, that it has been and will remain against all wars of aggression and so on.

Now, very naturally you would expect me to say something about the position of India in the League of Nations. What is India's position there? The position of your country in the League is this. As I have told you before, most of the countries, independent countries of the world, are already members of the League except Russia, United States of America and Turkey. In Asia every country except Russia, Afghanistan and Arabia are in the League. When you realise that in 1919 when the League of Nations came into being, and India became one of the original members of the League it was to a certain extent due to "Riayat" or a fluke, because admittedly India was not an Independent country and as such its right to be a member of the League might have been questioned and if any body had questioned it, it would have been extremely difficult for India to assert that it was entitled to be in the League, but in as much as it is one of the original members of the League of Nations that stage of questioning its right to be there is past. Therefore India is now in its own right a member of the League. Whether having become in its own right an original member of the League it will keep up its own position in the world in the comity of nations it is for India itself to determine. But I can tell you this much, that the record of work of India's representatives in the League is by no means a poor one. Those who have represented India in the past have contributed in many departments of the League of Nations such solid work

and India herself, I mean the Government of India, in the matter of health organisation, economic conference and one or two other matters has done so much and has shown such readiness to do good that members of the League entertain a good opinion of your country. I will not let this matter rest here in general terms. Presently I shall show that what I am saying is not merely by way of platitudes to please you but is based on hard facts. You will realise that the League of Nations, and especially its fifth committee which is called the Women's Committee, is very keen on the question of doing away progressively with opium traffic. Opium is produced mostly in India. Now a demand of that sort coming from the League of Nations in the interests of the nations other than India involves a certain amount of financial sacrifice. After a good deal of consideration your Government has decided to sacrifice its finances in order to comply with the wishes of the League that India should not produce opium which opium was being used in China and other countries to demoralise human beings. The League of Nations records that this financial sacrifice on the part of India was a most praiseworthy act in the interests of humanity at large and for this reason they entertain a very high opinion of India. On the whole they are justified in doing so, because in the civilised world if there is one thing which is the acid test of a man's honesty of purpose it is the financial sacrifice aspect of it. Besides its sacrifice in the matter of opium you will realise that the question of slave trade has been put before the League of Nations. There again it was pointed out that there were some places in India where slavery still existed. Government of India at once gave an assurance to the League that it shall cease and you may remember last year Lord Ierwin went to Baluchistan and took pains to have that removed. Otherwise that would have been urged by your detractors against you. That again was a demonstration for the League of Nations of the good-will of India to help humanity at large, in doing away with slavery. These are specific instances which show the good faith of your country and a definite proof of the anxiety of India to be in the forefront of advance in the humanitarian work of the League. Again in the matter of health organisations India has taken on herself the duty

of sending one of its officers to serve as chairman of the Board at Singapore, to the Paris Conference and so on so as to keep in touch with the health work which is done everywhere. That again is a direct evidence of India's anxiety to do all it can to help the progress of the world at large.

LEAGUE AND INDIA.

You must disabuse your mind of one idea and that is, what has the League done for India itself? The jurisdiction of the League of Nations extends to matters international and not national. The League can do nothing with the problems of a country which are its internal problems. A moment's consideration will show you that if the League did not set to itself this rule, it could not exist for a day. If the League were to enquire into the internal problems of one member, what would be the result? All members of the League would say, well if you are going to look into our private affairs we would better keep away from you. Considering that the League is organised on the principle of securing unanimity in all matters it would be fatal for the League to interfere with any one member's internal affairs. Therefore India is not to expect anything from the League of Nations in the matter of internal administration, I mean reforms and so on. That is a matter between India and Great Britain. That is not a matter on which the intervention of the League can either be expected or solicited. But indirectly India does stand to gain something in that matter as well. You may ask, in what way? It is in this way. If in the League of Nations the representatives of India create a certain impression as to the status of their country, as to their own ability, is it likely that that will not weigh with the British public? If the League spoke highly of Indians serving on it, is it likely that the British Parliament can ignore that opinion? No. Certainly not. My opinion is that the extent to which the representatives of India impress upon the other members of the League the worth of India, will certainly be a factor to be taken into account in determining whether further reforms should be given or not. You should not expect any help from the League of Nations in the matter of your political advance, but you can count upon the impression you create in the League of Nations going in

your favour when Parliament is deliberating over your capacity for advance.

Now I shall refer to the contributions to the League without which the work cannot be carried on. Small powers, Cuba, Finland and so on, they only pay with reference to their resources. If these countries are as big as one of your divisions, naturally you cannot expect their contributions to be anything near the contribution of India. India is, I think, about the seventh or the eighth in the list of those whose contributions are considerable. India has to pay a considerable sum, but on the whole I think the money spent is not wasted.

CONCLUSION.

To sum up what I have been saying. The League of Nations was absolutely necessary in view of bringing the great war to an end; it had started with certain ideals and certain machinery was set up to achieve those ideals; although the achievement secured by now are not in proportion to the expectations of the feverish days of idealism of 1919, still very considerable and substantial work has been done during the last eight years; although war has not become impossible for the future still so much is to the good that no war has taken place during the eight years and as time passes the possibility of recurrence of war to that extent has become less persistent. The other work which I consider real solid work, that is to say the evolution of international mentality making the world safe against epidemics, helping each other on the occurrence of natural calamities like earthquakes, floods and so on, these are the things which bring human beings closer to each other and thus develop a certain kinship of humanity leading to international mentality that India has done a fair amount of good in the deliberations of the League of Nations, that thereby it has undoubtedly strengthened its own position in the comity of nations and though directly India cannot expect any advantage whatsoever, indirectly there is something to be gained as well, that some of the problems which the League took up deserve the keenest enquiry and most thorough study by thoughtful Indians, that if those principles that more than one great statesman of Europe have laid down were comprehended and acted upon we would be absolutely safe against wars of all descriptions.

In this connection, I remember very well Herr Streschmann, the Foreign Minister of Germany's words during the course of his speech—"what is needed to make the world safe against war is that there should be *common standards of*

effort, of intelligence and of living." You just ponder if we bring about common standards of effort and of intelligence and of living in our country whether India would not become safe against all intercommunal or political troubles.

THE LATE LORD OXFORD AND ASQUITH.

By MR. HIRA LAL CHATTERJI, M.A.

The third decade of the century has offered a rich harvest to the scythe of Death. Lord Morley, Lord Curzon and Lord Oxford the three most remarkable personalities who went through the stormiest phases of political agitation and whose written and spoken words have swayed vast masses of men—have passed away only within a brief quinquennium. They loved literature deeply—but rated it below life. They have left a fascinating legacy in the shape of recollections and reminiscences which have enriched the realm of autobiography. In the field of politics they had this in common, that they had not the war mind: in social circles they remained a trifle glacial—in the midst of friends they bubbled over with mirth and laughter—and in the sphere of literature each had a unique style "touching with ease, grace and precision almost any note in the gamut of human thought." They were also steeped in the Victorian traditions and fought for the later nineteenth century ideals, and they impressed their age as Titans filled with a passionate desire for reform in all the branches of administration.

When Lord Oxford's *Fifty years of Parliament* was published about the middle of 1926, little did any one imagine that the fatal Sisters with their abhorred shears would slit the fine-spun thread of his life in the course of the next fifteen months; yet they have remorselessly wreaked their malice, and one of the foremost men in the tide of times has been laid low. The obituary notices and funeral orations have stressed many noble points in Lord Oxford's character and career. One thing stands out

clearly. There was no mixture of the pedant and the parvenu in his composition. Some men kindle momentarily and then are extinguished: others flash at midnight or blaze at noon-day, very few can scintillate throughout their public life. Lord Oxford however burned always with a gem-like lustre, and he sustained his level through good and ill. The pattern was uniform. It was not of mingled yarn. Modern democracy has thrown up many crude types like strange monsters cast from the ooze of the Sea. More especially has it accentuated the eternal Jingo which lies at the basis of an Englishman's character and which remains suppressed because of severe discipline and rigorous training; but the hot sun brings forth the adder; insolence, bluster, gasconade—these peep through the veil during the clash of racial ideals and conflict of interests. Lord Oxford, to his lasting credit be it said, never succumbed to the Imperialistic vices. At his university among a blazing constellation he shone with a splendour of his own. A writer in the course of an interesting sketch in the Pioneer says that *Caesarian* was the adjective applied to him during his Oxford days and there has always been something Imperial about Asquith the "Statesman." That may be true, but there was no trace of the unmitigated braggart—no self apotheosis, no megalomania which, according to a modern historian, is so rife in evidence in the present age. Moreover he was rigidly honest in his dealings and never threw his colleagues to the wolves as inconvenient cargo nor used them as scape-goats. He never played the role of Caesar's brilliant apologist Mark Antony when after having

consolidated his position and mobilised his resources he spoke of Lepidus, his fellow triumvir, thus:

"This is a slight, unmeritable man,
Meet to be sent on errands, is it fit,
The Three-fold world divided, he should stand,
One of the threes to share it?
And though we lay these honours on this man,
To ease ourselves of divers slanderous loads,
He shall but bear them as the ass bears gold,
To groan and sweat under the business,
Either led or driven, as we point the way;
And having brought our treasure where we will,
Then take we down his load and turn him off,
Like to the empty ass, to shake his ears,
And graze in commons."

Whatever records may be unearthed in consequence of the "grave-diggers" activities, it will not be possible to charge Lord Oxford with disloyalty or breach of faith. He had rather the Ulysean spirit: "Courage," he cried and pointed towards the land "my mariners that which we are, we are: one equal temple of heroic hearts, made weak by time and fate, but strong in will, to strive, to seek, to find, and not to yield."

As regards the permanent quality of his speeches, opinions will differ. There may be the "golden classic touch" in theme, but Lord Oxford was too self-contained and colourless

to let his voice pervade the rolling air. His accents will lose their resonance as they pass along the corridors of time. It was very rarely that he allowed the doors and windows of his soul to be flung wide to the flaming heavens. Too much logic, excessive reasoning, balanced phrases, don't go very far to awaken reverberations when the hour has lapsed. Under his words the bolts are not likely to be shot back in the heart nor would the lost pulses stir again. The speaker must now and then pause to carry the hearts of the hearers along with his own to the "coffin of Caesar." He must be humorous, fiery, impassioned, ironical, working up the emotions of the multitude to the highest pitch and filling them with the madness of wrath, when the tyrant's deeds cry aloud for justice and redress.

Like Sophocles and Socrates, Lord Oxford burnt brighter towards his close. The extreme simplicity of his burial had certainly a Socratic tinge. The ashes of a smaller man would have clamoured for an urn in the venerable abbey hallowed by the remains of saints and sages, of those who held aloft the torch of civilization and conquered the wastes of anarchy and ignorance. And so arrayed in the jewels of temperance and justice and courage and freedom and truth, Lord Oxford and Asquith has now set forth on his journey to Avalon there to be acclaimed by accordant voices as the Perfect Citizen.

THE LATE PANDIT GOPABANDHU DAS: HIS LIFE AND WORK.

I.

By MR. RADHANATH RATH.

The late Pandit Gopabandhu Das was born in 1878 in a village five miles east of Sakhigopal in the Puri District of Orissa. His father, Daitary, was a Mukhtar. Modern education had not then been introduced in the interior of Puri. To give education to his two little

sous he established an upper primary school in the village. Gopabandhu had his early education in this school for about 7 or 8 years. When he was a mere boy, he had great devotion for his family-god Shreekrishna and was very fond of reciting Shreemad Bhagvat. The greatest Oriya poet Bhakta Sanyasi Jagannath Das, had made an Oriya translation of Sreemad Bhagvat in a beautiful metre. This Bhagvat was Gopabandhu's constant

companion. Even in his boyhood he was a poet. When in Pathasala he used to compose poems and record them on palm leaves. After passing his middle vernacular examination from a neighbouring village school, he was admitted into the Government High English School at Puri. He was an ideal and a very meritorious student. In all public functions of the school he used to take the lead. Gopabandhu began his married life when he was sixteen years old, and had his first son in his eighteenth year. Subsequently he had two more sons and two daughters. But Providence spared only the two daughters. He lived as a widower since he was twenty-eight. He obtained his B.A. degree from Ravenshaw College, Cuttack and passed the B.L. examination in Calcutta in the year 1906.

In the year 1902 he decided to form a band of associates who would dedicate their lives for public work. The best and the purest of them was S^r. Harihar Das. Pt. Nilkanth, Godavarish, late Kripasindhu, and Mr. Lingaraj and others gradually came in. After his B.L. examination, Pt. Gopabandhu organised an English High School in Nūgiri, a feudatary State of Orissa. After the school was started he took to practising law. In the year 1907 when the Swadeshi movement in Bengal was going on in full swing, Pt. Gopabandhu with some of his young friends went to the interior of Puri District in Samyasi robes and preached to the people the gospel of Swadeshi and the truth of the *Bande Mataram* movement.

In the year 1908, came the terrible floods which devastated the two subdivisions of Cuttack district. There was huge loss of crops and live stocks. Gopabandhu had then organised the Young Utkal Association and with the help of the volunteers of this association he organised relief in the flooded areas. His hard and incessant labour in the flooded areas and his publicity-work brought him to the forefront of public estimation. On his invitation the representative of the *Statesman* came down to the affected area and the attention of the Government, and the Indian people was successfully drawn to the situation. Gopabandhu had to do this flood relief work for more than six months.

He practised at the bar for about two years in British Courts when he was requested by the late Maharaja Shree Ramchandra Bhanj Deo of Mayurbhanj to join his Court as State

pleader. From 1909 to 1912, Pundit Gopabandhu was his State pleader and a member of his State Council.

It was in 1912 that he first organised the Satyabadi open-air school. He was the sole director and earning member of the institution. After the sad demise of Mayurbhanj Maharaja, Shree Ramchandra, he left Mayurbhanj and came to Cuttack to practise in British Indian Courts. Just to be able to give more personal attention to the Satyabadi institution he shifted to the nearest town, Puri. He was known to be a successful pleader there. In the year 1917, he was elected a member of the Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council from the Orissa Municipal constituency and to do full justice to his public work he gave up practice. From that year he made Satyabadi his home and Ashram.

In the year 1917 Pundit Gopabandhu presided over the Utkal Union Conference and presented a constructive programme for the unification of all the vivisectioned Oriya territories. In Raipur, Fuljhar of C. P., in Singhbhoom of Chotanagpur, and in Ganjam he made extensive tours and specially organised Oriya schools in Singhbhoom and Fuljhar. His representation to the Government on the claim of the Oriyas in these territories was a monumental work. The result of the single-handed efforts of Pundit Gopabandhu had been that the Government had finally to admit the Oriya claim and recognised the Oriya Primary schools established there. He organised a 'pice fund' throughout Orissa and collected some Rs. 5,000 with which he proposed to impart Oriya education to the Oriya people of the outlying tracts. In the Council he was a successful councillor. He introduced the principle of the open air institution, and fought very hard and very ably for the revival of salt industry in Orissa coasts.

Babu Gopabandhu was an Oriya orator. His monumental institution of Satyabadi attracted great personalities like Sir Edward Gait, the then Lieutenant-Governor of Bihar and Orissa, Sir Asutosh Makerjee, Sir Devaprasad Sarbadhikari, Dr. Lancaster of England and a host of others. It was in the year 1919 when he was in Council, that the terrible Puri famine occurred. Pundit Gopabandhu immediately organised relief work. He could then enlist the sympathy and co-operation of Mahatma Gandhi and Bhai Amritlal Thakkar and with funds collected from the Indian public

and with the loving and active co-operation of Mr. Thakkar, also some of his local friends specially of his co-workers and students of Satyabadi institution, he could organise extensive relief work throughout the affected areas. His bold stand and courageous fight in the Council chamber in this connexion moved the whole Government machinery and his sincere appeal impressed the then Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Edward Gait, who personally came to the affected areas to see things for himself. Sir Edward said—"Gopabandhu, I am sorry, what ought to have been done has not been done." But even after this the soulless machinery of the Government did not do what it ought to have done. That shattered all hopes of Pundit Gopabandhu. Though he was then promised a help of about twenty thousand rupees by the Bihar and Orissa Government to organise college classes in Satyabadi school, he hesitated to have further co-operation from it. He once said—"When I remember the poor famine-stricken people in their skins and bones I feel ashamed to have any further co-operation with this Government."

It was in 1920 that Mahatma Gandhi inaugurated his non-co-operation movement. Gopabandhu had been a Congressman throughout his life, and at this psychological moment Mahatmajee's appeal touched his very heart. He then plunged into this movement with his co-workers and the whole Satyabadi institution. The Satyabadi school was already a national institution in character. It was then immediately disaffiliated from the University in obedience of the Congress mandate and Gopabandhu with his band of workers organised throughout Orissa Swarajashrams and Congress organisations.

In the year 1919 Pundit Gopabandhu first established the weekly Oriya paper, the *Sama*, to ventilate Orissa grievances and to educate Oriya public opinion. This paper has been the most influential and widely circulated national organ. Pundit Gopabandhu was the Editor of the paper till his death.

In the year 1922 when there was almost a net work of Congress organisations in Orissa and there was high emotion in the public mind about Swaraj movement, the terrible Kanika tragedy took place. There was firing on innocent and helpless tenants. Pundit Gopabandhu published the stories of these oppressions in the *Sama* and was determined to hold an

enquiry into this inhuman oppression and terrible shooting tragedy. The authorities then did not think it safe to keep Gopabandhu outside. Series of defamation cases were then instituted against him and soon after he was arrested under the Criminal Law Amendment Act. The defamation cases were defended by a tenant accused, who was a correspondent of the paper. In course of the defence, when the prosecution found that the criminal and inhuman conduct of the Cuttack police would be exposed to the public, all these cases were immediately withdrawn under false pretexts. Gopabandhu's co-accused persons made a representation to the trying magistrate that all that they have published was literally true and they would establish that in any court of law and that the withdrawal of the cases had been a cowardly act on the part of the prosecution. Pundit Gopabandhu was all along undefended. The writer remembers vividly how Punditjee shed tears sitting quietly in the Government lock-up, when he heard that Kanika oppressions and the terrible shooting tragedies would no more be brought to light. "How could God tolerate these inhumanities on His own helpless and innocent people?"—said he.

Under the Criminal Law Amendment Act Punditjee was sentenced to two years' simple imprisonment. He was released in May, 1924. On his day of arrival from prison in Orissa he was accorded a princely reception by the Orissa people. Acharya P. C. Ray rightly said on that occasion "Gopabandhu is a rare treasure of Utkal." He named him in profound affection as "Utkal-moni" (the gem of Orissa).

In 1925 he had the honour of being associated with the revered Indian leader Lala Lajpat Rai and undertook to organise a widows home and an untouchable mission. It was in February, 1926, that Punditjee became a member of the Servants of the People Society of which Lalajee is the Founder Director and began his work as desired.

As there was another heavy flood in 1925 in Puri and Cuttack Districts, Punditjee organised relief work, in which Lala Mohan Lal of the Servants of the People Society and that noble and godly Englishman, Rev. Mr. C. F. Andrews, did yeoman's service.

Soon after the flood Punditjee organised the Charkha relief and paddy husking work in Puri which he was gradually extending to other affected parts of Orissa. He also organised a

branch of the Servants of the People Society at Cuttack. As the president of the Utkal Provincial Congress Committee, and under the auspices of the Servants of the People Society he had to organise again relief work as that perpetual scourge, the floods, again visited the province in 1927. This Baitarani flood was perhaps the most devastating and dangerous flood in consequence of which lakhs of people became homeless and thousands of cattle were swept away. Pandit Gopabandhu, the friend of the poor, immediately arrived on the spot and organised relief to the best of his ability. This relief work is still in progress.

Pandit Gopabandhu Das was a silent and unostentatious worker. He was never after name or fame. His was a mission of service. Service of the poor was a passion with him. He was thoroughly national in his outlook, dress and living. He had the sincerest love for the untouchables, whenever he talked of the poor, he would shed tears. He was so patriotic and so noble that he completely identified himself with his poor people. He was a powerful speaker in his own vernacular. He could keep large audiences spell-bound when he delivered his eloquent message of love and independence. His was a mission of love and goodwill to his people and he desired to live and die every inch of himself a country's humble servant. Pandit Gopabandhu was a great thinker, a poet, and a cultured literary man. Besides editing the *Samaj* he, for a very long time was the editor and proprietor of the monthly magazine the *Salyabadi*. His editorial writings were unique and fused fresh life into the mass mind of the Oriya people. As a matter of fact, he was the maker of the modern Oriya language. His style is so simple, yet so thoughtful, so forceful and so sublime. His poetical works are rare treasures of Oriya literature. It may be said "had he given himself exclusively to literary work, he would have been the greatest poet and philosopher of Orissa."

II.

By Mr. B. S. RUTH, B.L.

With Pandit Gopabandhu Das has passed away the prince among the public workers of Orissa. Mr. M. S. Das—the Grand Old Man of the Oriyas—is still happily spared in our midst,

but he is a veteran who, after achieving unique distinction in the service of his country in his own way, had of late definitely retired from the public field leaving, as it were, to the young shoulders of Pandit Gopabandhu the task of waging the nation's battles against heavy and over-whelming odds. Pandit Gopabandhu—the hero that he was—proved equal to the command and after fighting long and valiantly at the head of the national forces of Orissa, fell—sword in hand—in the forefront. By his death to-day Orissa appears widowed, and the public life of the province is without a leader.

Pandit Gopabandhu Das's life and work furnish an object lesson for the generality of the national workers in this country, and are typical of the careers of the great majority of distinguished Indians that were born in the nineteenth century and lent lustre to the name of their Motherland. Born in a middle-class Brahmin family in a hamlet in the neighbourhood of Puri, at the far end of the seventies Gopabandhu imbibed the three R's in his village Patasala amidst incredibly crude conditions. He then joined the Puri Zilla School with a view to read English, wherefrom he proceeded to the Ravenshaw College at Cuttack for higher studies. He graduated from that institution in due course, and subsequently qualified himself in Law in Calcutta.

Of Gopabandhu's boyhood much is not known to many, but several interesting anecdotes are told relative to the period when he was in the College at Cuttack and in Calcutta respectively, which amply foretold of his future greatness. After graduating himself in Law, Pandit Gopabandhu, after a brief interval of school teaching settled down as a lawyer for a time at Puri and then at Cuttack and though he was by no means endowed with anything like the forensic brilliance of a Nehru, Jinnah or Das he easily pushed his way to the forefront of his profession in Orissa. It is significant in this connection that ere long he was selected as the Legal Adviser of Mayurbhanj—the biggest Feudatory State of Orissa. But the soul-stealing occupation which deadens, man, day by day, to the higher aspects of his existence, had no attraction for him, and at the earliest opportunity he quitted it, deeming the sacrifice almost as a deliverance.

From even his young days, while he was in the Zilla School at Puri, Pandit Gopabandhu had been always taking a keen interest in all

the public movements of his day, but after steering clear of the siren voice of the Law he devoted every moment of his existence to ameliorating the extremely low and backward condition of the fellow people of his province, viz., the Oriyas. When Gandhiji started his Non-Co-operation Movement, Pandit Gopabandhu plunged into the agitation; and the progress which that movement was able to achieve in Orissa should be set down almost wholly and entirely to the active work and propaganda carried on by him. Always an 'unsafe man' in the eyes of the authorities, because of his fearless advocacy of the cause of the downtrodden Oriyas both in the Legislative Council and elsewhere, Pandit Gopabandhu incurred the penalty of the Law in connection with his preaching of Non-Co-operation and had to suffer imprisonment for two years which he bore with extraordinary cheerfulness.

WORK DURING NON-CO-OPERATION.

What appealed to Pandit Gopabandhu Das about the Non-Co-operation movement was the constructive achievements of which it was capable. In particular, the idea of khaddar captured him completely, and in it he found the one panacea for improving the condition of the poverty-stricken people of his province. During the last few years of his life he threw himself heart and soul into the preaching of khaddar; and if to-day thousands of charkas are plying in the flood-affected areas and in other parts of Orissa, it is due more to his single handed endeavour in that direction than to the activities of any other individual or organisation.

Pandit Gopabandhu possessed many admirable qualities of head and heart, and in his make up he exhibited a harmonious admixture of apparently opposite traits. In figurative phraseology, he could wield the sword as dexterously as the pen, and he was a fighting politician and a philosophic poet exquisitely blended into one. Those outside Orissa may not be aware that he has written some of the very best poetry in his mother tongue, and his prose writings—occasional as they are—are among the richest treasures in the Oriya language. Competent critics say that his life sketch of Gokhale remains the finest pen portrait of that guardian angel of political India, whether in the vernacular or in English. His

writings in English are not ample, but he commanded an exquisite style in that language too—a fact which will be easily borne out by everybody who had any opportunity of working with him in the public field.

Scornful of the usual ado and trappings of platform speaking, yet Pandit Gopabandhu was an orator of up-to-date taste both in Oriya and English. Dreading lime-light as anathema, he never cared to win laurels on the Congress platform by an exhibition of his oratorical abilities. But he simply carried off the feet his audience whenever and wherever he addressed; and many an instance is known of his public lectures at which fools who came to scoff remained to pay. Many fine passages from his extempore outpourings are being repeated all over Orissa for their classic beauty and aptness.

In political faith Pandit Gopabandhu Das was a true Nationalist of Lala Lajpat Rai's type. True to the teachings of Gokhale, his political 'Guru'—he believed that the task of achieving Swaraj for India lay as much—if not more—in the direction of uplifting national character and promoting the social welfare of the people as in coming into close grips with the Government in a pitched battle on any political issue. Rural reconstruction and social reform were accordingly the key-note of his public work, and he deemed no pains too exacting and no price too heavy to be invested in those directions.

Pandit Gopabandhu was an acknowledged pioneer in the field of National Education in India. The admirable institution which he had organised at Satyabadi enjoyed all-India celebrity as one of the ideal centres of fashioning patriotic citizens. The institution collapsed when those in actual charge of it, swayed by the impulse of the Non-Co-operation movement, transferred their enthusiasm and affections to political work—but for which course an excellent monument should have been now standing to Pandit Gopabandhu's memory in the vicinity of the village where he was born.

Always and in every respect Indian in his spirit and outlook, Pandit Gopabandhu was not a red-hot social reformer; but he was clearly against superstitions of all kinds and was positively in favour of certain really progressive measures of social reform. He was against child marriage, was always endeavouring to promote female education and was a staunch advocate of the remarriage of widows. In his

last days with the help of certain philanthropists of the Punjab, he had started an ashram for widows at Puri, which by his death now loses its parent and protector. A true worker that he was, there was nothing he hated so much as the public gaze, and like Messrs. Rajagopalachari and Rajendra Prasad he always amidst his multifarious activities liked to keep himself in the background, directing movements and operations from comparative obscurity. No sympathiser of class war, he was essentially a friend of the poor and the oppressed. That he might appreciate better their wants and difficulties, he always loved to live as much as possible amidst them and in their company. The great Leader of Orissa, that he was, he was simple as a child and had always a kindly smile to return to everybody—whether friend or foe—and that amidst the heat and bustle of political fights.

Last but not least, Pandit Gopabandhu Das was a devotee of the truest type, as has been the case with all great Indians—both in the past and in the present. His public spiritedness and politics proceeded from a full and proper conception of religion. During every moment of his crowded career—in thought,

word and deed—he centred his attention upwards in God, and it was impossible to remain for five minutes in his presence without realising the holy atmosphere that pervaded round him. It was a lovable trait in his character that whenever he could snatch a moment's respite from his hundredfold socio-political preoccupations, he used to plunge himself into some book or other, and this book in ninety cases out of a hundred, was a religious treatise—Hindu, Christian, Mahomedan or Buddhist. Pandit Gopabandhu carried with him a copy of the Bhagavata wherever he went, and he read it so constantly and with such care that he knew by rote from cover to cover all the chapters of that work.

The altruistic nature of the man blossomed in all its beauty and fragrance in his last moments when by his will he bequeathed all the fortunes he possessed for philanthropic purposes with a view to the social and educational upliftment of his backward brethren. Such in scanty outlines was Pandit Gopabandhu—the Utkal Muni—as the Oriyas know him; and the loss that Orissa has sustained by his death is simply too deep for words to tell, and the sense of it too stupendous for tears to wipe away.

THE INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION.

Contributed by MR. SAHID SUHRAWARDY, M.A.

Is it possible, by concerted, systematic international action, to perfect and intensify intellectual intercourse among the peoples of the world; to develop their knowledge of one another—an essential factor in the preservation of peace—and to increase the assistance they give one another in science, literature, and the advancement of general education? Is it possible morally and materially to improve the conditions of intellectual labour by co-operative action? And is the Organisation created by the League of Nations at Geneva and Paris

capable of any contribution in this direction? In the following pages an attempt has been made to provide the foundations of a reasoned opinion on these questions, more particularly the last.

I.

HISTORICAL.

In the movement for international reorganisation which took its rise at the end of the war

and has found its highest expression in the League of Nations, the problems of intellectual life could not be ignored. When labour, health, transit, and many other aspects of life had been dealt with at Geneva by the method of international co-operation, it was felt that advantage should also be taken of the general spirit of goodwill to achieve some progress in the field of science, literature, art, and education.

There existed already a number of institutions concerned with intellectual co-operation in various forms. There was the Berne Office for literary property; the International Research Council for co-operation in the exact and natural sciences; the International Academic Union for the historical, philological, moral, and social sciences; the International Literary and Artistic Association; the Institute of International Law; the Academy of International Law at the Hague; the International Bibliographical Institute at Brussels; and countless other international institutes, bureaux, federations, and associations, each endeavouring within its own specific field to promote mutual understanding among intellectual workers in all countries and to induce them to co-operate.

Most of these bodies, however, were not in fact completely international. Many were private, or at best semi-official. Many had been weakened by the war. All were specialised; not one was qualified to co-ordinate the efforts of all the others, and scarcely one could lay international agreements before the Governments with any hope of getting them accepted without lengthy delays; not one had been formed for the specific purpose of considering the vital intellectual interests of mankind, the broad channels of mental progress, and the general scheme of international co-operation.

No sooner was the war at an end than appeals were made to the League of Nations to undertake this task.

On December 18th, 1920, the Assembly of the League passed a resolution calling upon the Council to "associate itself as closely as possible with all methods tending to bring about the international organisation of intellectual work." Promptly the Secretary-General considered the establishment of a new organisation. On September 2nd, 1921, the Council adopted a proposal by M. Leon Bourgeois for the appointment of "a Committee to examine international questions regarding intellectual co-

operation and education," and this was later approved by the Assembly.

In 1922, acting on a report by Mr. Gilbert Murray, Professor in the University of Oxford and delegate of South Africa, the Assembly set up the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation. "Composed of the persons best qualified to deal with matters of education and science," it was to study on broad lines how existing international intellectual relations might be simplified, clarified, and amplified.

The Committee, composed at first of twelve and afterwards of fifteen members, began its work in 1922 under the direction of M. Bergson. With League funds amounting to about 100,000 gold francs, with only two or three permanent secretaries and experts to carry on its work between sessions, the Committee soon realised that through it might trace out a programme, it could not put it into practice; though it might make proposals, it could not translate them into action. Just as the Health Committee had quickly found itself compelled to set up an International Health Organisation, for which funds were given by the Rockefeller Foundation; so the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation had need of some kind of permanent office, adequately equipped with funds and staff to undertake far-reaching enquiries and complicated negotiations.

This time it was not America who came forward to bear the cost, but France. The offer was made in a letter from M. Francois-Albert, Minister of Education, in July, 1924. The French Government's only condition was that the organisation should have its head-quarters in Paris; that apart, the League, through the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, would have a free hand in regard to management.

The proposal was accepted, and in September, 1924, the Council and Assembly of the League decided to establish the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation.

It may be seen from the minutes of a very full discussion that the Assembly took the view that it was founding a clearing-house for international intellectual relations.

In December, 1924, the Council approved the terms of a letter from the French Prime Minister laying down general rules for the working of the Institute and embodying its constitution. In May, 1925, the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation worked out the details of the organisation, in accordance with the

Council's decisions and the wishes of the donor, the French Government.

The parties to the contract thought that, to begin with, an annual grant of 2,000,000 French francs should suffice for an organisation which was to be neither too small nor too ambitious. Seven sections corresponding to the main groups of problems to be solved; a score of international officials with the indispensable minimum of assistants; funds for investigations on which to base organising schemes, for publications (indispensable as propaganda), for travelling, for meetings of experts (without which the conclusion of international agreements is often indefinitely deferred), for receptions, a matter in which an international centre opened at Paris cannot afford to be parsimonious: such was the skeleton of the new Institute.

It was inaugurated in January, 1926, in the fine building that still houses it—the Montpensier Wing of the Palais Royal, placed at the League's disposal by the French Government.

The creation of the Institute gave an impulse to the movement towards international co-ordination in the intellectual field around the League of Nations. Thirty-two countries have now set up national Committees on Intellectual Co-operation, each gathering up the best elements in intellectual life, and keeping in constant touch with the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation and the International Institute. Thirty-five Governments have appointed official delegates to the Institute; these delegates are mostly diplomats, and act as links between their administrative authorities at home and the Institute.

The Institute's first year of life had to be spent principally in adjusting the machinery. Nonetheless, in July, 1926, only six months after its inauguration, the rapporteur of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation* could say:

"In six months, a far larger number of schemes have been set on foot, and even carried through, than could have been expected. The Institute has fully understood its *raison d'être*, viz., to create or perfect instruments of work and methods of promoting intellectual life and intellectual interchange; to act, above all, as a centre of liaison—in a word, to do a service and not to lay down the law. What is expected

of it by the world of learning, art and letters is not loudly-heralded suggestions or grandiose schemes, but expert work."

In September of the same year the Assembly of the League unanimously passed the following resolution:

"The Assembly approves the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation, as at present constituted—with the International Committee and its Sub-Committees, the National Committees and the International Institute. It considers that this organisation now provides a mechanism capable of strengthening the intellectual relations between nations and of improving the conditions of intellectual work in the world. It notes with satisfaction the assurance given by the Governing Body of the International Institute to the effect that that institution is so conducted as to ensure perfect equality of treatment between all nations. It draws the attention of all the Members of the Assembly to the felicitous steps taken by Poland and by Czechoslovakia, which, following France's generous action, have granted a subsidy to the International Institute.

"Further, the Assembly wishes to emphasise the practical character and the expediency of the plans for international intellectual co-operation which the Committee and the Institute are, at the present moment, proceeding to carry out. It lays particular stress on the importance of the following plans: the convening of a congress of popular art; the creation of an international museums office; the union of libraries of all countries in order to facilitate research by the public; the co-ordination, by means of international collaboration, of the analytical bibliographies of the various sciences."

Thus the Organisation for Intellectual Co-operation is now constituted in this way:

- (1) A National Committee in each country;
- (2) The International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, sub-divided into a number of specialised Sub-Committees;†
- (3) The International Committee's executive machine—the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, supported by Government delegates.

†The Secretariat of the Committee, which has its headquarters at Geneva, prepares for the Committee's sessions and, where action by the Secretary-General is required, makes official communications to Governments; it also keeps the Assembly in touch with the work.

*Prof. de Resnoid, of the University of Berne.

II.

METHOD AND ORGANISATION.

First of all we must restate an absolute rule. It is obvious enough, but still needs repetition for the benefit of those who are not in touch with the traditions of the League. It is this:

The Intellectual Co-operation Organisation is not concerned with the development of the ideas, system, trends of opinion, which form the stuff of the world's intellectual life. It is concerned with problems of organisation alone. Its business is to find practical means of promoting international co-operation in the production and circulation of intellectual work. Take any branch of science: the Organisation will not deal with the new ideas of the scientists, but with the recruiting of specialists, the preparations for periodical congresses, the establishment of closer relations among the specialist associations, the means of securing wider publicity for work published in little-known languages, the establishment of a uniform nomenclature or uniform notations of measurement, and so forth.

Further the Organisation will deal with all these matters only so far as they are not already being dealt with by others; its particular work will be to encourage and help on the undertakings of interested bodies and, where necessary, to co-ordinate their action. Suggestion, encouragement, co-ordination, to improve the conditions of intellectual labour: those are, and must be, the only duties of the Organisation for Intellectual Co-operation.

As we have seen, the League of Nations, in setting up the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, gave it a very extensive programme. But could not this programme be condensed, even truncated and split up, in the light of experience?

Nearly two years' experience has shown the need of a central organ of liaison for the manifold forms of international intellectual co-operation—a need that grows proportionately to the continual multiplication of those forms.

It has been found, moreover, that most of the institutions and bodies with which the Organisation has so far had dealings desired this form of systematic contact, found it an encouragement and a support; even those that do not lean upon it have been for sometime growing perceptibly more active; in brief, the

new institution is a valuable rallying-sign, and would be useful as such though it were useless otherwise.

It has been found that from every quarter there have proceeded suggestions and proposals that such an Organisation was best qualified to receive; the daily work that comes to it unsought is already more than it can cope with.

Lastly, it has been found that the Organisation has already acquired such great moral authority that on every problem that arises it can readily gain the ears of Governments, institutions, press associations, and can induce them to reply to questions and to attend meetings. Consequently many problems that had hitherto been shelved as insoluble are now seen to be capable of solution.

After little more than eighteen months, we cannot yet point to many official international agreements. After all, there is no reason why the conclusion of such agreements should proceed any faster in the intellectual field than in others, in which it is notoriously a slow process. In point of fact, the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation is already daily achieving successes in other parts of the field of international co-operation. Between Documentation (the indispensable basis) and International Agreements (the final object) there must come a series of operations: Publicity.—Assistance to existing organisations.—International co-ordination.—Formation of new technical organisations.

All these operations are carried on in respect of various questions classified according to the different administrative sections of the Organisation, which correspond to the different aspects of intellectual co-operation.

The Sub-Committees of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation—and on the same model the sections of the Institute—represent the traditional divisions of intellectual labour: science, literature, art, education. There are also a Sub-Committee and a section to deal with problems connected with the rights of intellectual workers; and there is an "Information Section" dealing, not with problems of intellectual work itself, but with the question of its circulation.

This is a logical arrangement; indeed, the International Committee felt that no other was possible. Could it restrict itself to one or two or three of these divisions, and, if so, which? Science? Literature? Intellectual rights? There was no possible choice. A choice only becomes

possible—indeed, necessary—when, after the general preparations have been made and the ways and means provided for, definite work comes to be done on specific points.

But again: could not the 2,000,000 francs that the Institute had in 1926 have been spent on only two or three undertakings, such as library co-ordination, the bibliography of the economic sciences, or the international museums handbook? Perhaps on these three points success might have been attained, so that other matters could have been attacked in 1927, and so on.

Not at all. It sounds a practical method, but it is really chimerical. On none of the three points mentioned could success have been achieved in 1926, nor yet on any other, even if we had concentrated all our efforts upon it. It takes more than a year to get anywhere in matters like these. Months must necessarily pass between the different stages of each scheme, so that it can go the round of the competent organisations in all countries, create a favourable atmosphere—reach maturity, in short. And what should we have been doing during those months?

Again: on these three questions, could we have gathered up all the favourable currents of opinion in the world and prepared for an early settlement if we had not had the authority, the "scope," as they say, of a big organisation? Could we have done it without a head-quarters properly (though still very modestly) fitted up; without general services (few though these still are) for research, publications, translation, analysis, minute-writing; without a technical staff (still consisting of only three or four persons to each of the seven sections) which, studying, writing, and travelling, can without overwork deal, not with one but with five or six questions at a time? And could we have done it without a permanent network of relations in all countries—national committees, correspondents, associations of various kinds—the upkeep of which also occupies the full time of several officials and involves a certain amount of expenditure?

It must be remembered that it is not the business of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation to act arbitrarily on its own authority. That is a simple and a cheap method; but the business of the Organisation is to put its finger upon all the intellectual institutions and interests in every country, set them in motion, impel them to act for themselves and spend for

themselves; or to co-ordinate efforts already in progress. That calls for a permanent organisation of some complexity.*

Accordingly, the history of an "idea" in the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation is ordinarily this:

The International Committee or the Institute receives a suggestion from an institution, society, or private person (we generally prefer to wait for suggestions bearing some weight rather than take action on our own initiative); the services of the Institute make a brief preliminary report to the appropriate Sub-Committee. The latter, and subsequently the Committee itself, approve the idea in principle and instruct the Institute to make an exhaustive study of the scheme. The Institute semi-officially approaches institutions, societies, or persons who are authorities on the question; it then prepares a preliminary scheme and asks the International Committee for power to convene an official Committee of Experts. They are carefully chosen to represent the principal countries and interests concerned. The Committee of Experts draws up the final scheme, which is then referred, with a report by the Institute, to the appropriate Sub-Committee and to the full Committee. The Institute then undertakes un-official or semi-official negotiations in the various countries with a view to putting the decisions reached into effect.

Briefly, the Organisation for Intellectual Co-operation has taken the greatest pains to avoid on the one hand an excess of logicity and on the other an excess of empiricism. It has endeavoured to be logical in its conceptions and empirical in their execution. That would seem to be the formula of all great human enterprises. And why should we pretend that the League has not in this case attempted a great human enterprise, after all those it has already set on foot in other fields?

This enterprise is under the same rules as the other organisations of the League: absolute international impartiality; scrupulous consultation of the interests at stake; use of no form

*The organisation of relations between the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation and the local groups is still, indeed, incomplete. There are still no National Committees in certain countries; and not all those that exist are in a position to gather up all the threads of intellectual life in their respective countries.

Furthermore, certain important specialised international associations are not yet represented as they should be in the Organisation. There is reason, however, to believe that they will be so represented shortly.

of pressure but persuasion; and lastly, the nearest possible approach to technical perfection.

With this organisation and method, important preliminary results have already been secured: the solemn and repeated adhesion of States; a chain of strong points in the form of

special organisations attached to the Institute in different countries; an already very extensive system of regular relations with societies, institutions, and private persons; a general atmosphere of keenness; headquarters fitted up and in working order.

BOOKS OF THE QUARTER.

"ECONOMICS OF KHADDAR."^a

By MR. LAJPAT RAI.

Economics of Khaddar is the title of a monograph written by Mr. Richard B. Gregg, which I have read from cover to cover. I am free to confess that I had never before read a more comprehensive, a more exhaustive and a more illuminating exposition of the economics of Khaddar. In places it seems that the writer is indulging in special pleading, but a careful examination of the arguments and facts relied upon shows that in fact it is not so. One may or may not agree with all of his arguments but there is no doubt that the writer has made a thorough and a careful study of the subject in all its aspects and has tried to meet all the criticisms that have been directed against the khaddar movement, in a spirit of fairness and with a knowledge of facts and figures which is convincing. I will here summarise some of the most important facts and arguments relied upon by the author in his thesis.

(a) In the opinions of all reliable and competent observers, both British and Indian, it is agreed that the farmers in practically every province and district in India are idle for at least three months of each year. Many authorities say four months and some six. These various authorities also agree that even on the days when the farmer is working there are idle hours to a considerable amount. (P. 24).

(b) "Unemployment is a scourge. If the manipulation of one factor in industrial organization may lead in any way to a diminution of the evil, the immediate duty of all concerned would seem to be to strengthen this factor when possible, and determine the soundest criteria for its use."

"Unemployment is the most important single source of waste."

"It is very well to advocate greater production through the introduction of machinery, the increased use of mechanical power, through standardization and through advanced technique of one kind or another. Society as a whole does profit as we learn to make two pairs of shoes at the cost formerly required for one. But until we can guarantee to the individual a higher measure of protection in making his or her contribution to the increasing effectiveness of our national production our enthusiasm must necessarily be tempered with the thought that with each step forward the spectre of unemployment is actually raised. We can hardly expect the interest and much less the wholehearted support of the workers who are most likely to be adversely affected until we see in unemployment the very core of the problem of waste elimination.... But after all, looked at from the national and economic standpoint, what we all want.....employers and employees alike, is the substance of continuous employment rather than protection against unemployment." (P. 94).

(c) "Although we do not have any figures for China, it is probably safe to say that unemployment is greater at all times in India than in any other country in the world." (P. 94).

^a*Economics of Khaddar*. By Richard B. Gregg (S. Ganesan & Co., Madras), 1928.

(d) "That there were approximately 107,000,000 actual workers wholly engaged in pasture and agriculture." Also that they are idle at least three months of the year. Note that this figure does not include any industrial unemployment,—only that in agriculture. It does not include any of those city industrial wastes classified under the heads of intermittent unemployment, under-employment, seasonal unemployment, cyclical unemployment, residual unemployment, labour turnover, lost time, strikes and lock-outs, absenteeism, idleness due to preventable accidents or preventable sickness." (P. 93).

(e) Assuming an average daily wage for agricultural workers as 3 annas (for which authorities are quoted). Mr. Gregg says:

"At this 3 annas rate, 107,000,000 people in 90 days, the period of their idleness, could earn Rs. 1,80,56,25,000. This then may be considered the annual cost of unemployment among only the agricultural population of India exclusive of Burma. If divided among the total population it makes a cost or sort of tax of about Rs. 5-7-0 per capita.

"This figure exceeds the total revenue of the Government of India (1924—25).

"Remember also that the real cost of unemployment is probably much in excess of the above estimate, because the values produced by these people at work would be considerably greater than merely their wages. Also in most provinces now (1927) agricultural wages are in fact from 5 to 8 annas a day for men and from 4 to 6 annas for women. We have purposely chosen a low figure in order to be conservative.

"On any basis of calculation, it is clear that unemployment creates a staggering burden upon the Indian nation, and indeed upon the world.

"Although the historical records show that two hundred and fifty years ago spinning was practised in almost every household in India, and that it was intentionally and systematically destroyed by British policy, we cannot, of course say that the present unemployment is wholly due to that cause. . .

"Yet we can say that the importation of foreign cloth has deprived the farmers of their former supplementary occupation, and that if, for instance, only one quarter of the farmers now idle would take up spinning, it would vastly relieve that part of the unemployment. And we may also say that the continued pur-

chasing of foreign cloth by India prevents that accomplishment, in the sense that it cannot fully take place until the purchase of foreign cloth very greatly decreases. Hence, in that special sense, we may say, for purposes of argument, that the purchase of foreign cloth is a cause of say one quarter of the present agricultural unemployment. In 1925 over one third of the total Indian consumption of cloth was imported.

"The average per capita consumption of cloth in India is estimated by the correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian Commercial* at 13 yards. Mr. Gandhi estimates it at 14 yards per head. Taking the larger figure so as to get a more conservative result and taking the total population of India at 319,000,000 we see that the total annual cotton cloth consumption is about 4,466,000,000 yards. The quarter of the present agricultural unemployment would be 26,750,000 people. (This small part is chosen so as to err, if at all, on the side of conservatism.). At a wage of 3 annas per day, this would give Rs. 45,14,06,000 as the cost of their unemployment for three months in the year. Dividing this loss by the total cloth consumption in yards gives 1 anna 9 pies. On the above assumption, this may be said to represent the cost of Indian rural unemployment for each yard of cloth purchased. If instead, we were to divide Rs. 45,14,06,000 by only the yardage of foreign cotton cloth purchased (1,090,421,921 yards in 1921—22), the result would be 6 annas 2 pies per yard.

"We may then say that when foreign cotton cloth is purchased in India, at least 1 anna and 2 pies and probably much more of the price per yard could be deducted if the Indian rural unemployment were relieved by getting one-quarter of the agricultural workers to spin and weave by hand."

II.

I agree with these conclusions and have no hesitation in saying:—

(a) That spinning and weaving furnish the most suitable employment for the unemployed or partially engaged agriculturist.

(b) That though the income therefrom may be very slender, it makes a substantial addition to the total income of the agriculturist at the end of the year. The agriculturist does not work for daily wages or for monthly payment. Generally his income is annual or six-monthly,

If therefore his earnings from spinning and weaving be calculated six-monthly or by the total for the year, it will make a welcome addition to his total income and will be very helpful in enabling him to meet his needs and those of his family.

(e) That the agriculturist being ordinarily a person who has no spare funds to invest nor any credit, cannot engage in pursuits which entail investments of large capital. The rates of interest on which he generally gets loans are ruinous and once in the clutches of the money-lender, he is lost.

(d) That the Government being unwilling to float any scheme or schemes by which the agriculturist may find employment for the period for which there is nothing to be done in connexion with agriculture, the duty of finding means of such employment devolves on us and we certainly cannot finance any other scheme.

(e) That the industry because it is so simple, requires such simple tools and is learnt so easily, is the best suited to the intelligence and the means of the agriculturist.

(f) That so far no one has been able to suggest any alternative to it (it must be remembered no one suggests that Charkha be made a full-time occupation by those who can earn more money by doing something else).

(g) That there is no possibility of the mill industry being so developed in the near future as to render India independent of foreign cloth.

(h) That the Charkha is the best basis of village reconstruction. Khadi workers can help other schemes of education and sanitation in spare time and both can supplement each other's work.

(i) That where the untouchables are not engaged or fully engaged in any other occupation, they can very well take to spinning and add to their incomes.

(j) That in case the mill-owners should decline to come to an understanding with the khadi organisation, their cloth should unhesitatingly be boycotted and placed only next after (1) pure khaddar, (2) 'impure khaddar.' By impure khaddar I mean khaddar made of Indian mill-yarn. In my judgment the attitude of the mill-owners is not very reasonable. They want to exploit the patriotism of the people in order to fill their pockets. Among these mill-owners you come across the greatest patronisers of foreign cloth. The sentiment of

patriotism which they propose to exploit to sell their mill goods as Swadeshi does not appeal to them. In the circumstances, I do not think the Nationalists should have any scruple in boycotting Indian mill-made as against pure or even impure handmade khadi.

(k) That if more money be put in the khadi movement, it may be possible to reduce the cost of manufacture and to make it cheaper than it is. Unless that is achieved, we should preach that people should use cloth made of yarn spun by themselves or in their own homes because it is patriotic to do so. With this, khadi will *virtually* seem to be cheaper than mill-made stuff.

I am convinced that the greatest effort should be put in to push on khadi and to remove untouchability. But that does not exclude the other work from the purview. A yard of foreign cloth boycotted means an addition of one anna nine pies to the income of the unemployed Indian agriculturist.

SEARCHLIGHT ON THE GREAT WAR.*

By Major D. GRAHAM POLE.

Lord Beaverbrook's book is advertised not only extensively in the Press, but on all the boardings throughout the country. He would have liked to have called the book *A Political History*, he tells us, but he is honest enough to admit that such a description would be a misnomer. I have read the book, and agree with him. It is well described by himself as "scrappy and disjointed." We are promised two further volumes after this one, which only takes us up to 1916. Mr. Bonar Law is, of course, his hero all through this first volume.

We can gather Lord Beaverbrook's own opinion of the politicians who were responsible for the War, from his mention of the late Mr. Edwin Montagu, ex-Secretary of State for India, whose death, he says, was "an irreparable loss in this dreadful age of mediocrities."

The chief fact brought out in this book is that each politician seemed to be fighting for his own hand, quite irrespective of the views of his colleagues, either collectively or individually. Mr. Churchill, for instance,

* *Politicians and the War*. By the Right Hon. Lord Beaverbrook. (London, Thornton Butterworth Ltd.), 1928.

seems to glory in the fact, which he states in a letter to Mr. Bonor Law, that he "acted without legal sanction and contrary to a Cabinet decision." Lord Fisher, the First Sea Lord, was so set on having his own way that he thought the best way to get it, and to secure Conservative backing, would be to resign. This he did, at a most critical period of the War, at a time when the German Fleet actually came out to tackle ours. He refused to withdraw his resignation and left the Navy without a First Sea Lord. As Lord Beaverbrook tells us, he deserted his post, "pulled down his blinds and went off to Scotland." We are told how Lord Kitchener "concealed the truth of the situation from his colleagues in the Cabinet," and later, of the deplorable consequences on the conduct of the War, of "an outbreak of temper on all sides at a Cabinet meeting."

A London newspaper, the *Globe*, was suppressed by Sir John Simon as Home Secretary and Lord Birkenhead as Attorney-General for giving the truth about the attempt to oust Lord Kitchener from the Cabinet. It was allowed to resume publication, a fortnight later, on apologising and giving an explanation dictated by the Government which, as Lord Beaverbrook explains, was the "truth of a highly technical variety." Mr. Lloyd George thought and talked nothing but War, but was "always thinking too much of himself and far too little of the team." He was, in a word, always 'on the make'. Altogether, it is a depressing piece of insight into the management or mis-management of the War. Cabinet Ministers, with public school training, had not the first idea of team work. Each one fought for his own hand, and tried to bring off things for his own credit. The wretched soldiers at the Front, who were living in mud and blood, were merely pawns in the game. Cabinet Ministers had no faith in one another, and concealed from one another the most vital facts.

I well remember the chaos and mismanagement at the Battle of Loos, where we had some 75,000 casualties. General Sir John French was in command, and the staff work was, in many cases, simply non-existent. "Lions led by asses" was quite a good description of the British Army at that time. After being without food, water or sleep for over twentyfour hours, during most of which time we were under German fire, I can remember getting an order to attack the German position without

any reconnaissance or any information as to what was in front of us or what to expect. Others had undertaken the same task before us, and those who broke through the German lines were left unsupported and at the mercy of their enemies. I had to attempt the same task with hungry and worn-out men, and again without any support. Lives were absolutely thrown away, and the opinion of the Army on the military operations was very aptly expressed by one of my Junior Officers, who, when he heard of the orders, remarked: "Thank God for the Navy." After this attack we were kept in the firing line for more than another twenty-four hours still without food, water or rest. The terrible and needless slaughter at this time was one of the "great victories" claimed by our Higher Command in the War. As a result, Sir John French was recalled, and in case the Germans might find out what a ghastly failure he had been, as if they did not know that quite as well as we did, he was raised to the peerage and made Viceroy of Ireland.

I told some of the facts of that fiasco to one of the principal members of the Cabinet in London, some months later, and he admitted to me that it was news that he was receiving for the first time, as all such reports were communicated to and kept to themselves by these members of the Cabinet, and that on these matters he knew no more than the man in the street. If any book were required to strengthen the ranks of those who are opposed to War, this one must meet the case. To politicians, War is just another phase of politics. Intrigue goes on for personal place and power, whilst lives are being sacrificed by tens of thousands. After the Boer War, Lord Rosebery said that we as a nation always muddle through in the end. The pity of it is that we are so proud of muddling through. We seem to regard it as a virtue! No man who was responsible in a safe home job for the conduct of the last war should ever have been allowed to take part in public life again.

CANADA: THE GREAT AMERICAN DOMINION.*

Once again, we extend a hearty welcome to Mr. R. J. Arnett's excellent annual survey-

**Canada To-day*, 1922, 125-7, Cockspur Street, London, S. W. 1, 1922.

ing almost all aspects of life and work in Canada from the Atlantic to the Pacific—which is invaluable to all interested in that great American Dominion. *Canada To-day* for 1928 has just been published from the offices of *Canada*, the London illustrated weekly, and this, the eleventh, issue of this popular annual and the leading illustrated yearbook of latest information on the Dominion, will be found as trustworthy and useful as in previous years. It has more pages than last year—220 in all—and in these the conditions and opportunities in the vast territory from the Atlantic to the Pacific are as attractively presented as ever. *Canada To-day* will commend itself to a wide public by reason of its handy size and its convenient arrangement. Not only is its letterpress interesting, but from a reference point of view it will be found accurate and comprehensive.

The leading feature in this year's volume is very appropriately the Diamond Jubilee of the Dominion, the celebration of which has taken place so recently. The keynote is struck by the frontispiece, which is a fullpage picture of the Victory (or Peace) Tower of the Dominion Parliament Buildings at Ottawa. Then follow the text of the King's Message to the people of Canada, the speech of the Prince of Wales in which he likened Canada to "A Reef of Precious Metal"; quotations from the Governor-General and the High-Commissioner; Mr. Mackenzie King's speech on "Canada, Past, Present, and Future," delivered on Parliament Hill, Ottawa, during the Diamond Jubilee celebrations; an address by the Hon. James Malcolm, Minister of Trade and Commerce, on "Industrial and Economic Progress," during the last 60 years; and also an article by the Hon. W. R. Motherwell, Dominion Minister of Agriculture, on "Canada's Agricultural Expansion" during that period. The other main sections into which the volume is conveniently divided consist of concise articles, many of them by well-known Canadian authorities, dealing with particular subjects under the following general headings: "Canada's Resources," "Life and Work," "Migration and Settlement," "Sport and Pastimes," "The Provinces of Canada," "Gazetteer of Principal Cities and Towns," "Finance, Investment, Insurance and Mining," "Industry, Trade, and Commerce," and "Transportation."

The articles under the heading "Canada's Resources" deal with the climate, diversity of

resources, national wealth, field crops, forests, and fisheries. In the section entitled "Life and Work," after a statistical analysis of Canada's population, a series of very interesting settlers' experiences and impressions is given under the title "Farm Life in Canada." Among other subjects dealt with in this section are live stock and poultry, dairying, apple growing, city life, education, professional opportunities, women workers, and wages and hours of labour. The "Migration and Settlement" section is introduced by a statement regarding Canada's immigration policy, by the Hon. Robert Forke, Minister of Immigration and Colonisation, in which emphasis is laid on the fact that Canada's chief appeal is to those who will seek their fortune on the land. "The day of opportunity has not passed in Canada," says Mr. Forke. "The success achieved by settlers who entered the country 30, 40, or 50 years ago may be duplicated or surpassed to-day." This is followed by a concise statement of the various Canadian settlement schemes, by Mr. J. Bruce Walker, Director of European Emigration for Canada, in which there are enumerated the principal facilities provided for families, young men and boys and other land workers, and household helps. Other articles in this section deal with immigration regulations, homesteading, and juvenile immigration. Next comes the section devoted to Sport and Pastimes, in which the opportunities for the varieties of sport which can be enjoyed in Canada are indicated; hunting, shooting, and fishing regulations in the various Provinces being included.

The largest section in the book is devoted to descriptions of the various Provinces of Canada, the articles, most of which are signed, showing the physical characteristics of the different parts of the Dominion, and bringing out the many opportunities which they offer to British settlers or capitalists. The scope of these articles is indicated by their titles—"Nova Scotia's Attractions," "Fertile Prince Edward Island," "New Brunswick's Farm Lands," "Quebec's Natural Resources," "Opportunities in Ontario," "Manitoba's 'Re-discovery,'" "Saskatchewan's Progress and Prosperity," "Alberta's Varied Resources," and "British Columbia's Progress." At the end of the Provincial articles is a Gazetteer giving particulars of the principal cities and towns.

As showing how up to date *Canada To-day* is, the section devoted to "Finance, Investment,

"Mining and Insurance" contains the Budget speech for 1928 delivered by the Hon. J. A. Robb, Minister of Finance, in the Dominion House of Commons. An article of special interest to people of moderate incomes who think of migrating to Canada is that giving particulars of Income Tax in the Dominion. The important part played in the Dominion by the Canadian chartered banks, trust companies, and life insurance companies is also indicated. In view of the increased interest that is being taken in Great Britain in Canadian mining, a considerable amount of additional information is given this year in the space devoted to that subject. Dr. Charles Camsell, Deputy Minister of Mines, contributes an article on Canada's mineral wealth; and there is a useful synopsis of leading Canadian mining companies, with facts and figures concerning each. "Industry, Trade and Commerce" is the next department of activity dealt with, the articles under this heading covering Canada's manufactures and principal industries, industrial employment, trade progress, and British trade with Canada, while Canada's hydro-electric development is described by the Hon. Charles Stewart, Minister of the Interior. Canadian railways and the principal steamship services to Canada are dealt with in the Transportation section. Newfoundland (which is, of course, not included in the Dominion of Canada) is described in an interesting article by the High Commissioner.

The volume concludes with lists of Federal and Provincial Cabinet Ministers and officials, useful books about Canada, and Canadian organisations in London.

As in previous years, the many fine illustrations—a number of which are full-page size—are among the chief features and attractions of *Canada To-day*. These, which number over 100, show practically every phase of life and activity. The volume—which is published by the Canada Newspaper Company, Ltd., should make as strong an appeal as its predecessors to intending settlers, tourists, sportsmen, and business men, and should also find a place in reference libraries and offices, owing to its acknowledged value as an up-to-date and reliable reference book. *Canada To-day*, it should be added, has been placed by the Educational Department of the London County Council on the requisition list of books for use in schools, and it might well be adopted in this way even in India.

ADVOCACY IN INDIA.*

The literature of Advocacy in English, though not extensive, is now fairly large, thanks mainly to the American works on the subject. The earliest book that may still be considered as of practical interest to the legal practitioner is Dr. William Forsyth's *Hortensius* (1849)—which, though an historical essay on the office and the duties of the Advocate, contains many shrewd suggestions of great utility on the Advocate's work. It was followed in 1852 by the first volume (all that was published) of Mr. E. W. Cox's *The Advocate*, which is an excellent treatise on his training, practice, rights and duties. After many years there were published the four volumes (closely connected in their subject-matter) by Mr. Richard Harris. Of these the best known (which has passed through a large number of editions) is *Hints on Advocacy* and was followed by *Illustrations in Advocacy*, *Before Trial* and *Former Bumpkin's Law Suit*. The latest English treatise is Judge Parry's *Seven Lamps of Advocacy*. Of late America has taken the lead in this branch of legal literature. Of the American treatises the best known are Mr. Henry Hardwicke's *Art of Winning Cases*, Mr. Francis Wellman's *Art of Cross-Examination and Day in Court*, and Mr. Justice Donovan's books—*Tact in Court*, *Skill in Trials* and *Art of Advocates*. Nor is Canada behind the United States, for it is a Canadian lawyer—Mr. Edwin Bell—who has written a learned and luminous work called *The Principles of Argument*. Compared with these valuable, comprehensive, and in some cases, brilliant text-books, the output of legal India had been very meagre till the publication of Mr. Justice Walsh's *The Advocate: His Aims and Aspirations*. The only Indian books that we know of are Mr. Henry Morison's *Advocacy and Examination of Witnesses*, Mr. S. C. Sarkar's *Advocacy and Cross-Examination*, Mr. Alexander Bain's *Our Law Courts: The Rights and Duties of Judges and Lawyers*, Mr. Rahmatullah's *Art of Cross-Examination* and two useful compilations (both hailing from Madras) called *The Art of Cross-Examination* and *Methods of Cross-Examination*. It may be stated at once

**The Advocate: His Aims and Aspirations*. By Mr. Justice Walsh (Ram Narain Lal, Katra, Allahabad), 1927.

that of these six works, the three latter deal only with one (though a very important) branch of Advocacy—namely that relating to the examination, cross-examination and re-examination of witnesses; while the three former—though dealing with some other branches of Advocacy as well—are more or less sketchy works and are not so conceived and planned as to subserve fully the objects of the aspirants to Advocacy in this country. We, therefore, extend a hearty welcome to the work which has been written by Mr. Justice Walsh of the Allahabad High Court and the second edition of which is practically a new book rather than a new edition of the work as originally issued in 1906.

Mr. Justice Walsh's book brings into strong relief the fact that, as far as this country is concerned, Advocacy has been taken to be—so to say—the birth-right of every legal practitioner. It has not yet been sufficiently realised amongst us that it is one thing to be a sound lawyer or even a jurist and quite a different thing to be an Advocate. An Advocate need, no doubt, possess a sound working knowledge of law, but he requires many other qualifications before he can aspire to be a successful Advocate. Facility in putting his case lucidly, capacity for analysis and synthesis, strong common sense, presence of mind, considerable tact, and above all powers of persuasion—these are some of the equipments of a successful Advocate. Judged by even a fairly low standard, there have been very few advocates worth the name in this country. But this is not as it should be, for if there be one thing more than another in which the Indian has shown a remarkable capacity for success and distinction, it is in the sphere of forensic activities, legal scholarship and judicial ability. Even the late Sir John Strachey—by no means a friendly critic of the educated Indians—bore witness to this fact in his well-known work: *India: Its Administration and Progress*. But it is none the less true that in spite of it and the remarkably high standard of legal knowledge possessed by the Indian Bar—in which term we include both Barrister and Vakils—there is yet considerable room for improvement in Advocacy as practised even in our High Courts and in the maintenance and development of such *esprit-décrope* as obtains in England and some other Western countries. It is because Mr. Justice Walsh's book is calculated to conduce, to some extent, to this end that we have much pleasure

in commending it to all members of legal profession in this country.

Not that Mr. Justice Walsh's book is as comprehensive and illuminating as it well might have been. At best it is but a sketch—a short study of a great subject. It is not a carefully-planned and a systematic treatise on the subject of Advocacy in India—but is rather scrappy, discursive, and perhaps too full of personal references to the author and reminiscent of his own professional activities. His reflections on the Indian Bar, embodied in the Preface to the new edition of the book, are not all either happy or well-founded and to some of them strong exception has been justly taken. Again, for want of a proper system, the two subjects—an Advocate's qualifications for his work and Legal Ethics—are intermingled, which will be not an often confusing to the junior practitioner. The book also labours under the disadvantage of catering for two communities, the profession in England and in India. Though much is common between the rules of Advocacy and the standards of professional honour and etiquette in the two countries, nevertheless the disparity in local conditions does make an appreciable difference and what is, therefore, true of the one need not necessarily be equally true of the other. The author is aware of this innate difficulty which he has got to surmount and practically disarm criticism by making a candid confession that his work possesses a somewhat "hybrid character—much.....can have no more than a passing interest for new friends in India; on the other hand, much has no application except to India." The defects of the book—such as they are—are, therefore, due to its innate limitations of scope, design and conception. In the meantime we feel sure that a careful perusal of the book, under review, will be of benefit to every one who aspires to be a successful Advocate in this country, for in spite of its limitations and deficiencies it is a very useful book in its class and on its subject.

It is not possible, in the space at our disposal, to make a detailed review of Mr. Justice Walsh's book and we have, therefore, preferred to characterize its merits and demerits in general terms. The author refers in his foreword to "the looseness of its construction and its occasional discursiveness and levity" for which he hopes "to be forgiven" as "it has been rapidly put together on no very definite plan." But while looseness of construction, occasional

discreetness and indefiniteness in plan might very well yield place to terseness, compression, and systematic exposition in a later edition, we shall be sorry to see the so called "levity" disappear. After all legal books need not be necessarily dull as the proverbial ditch-water and a little touch of humour, like the touch of Nature, makes the whole world kin. It was perhaps a perusal of dry-as-dust text-books that make the great Mr. Bumble declare his famous and well-known verdict that the "Law is a ass." It is all for the best, therefore, that Mr. Justice Walsh possesses a rich vein of humour and is not disposed to bury it under a napkin. For the rest, the author deals briefly with all the various topics of interest to the Bench and Bar—the ethics of Advocacy and professional etiquette, the opening of cases, preparation for conducting trials, a study of the legal literature and case-law, reading in chambers and moots, conduct in Court, defence of prisoners and *esprit-de-corps*. In all these and connected subjects the author writes with a fulness of knowledge, a rich and varied experience, a keen insight and sympathetic interest and above all a generous enthusiasm. Altogether *The Advocate: His Aims and Aspirations* is an instructive study of the subject and readers in India will find it informative, suggestive, and interesting.

A CONTEMPORARY BIOGRAPHICAL SURVEY.*

The Dictionary of National Biography was presented to the University of Oxford, in 1917, by the family of the late Mr. George Smith, its founder. It was not until some time after the end of the War that it was possible for the University to take measures for the continuation of the series of twentieth-century volumes begun in 1912 by the publication of the period 1901–1911. The Delegates of the University Press then appointed a Committee of their number to consider lists of candidates for admission; the late Mr. H. W. C. Davis of Balliol (Regius Professor of Modern History in the Oxford University) and Mr. J. R. H. Weaver

of Trinity were appointed editors and the final decisions were entrusted to them; experts in various fields were at the same time invited to give advice and help. When the first selection had been made, the still more difficult task was undertaken by the editors, of choosing competent biographers, and of assigning to each contributor approximate limits of space and time. The necessity of beginning the work when the period to be dealt with was all but over has delayed the appearance of the new volume. But the machinery which had to be created in 1920 is now running smoothly, and the next volume (which will cover the years 1922–1930) may be expected after a shorter interval.

The expense of producing the work under post-war conditions has been very heavy, and the publishers say that they have no expectation of recovering it from sales. They look with confidence, however, to the public for support and encouragement in this arduous undertaking. They will be satisfied if they are successful in appealing to all sections of the public to promote the sale and use of this work. The *Dictionary of National Biography* is the largest and most valuable of all British collections of biography, and is one of the greatest of the achievements of the nineteenth century. It is for the twentieth century to carry out the new work in a manner worthy of the old. The twentieth-century volumes will be, no doubt, less final in their verdicts than the earlier volumes; but on the other hand they embody personal impressions and recollections which would otherwise be lost; and, since they deal solely with contemporary history, they are of even greater importance and interest to the general public.

The original *Dictionary of National Biography* founded in 1882, (by Mr. George Smith of the firm of Messrs. Smith, Elder and Co.), and edited first by the late Sir Leslie Stephen and later by the late Sir Sidney Lee, consisted of no less than sixty-three volumes produced between the years 1882 and 1900. No sooner had the monumental compilation been completed than three fresh volumes had to be undertaken containing the lives of persons whose names had been accidentally omitted from the original lists and of a larger number who had died while the *Dictionary* was being printed. Since then there have been two further volumes—one covering the period from

**Dictionary of National Biography, 1912–1921*. Edited by H. W. C. Davis and J. R. H. Weaver. (Oxford University Press, Bombay), 1926.

1901 to 1912, and the other just out covering the period from 1912—1921. Sir Sidney Lee was in charge as assistant editor from 1883 to 1890; as joint editor with Sir Leslie Stephen for a year, and as editor from 1891 to 1917. The present or sixty-eighth volume has been edited by that well-known Oxford historian, Mr. H. W. C. Davis—whose recent death is a great loss to scholarship—assisted by Mr. J. R. H. Weaver.

The editors point out that the period of time covered by the new volume is more than a hundred years, for the doyen of the volume, Lord Wemyss, who died in 1914 was born in 1818. Quite a number of the subjects treated were born between 1820 and 1829. "With the next decade 1830—1839 we enter the full stream of the era which this volume chiefly represents.

From these instances it will be evident that the spirit of the early Victorian age was still a living force in the second decade of the present century. Many articles in this volume relate to men and women whose characters matured, and whose convictions were fully formed before 1870. Some of these illustrious survivals may owe a part of their current reputation to the fact that they survived so long. But a career must be judged as a whole, the effect of a life's work is cumulative and a man's personal influence must be gauged in some degree by its duration as well as its intensity. The Nestors of any period are to be remembered as links between the vivid present and the dissolving past; as the repositories of unwritten tradition and faithful critics of their innovating juniors." The principles of selection which should guide the editors of a contemporary biographical survey could hardly have been stated better than is done in the extract quoted.

The new volume is devoted in the main to a band of eminent Victorians. It includes Lord Wemyss, who—as stated above—was born in 1818, and its richest yield is from the men and women who were born in the thirties and the forties. "The War yields a smaller number of worthies than might be expected. For it rather blighted promise than terminated achievement. None the less, the volume owes to the War this melancholy distinction, that it includes an unusually large number of men and women who, though they had earned their places by actual performance, did not grow old. Critics of the Dictionary are reminded that the period covered

by the volume is 1912—1921, and are asked not to assume that any person has been inadvertently or erroneously omitted until they have ascertained that he or she died before 1 January, 1922. Any student desirous of finding concise and excellent summaries of prominent worthies who died between 1912 and 1921 cannot do better than consult the present volume. There is a list of contributors under the respective initials, and at the end a cumulative list of biographies covering the period from 1901—1921. The work is highly authoritative as the contributors (who number 273) are all persons distinguished for their eminence, versatility and scholarship.

EARLY ENGLISH SETTLEMENT IN BIHAR.*

By MR. M. L. BANNERJI (*Imperial Library, Calcutta*).

Principal N. N. Raye's "Annals" is a work of unique interest. It is replete with facts and one passes through its pages till one comes to the end without feeling the weariness of study. I wish the book had contained more pages. The style of the author is exquisitely simple and artless to a fault. The lucid treatment of his subject, difficult on account of its being hitherto obscure, and above all his arrangement of chapters, make the book a work of real excellence. The scramble for power in the declining period of the Moghul rule and the pathetic description of the titular Delhi autocrat fleeing from place to place to save his skin, leaving his sceptre to be seized by bold adventurers, have been painted by a vividness of detail hardly to be surpassed.

From the Indian stand-point, the days of Job Charnock have an air of romance and mystery surrounding them. To uplift the veil of obscurity and disturb the layers of dust which have settled through ages on a long-forgotten mausoleum may offend popular superstition, but if the work of a historian is to make the past live in the present, the interesting account

*The *Annals of Early English Settlements in Behar*. By N. N. Raye, M.A. (Kamala Book Depot, Ltd., Calcutta), 1922.

of Job marrying a "dusky Indian wife," to whom he remained faithful to the last, is certainly very edifying.

Bihar claims as large a share in the struggle for supremacy, when the Moghul power stood dissolved, as any other part of India, and the long-supposed notion of her being a backward province has been dispelled once for all. The author has ransacked all possible sources to give a faithful and consistent account of how

a mere handful of sturdy Englishmen tried to establish a firm foothold on the Indian soil, under a cloak of making merely pecuniary gains, which was to be the genesis of a magnificent and well-organised empire. Mr. Raye's book, I believe, is the first of its kind, and is a valuable contribution to our knowledge and worthy of its author. Principal Horne of the Patna College has written a Foreword. The get-up and printing are all that could be desired.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

REJOINDERS TO "MOTHER INDIA."

1. **Mother India: A Rejoinder.** By K. Natarajan (G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras), 1928.
2. **Father India.** By C. S. Ranga Iyer, M.L.A. (Selwyn & Blount, 6, Duke Street, Adelphi, London, W. C. 2), 1928.
3. **Sister India.** By "World Citizen." (S. G. Warty, M.L.A., "Sister India" Office, Churchgate Street, Fort, Bombay), 1928.
4. **A Son of Mother India Answers.** By Dhan Gopal Mukerji. (R. P. Dutton & Co., New York, U. S. A.), 1928.
5. **Unhappy India.** By Lajpat Rai (Banna Publishing Company, Garstin Place, Calcutta), 1928.
6. **India: Its Character—A Reply to Mother India.** By J. A. Chapman (Hurd Blackwell, Oxford), 1928.

In the course of the year that has elapsed since the appearance of Miss Mayo's notorious book called *Mother India*, as many as six rejoinders to it have appeared in India, England and even America which are enumerated at the top of this review. It is a pity that Mr. C. F. Andrews has not been able to carry out his intention of preparing a suitable refutation of Miss Mayo's book, for no living Englishman is better qualified for that task by reason of his intimate, first-hand knowledge of the realities of life in Modern India. It is to be hoped that Mr. Andrews may yet be able to write the book he contemplated. In the meantime we shall notice the six rejoinders which are lying before us. We have already noticed in terms of appreciation Mr. Natarajan's rejoinder. As we pointed out, it suffers from the defect of its quality, having seen the light as a series of articles in the *Indian Social*

Reformer. Making allowance for that fact Mr. Natarajan's brochure is, within its limits, the most effective criticism of Miss Mayo's unbalanced book and it deserves careful consideration at the hands of all seekers after truth about *Mother India* to the study of which it is a valuable contribution.

Both *Father India* and *Sister India* are cast in the same mould, though the latter is the better of the two. Mr. Ranga Iyer's much-banned book is, on the whole, disappointing. It smacks too much of journalism; while the irrelevant references to the ex-Maharaja of Nabha substantially detract from its merits and give the work the appearance of disguised propagandist literature. Apart from these defects and limitations, the book has some useful information on American conditions of to-day. *Sister India* is more dignified in its tone and spirit than *Father India* and it is thus a truly serious contribution to the study of the subject. Perhaps it would have been all the better if the author had chosen to issue the book over his name instead of taking shelter behind anonymity. It is obvious that a book of this type is not likely to inspire confidence unless the reader knows who it is that is writing. We hope that if a second edition be called for, the author would give up his anonymity. But for its "you are as bad as I am, if not worse" standard of judgment, there is much in *Sister India* that merits careful attention. We commend it to those who may be desirous of understanding modern Indian conditions from the Indian standpoint.

Mr. Dhan Gopal Mukerji is a Bengalee gentleman who has been long resident in the United States and has written a number of books in English, two of which have been received with appreciation. His

American publisher's statement printed on the jacket of his book—*A Son of Mother India Answers*—has the following note about the author: "There are no East and West to quarrel; there are only spirit seekers and matter mongers, who can be united through compassion. That is the message of Dhan Gopal Mukerji, who has known America since he came to earn his way through college by dishwashing and labor in the fields, and who knew India when as a Brahmin child he tended the village temple, and as a pilgrim he set forth with bowl and staff. Dhan Gopal Mukerji, still a young man, vital, keenly intelligent, is spreading this message of understanding in prose and in poetry that glow with an inner flame." Mr. Mukerji's book is principally meant for American readers, but it will appeal to Indians as well, for it is a challenging reply to *Mother India*. This reply is written by a man who is not only a native of India but is well-known throughout the United States as author and lecturer—and knows India thoroughly. For this reason those who have read *Mother India* will find Mr. Mukerji's book highly pungent: those who have not will find it a rich storehouse of little known facts about India and Indian life.

But by far the best of all rejoinders to Miss Mayo's book is Mr. Lajpat Rai's *Unhappy India*, by issuing which he has rendered one more notable service to India. His work is comprehensive, systematic, well-planned, well-reasoned and well-documented and it is beyond all doubt the most crushing, convincing and conclusive reply to Miss Mayo's *Mother India*. Mr. Lajpat Rai lived for years in America and thus writes of American conditions with first-hand knowledge. In the nature of things it was inevitable that the challenge thrown down by *Mother India* should be picked up, as charges against a nation such as Miss Mayo levels in her book could not be allowed to pass unheeded. And no one amongst living Indians is better qualified for the task than Mr. Lajpat Rai, whose work deserves wide appreciation. Remorselessly, analytically, step by step, he tests Miss Mayo's criticisms, or, as she calls them, facts, to pieces, till when the last page is reached not one iota of fact and truth remains in a book which is said to have set three continents talking. Mr. Lajpat Rai shirks no issue—however unpleasant. He boldly tackles each of the subjects dealt with by Miss Mayo—child marriages, immoral practices, sexual perversion and gratifications, the horrors of the Purdah, the iniquity of the temple women, slave mentality, untouchables, disloyalty to Britain, disease, dirt and degradation, riots, filthy sexual paintings and caste marks—one by one Mr. Lajpat Rai demolishes

the charges laid by Miss Mayo at his countrymen's door, and one by one he disposes of the witnesses for the prosecution till nothing is left of the case but the proverbial fallen house of cards or a pricked bubble. And it is to be noted to the author's credit that he writes with dignified restraint, as befitting the discussion. There is no sign of personal spleen or petulance. He might have dipped his pen in venom; instead he has written a book the effect of the perusal of which will be to cause a closer binding of the ties of mutual respect and affection that already exist between India and Great Britain. But though he himself writes with praiseworthy and commendable sobriety, he effectively makes use of authoritative quotations from books of reference on America. America seems to have forgotten to remove the mote from her own eye before tackling the beam that is—so Miss Mayo says—in India's eye. And as Horatio says in *Hamlet* "a mote it is to trouble the mind's eye." That is the way in which Mr. Lajpat Rai has succeeded in crushing Miss Mayo's lying and propagandist book. We understand that English and American editions of Mr. Lajpat Rai's book are proposed to be issued. That is as it should be. But as the Indian edition has had to be put together in great hurry, the text should be carefully revised to remove the errors that are inevitable in a work hurriedly prepared. In spite, however, of a few mistakes in its statements, Mr. Lajpat Rai's *Unhappy India* is a work that should be read carefully by all educated Indians.

Mr. J. A. Chapman is a delightful writer and in his little brochure, *India*, he paints most beautiful scenes with the deft touches of his brush. He possesses, as few indeed possess, that genuine sympathy with this country and its people which alone can enable one to look beneath the surface of things. At a time when clever propaganda has rendered it easy for foreigners to malign our helpless land, it is a relief to turn to Mr. Chapman's pages. A better reply to Miss Mayo's *Mother India* could scarcely have been penned—though it is not a rejoinder to that book, in the ordinary sense. Our author does not seek to controvert Miss Mayo, fact for fact. He treads a different path; it does not become everybody to search the filth in a country and proclaim to all the world that the stench is all it produces. Mr. Chapman only gives us some of his impressions about the people in vivid pen-pictures. He shuns rhetoric, and yet it is all so telling because of his right perspective. He speaks to us about some of the men and women of India that he has known, and when he stops we wish he had lingered longer. He presents

before us some of the aspects of the life of Mahadev Govind Ranade: it is good that we are sometimes reminded of the life and work of that man among men. Dr. Rabindranath Tagore's *Autobiography*, and Mr. Nilan Gopal Mukherji's *Caste and Out-caste*, furnish Mr. Chapman with more material for his studies. We only wonder how a Westerner could so enter into the spirit behind the outer mode of the life of Indian men and women so graphically portrayed by him in these pages. He then speaks of Indian literature—of the Vaishnava lyrics, of Ramprasad Sen, of Chittaranjan Das. His translations have been ably done, and we wish he had given us more of them. The idea of translating Ramprasad's songs is particularly happy. It is a thousand pities that for so long nothing was done to place before the non-Bengalee people the beautiful songs of Ramprasad, marvellous almost in their peculiar devotional fervour. Mr. Chapman refers to Miss Mayo's *Mother India* as an odious work: it is as if he dismissed it with a wave of his hand. Mr. Chapman loves the people of the land, and it is pleasant to hear him talk of them so sympathetically. His unstinted admiration for the gifted sons of India, a host of whom he has referred to, is the out-come of his deep-seated love for this country. Fond of "rishi-like" men as he is, he possesses the very virtues of a "rishi" without knowing it. An Englishman in externals but a true Indian at heart, he has learned to value the virtue of poverty in life as conducive to the moral and spiritual well-being of man. There is nothing shameful or degrading in all that he has known or seen of India at first-hand. To lay aside his book is to feel regretful. It is a helpful, thoughtful and stimulating treatise, and it is to be hoped that it will reach a wide public in India in Europe and America—since it brings into strong relief the truth a people's civilization and culture are not to be judged by their corruption but by their finest and highest manifestation. This is the lesson that Miss Mayo and her brothers and sisters have yet to learn.

affairs, as its merits are acknowledged all over the English-speaking world. It has long been recognized as the one indispensable book of reference for the statesman, the politician, the publicist and above all the journalist. The book is now divided into three parts, the first dealing with the countries constituting the British Commonwealth, the second with the United States of America and the third with the "Other Countries." Historical and statistical information about each country (and about each State or Province separately, of the Federal Commonwealths or Republics and the Indian Empire) is given under most of the following heads:—constitution and government, area and population, religion, instruction, justice and crime, pauperism, finance, defence, production and industry, commerce, shipping and navigation, internal communication, money and credit, weights and measures, and diplomatic representatives. The information being derived from official sources, the results recorded in the *Year-Book* are as full and accurate as it is possible to obtain. A very useful list of books of reference supplements the account of each country or State. The events of the past year have necessitated many changes in the new edition of the *Statesman's Year-Book*. Special attention has been given throughout the book to revision of the bibliographies, which are fully up-to-date and include the latest works; while a number of well-drawn maps about countries with political changes are a valuable feature and add much to the usefulness of this statistical and historical annual survey of the States of the world. Thanks to the co-operation of the Government departments of the various countries included in the *Year-Book* and of special authorities all over the world, the new issue will be found to be thoroughly overhauled, judiciously revised and fully brought up-to-date. The volume is a marvel of condensation, and the editor deserves to be congratulated on, not only the completeness and the accuracy of the information supplied, but for having brought it down to the latest available date, in this one supremely indispensable book of reference.

II. RECENT WORKS OF REFERENCE.

The Statesman's Year-Book, 1928. (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., St. Martin's Street, W. C. 2), 1928.

The reference annual of the greatest value to publicists is the *Statesman's Year-Book*, of which the edition for 1928 is the 65th publication. It would be idle to say anything in praise of this most valuable work of reference to students of current public

India in 1926-27. By J. Coatsman. (Government of India Central Publication Branch, Calcutta), 1928.

Dr. Rushbrook Williams—who is now the Foreign Minister of Patiala—achieved in his capacity as Director of Information a great triumph as a faithful and critical chronicler of current Indian affairs. The latest number of the well-known annual, is now edited by his successor in office. It has been found indispensable by all who wish to keep abreast of current developments in India, and Mr. Coatsman's survey is

fully equal to its predecessors in point of general interest. It deals in brief yet clear fashion with the outstanding problems of the Indian situation, combining complicated tendencies and important events into a readable narrative. The volume contains appreciation of India's international position, with special reference to the problems of Indians overseas and of Indian defence. It contains a survey of the financial and economic conditions of the year, together with an account of important developments in every branch of Governmental activity. Considerable space is devoted to constitutional problems and to the course of political events. The book will appeal to members of the general public as much as to students and men of affairs. It also contains a useful map of India, several charts, and descriptive diagrams, and photographs which materially enhance the usefulness of the book. We strongly recommend a careful study of this work to all interested in Indian progress, as the best and most informative compendium of general knowledge about the current conditions of India. We may revert to this important book in a later issue and appraise its contents. The object of this preliminary review is to bring to the notice of the reader this valuable compendium, the publication of which was overdue and future editions of which, we trust, will more promptly appear. We need scarcely add that in expressing our appreciation of Mr. Costman's work, we have limited ourselves to the compiler's matter, but not to his views.

The India Office List, 1928. (Harrison & Sons, Ltd., 44, St. Martin's Lane, London, W. C.), 1928.

Next to the *Statesman's year book*, the most useful reference work for use in India is *The India Office List* which is issued annually, in the month of May, by the India Office, and is compiled from official records by order of the Secretary of State for India in Council. Its usual contents comprise the following sections:—The staff at the India Office, the Indian Civil Service and all other holders of civil appointments with a substantive pay of not less than Rs. 300 a month (in classified lists under the various provinces), the Royal Indian Marine, chronological lists of heads of administration in India and in London, going back as far as 1600, the Indian orders and lists of members of the Indian service holding British honours, the various regulations for appointment to the services, extracts from civil and military regulations, an instructive article entitled "India," statistical tables, a record of services and the casualties for the past year. The index contains

nearly 10,000 names. The arrangement of the *India Office List* is, on the whole, admirable, and it is full of sound and useful information about India, from the excellent map of the Indian Empire with which it opens to the list of casualties with which it ends. In fact, we know of no other work of reference which supplies such a mass of most valuable and useful information, within the cover of a single volume, to every one interested in India. Our only regret is that its price is prohibitive for the purse of the average educated Indian, and we would impress upon the authorities the desirability of reducing it at least by half. Considering the vast range of the subjects dealt with in the *India Office List*, the book is remarkably free from inaccuracies, though it is hopeless to expect that any work of reference, and least of all one dealing with so complex a subject as the Indian Empire, will be absolutely accurate. To the general reader the most interesting portion of the book is the article on "India," which gives in some forty pages the quintessence of the four volumes called *The Indian Empire*, constituting the general section of the last edition of the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*. The current edition is fairly up-to-date and it will be found a valuable work of reference by all interested in Indian problems. In fact, no one interested in India can do without this book.

Denmark 1927. (Danish Ministry for Foreign Affairs and the Danish Statistical Department, Copenhagen, Denmark; also British Office at 25, Port Street, London, S. W. 1).

Some years back we noticed in terms of appreciation three works in English dealing with Norway, and Sweden; and also with the third of the Scandinavian countries—namely, Denmark. We have great pleasure in welcoming a new, thoroughly revised edition of the latter. It is an official publication and deals in a popular way with the facts and figures of present-day Denmark. Almost every thing of current interest comes within the field of survey—the royal family, the land and the people, the constitution and administration, education and press, agriculture and fisheries, handicrafts and industries, trade and shipping, finance, banking institutions and money market, communications and ports, museums and foundations, social conditions and various other matters of equal interest. Being an official work, the information brought together in it is unimpeachable on the score of accuracy and it is also fully abreast of the latest events and incidents. The get-up of the book is excellent—the printing being neat, the wraps

well-drawn, the binding limp, and the size convenient. Altogether it is a commendable enterprise that the Danish Government have embarked upon with a view to popularise, in the English-knowing world, a knowledge of the present condition of Denmark—political, economic, social and industrial. The result is a handbook replete with sound and useful information, which will be indispensable to all interested in the fortunes and problems of Denmark.

The Year-Book of the Universities of the Empire, 1928. (Messrs. G. Bell and Sons, Ltd., York House, Portugal Street, London, W. C., 2) 1928.

The Year-Book of the Universities of the Empire for 1928, supplies detailed information regarding the Universities in the British Commonwealth, culled from the official University Calendars, which will prove of interest to all members of universities and colleges, Government departments, schoolmasters and the public generally. In the chapters introductory to the sections dealing with the universities is collected such information regarding their history, regulations and practice as they share in common. Every section contains a directory of the officers and members of the staff of the university; an account of the equipment in libraries, museums, laboratories, etc., of the university; the degrees, diplomas and certificates which it confers, scholarships open to graduates, university publications, etc.; and, statistics of the numbers of students in attendance and degrees conferred. The volume also contains appendices of great value and interest to those interested in the educational activities, in that they give useful information in regard to professions and careers for which university studies are a fitting preparation; admission of students from abroad to the universities of Great Britain; notes of foreign universities, etc. *The Year-Book of Universities* is thus an indispensable publication which those who seek any information on affairs pertaining to education cannot but find it to their profit and advantage to consult.

The Liberal Year-Book, 1928. (The Liberal Publication Department, 22, Parliament Street, London, S. W., 1) 1928.

The three great political parties in Great Britain have each their organs in the press and an annual work of ready reference—the Labourites their *Labour Year-Book*, the Conservatives their *Constitutional*

Year-Book and the Liberals their *Liberal Year-Book*. The edition of the last, for the current year, is the twenty-fourth of the series. It is carefully revised from year to year. All obsolete matter is judiciously pruned off, and new information—which may be reasonably looked for in an annual reference work of this kind—is inserted and the whole text is studiously revised and overhauled. The result is that each new edition is not only thoroughly up-to-date and abreast of the latest political data, but replete with a vast store of information about British politics, not easily accessible to students of public affairs in India. The book, though primarily compiled for the use of the members of the Liberal party, is of great utility to public men even in this country. Two of its most attractive features, of special interest to Indian publicists, are the excellent sketch of parliamentary procedure and the fairly comprehensive bibliography of current books of political interest. Altogether *The Liberal Year-Book* is one of the most valuable works of reference. The current edition is fully abreast of the latest events and incidents, and deserves a hearty welcome.

The Anglo-American Year-Book 1928. (American Chamber of Commerce in London, 8, Waterloo Place, London, S. W. 1) 1928.

The Anglo-American Year-Book is a reference work which would be indispensable to Americans resident in Great Britain. Besides containing useful directories, it includes a residential, professional and commercial lists of Americans and American business houses and their agents in Great Britain and British houses and their agents in America; also an Anglo-American "who's who." It contains much useful information on British and American trade relations. We welcome the revised annual edition for the current year, the previous issues of which have been noticed in terms of appreciation in the *Hindustan Review*. The editors have done their work of selection, omission and alteration judiciously, with the result that this annual publication is now a most useful work of reference and deserves wide appreciation, alike for its excellent arrangement and up-to-date information on matters of interest both to the British and the Americans. The information about British trade and commerce—though primarily designed for Americans—will be found no less useful by merchants and tradesmen in India, interested in the subject. Altogether, it is a capital work of reference which deserves appreciation and also a large circulation in the English-knowing world.

Webster's Royal Red Book. (A. Webster and Co., 44, Dover St., London, W. 1) 1928.

Webster's Royal Red Book is the only reference work of importance issued regularly twice a year. It is the oldest work of its kind, judging from the fact that the May (1928) number is the 272nd edition. It is issued every January and May, and the May editions are naturally intended for the London season. Its main features are the London street guide which runs up to about 250 pages, followed by a classified list of prominent London professional and business houses,—a feature which will be found very useful by purchasers in India. A detailed list of addresses of the residents in London, an almanac for 1928, the list of the Members of the Houses of Lords and Commons, the Government offices, clubs, public societies and institutions, hotels, plans of theatres etc., form other useful features of the publication, and all corrections are made up-to-date and carefully checked before its issue. *The Royal Red Book* is thus a valuable guide which visitors to London and the London public cannot afford to ignore. It is the great reference work to London society, and its usefulness is maintained by careful and judicious revisions twice a year.

The World-Wide Wedge. (Dorland Advertising Ltd., 14, Regent Street, London, S. W. 1), 1928.

The World-Wide Wedge in spite of its alliterative name is a very useful book of reference and will be found particularly so by advertisers all over the world, for whom it is primarily intended, having been compiled by one of the greatest advertising agencies in the British Commonwealth. Full particulars are given in it of the leading newspapers and journals throughout the world with detailed information as to their tariff rates etc. We know of no other work which in so small a compass covers so large a ground and that too so well. The Indian section (pp. 137-40) needs careful revision by some expert. Also the term "Native papers" should be replaced in subsequent editions by "Indian papers." For all that, the first edition is highly useful and deserves wide appreciation.

Where to Fish. Edited by H. T. Sheringham (The Field Press, Ltd., Windsor House, Brunel's Buildings, London, E. C. 4) 1928.

Where to Fish—which is now in its fifty-sixth issue—is the angler's diary and *vaude-macum*. It is

the most comprehensive work of its kind as its jurisdiction extends over all the continents. It deals fully with angling stations in all the countries, close seasons and licenses, recent angling history, books of reference, practical hints, notable fish, fishing clubs, fish farms and various other topics and includes diary pages for notes and memoranda. The book is thus replete with very useful information and should be the guide, philosopher and friend of every angler in all countries.

Ferguson's Ceylon Directory, 1928. (The Ceylon Observer Press, Colombo) 1928.

We welcome the current edition of that famous reference annual, *Ferguson's Ceylon Directory*. It is quite an institution in the Crown Colony of Ceylon, as one of the oldest publications of its class and kind in Asia, and justly enjoys a pre-eminently high position amongst annual works of reference. It deals comprehensively with almost every phase of civil, political and industrial activity in Ceylon and contains a mine of useful information relating to plantations and estates, railways, steamers, motor routes and traffic regulations. All the sections have been carefully overhauled, with the result that the Directory is thoroughly abreast of the latest events and incidents. Replete with information on almost all Ceylon matters it will be highly useful to all who have anything to do with that island. Great credit is due to the publishers for keeping up the high standard of this indispensable work by careful revision for each new issue. The latest edition has been completely revised and fully brought up-to-date and its contents are far more accurate than is usually the case with the average directory. *Ferguson's Directory* is the one indispensable reference annual dealing with Ceylon on a most comprehensive scale, and its new edition is, therefore, always welcome.

III. RECENT TOURIST LITERATURE.

The South and East African Year-Book and Guide (1928 Edition). Edited annually for The Union-Castle Mail Steamship Co., Ltd., London. By A. Samler Brown, F.R.M.S., and G. Gordon Brown, F.R.G.S. (3, Fenchurch Street, London, E. C. 3).

Messrs. Samler Brown and Gordon Brown's *South and East African Year-Book and Guide* is beyond all doubt one of the best works of its class and kind and

informative for the territories it deals with. This meritorious guide is now in its 34th year. Each annual edition sees many new features and improvements and the current issue is worthy of special attention. To make the book accessible to all, the price has been reduced from 5s. to 3s. 6d., but there has been no reduction or cheapening with regard to its size or matter. The book is divided into three sections: Part I deals with South Africa; Part II with East Africa; and Part III with Sport and Research. The wants of the businessman, sportsman, tourist, and invalid are fully catered for. Detailed descriptions of the towns and of the country are given, and there is everything that may be required in the form of index, plans, diagrams, maps, etc. There are nearly 1,000 pages of text with plans and diagrams and a specially prepared atlas of 62 pages of maps in colour, constituting the finest atlas of South and East Africa available, which is carefully kept up-to-date. As a gazetteer for office use this work is without a rival: the index contains 2,000 place names. Imports and exports, means of transport and communication, etc., are dealt with in considerable detail, together with the rapid growth in manufacture. It would thus be seen that there is no concise publication extant in which will be found more correct, more useful or more practical information on all subjects connected with South and East Africa than in this volume packed with information about all the countries in this area, ranging from slave-dealing and gold mining to attractions for the tourist and the health-seeker. The descriptions of the towns and of the country, of the through routes and of the side connexions are thorough and up-to-date. In general the book fulfils many useful purposes and to residents in India, where East African affairs now command so much attention, it should be invaluable. We have much pleasure in commending this highly useful work of reference, which is annually overhauled, judiciously revised and kept abreast of the latest changes, to the attention of all interested in the fortunes of South and East African countries—whether for the sake of business or pleasure—to which it is an ideal guide.

Baedeker's Hand-books (a) *Great Britain* (1917) and (b) *Italy* (1925). By Karl Baedeker (Leipzig, Germany).

In view of the celebration of the centenary in July last year of the famous publishing firm of Baedekers, we published in April, 1927, a sketch of its origin, growth and world-wide activities. Since then new editions have been issued of the hand-books to Great

Britain and Italy. Each of these fully sustains the justly-earned very high reputation of the firm for its guide-books, in the matter of soundness, accuracy, abridgement of events and incidents and up-to-date-ness in practical information. We may suggest that a section dealing with Ireland, added to the next edition of the *Hand-Book to Great Britain*, will make it still more useful to travellers, particularly to those from America. As regards the *Hand-Book to Italy*, the new edition is very welcome, as the old one was much behind the time. It would be highly useful to intending travellers in that land of scenic beauty and Art. This hand-book is an abridgement of the three more detailed volumes on Northern, Central and Southern Italy, and admirably serves the avowed purpose of telling the traveller who has only a few weeks to spend in the country all that he need know. It is so long since the previous edition appeared that it has been necessary entirely to re-write the new edition. Every item of information has been revised from the most trustworthy sources down to the beginning of this year, but wisely the familiar arrangement of *Baedekers* is retained, for long experience has shown it to be unequalled for ease of reference. Thus this volume will be highly convenient for those who do not require detailed information and the ordinary traveller will find here practically all that he will want to know. We have but two criticisms to offer. We miss the "select bibliography" which is so useful a feature of *Baedekers*, and think the volume should have also included in its scope Sicily, if not the other Italian islands as well. We hope to see these two omissions supplied in the next edition.

Finding the Worth While in the Orient. By L. S. Kirtland. (George Harrap & Co., Ltd., 37-41, Parker Street, Kingsway, London, W. C. 2), 1928.

Mr. L. S. Kirtland's *Finding the Worth While in the Orient* supplies a long-felt want and is calculated to save the visitor in the East days of wasted travel. It is not written as an ordinary guide-book, yet it provides a vast amount of invaluable information for travellers in the East who may not know the places most worth a visit and those to be avoided. The countries dealt with are Japan, China, Korea, the Philippines, the Dutch East Indies, Malaya, Siam, French-Indo-China, Burma, India, and Ceylon. There are 28 illustrations from photographs, all of unusual interest, and the book is bound to prove highly useful to the traveller in the Orient. India is covered in two chapters, one for the North and Kashmir, and the

other for the Centre and South. Mr. Kirland says what he has to say pleasantly, and though he seldom says much about any one topic, he covers so much ground that the book runs to 400 pages. Apart from the excellently produced illustrations, there is a comprehensive index, which will be useful.

London, 1928. (*The Residential Hotels and Caterers Association*, 26, Woburn Place, Russell Square, London, W. C. 1), 1928.

A Guide to the Principal Hotels and Restaurants of Great Britain. (Hotels and Restaurants Association, 11-13, Southampton Row, London, W. C. 1), 1928.

The two books enumerated above are issued annually by the organizations mentioned after the names of the works, within brackets; while a third—called *Barrow's British Hotels*—was also a well-known annual publication issued by a firm which specializes in tourist literature, but which work has now been merged in and superseded by the second book on our list. *London, 1928*—which is in its seventh annual edition—is a very useful guide to the hub of the universe, since it tells you, in a short compass, what to see, where to stay at residential hotels—i.e., at private establishments which are “unlicensed” for the sale of alcoholic liquors—and what you will have to pay for your accommodation, in London; besides giving full particulars about these hotels which are owned by the members of the Residential Hotels and Caterers Association. Well-illustrated, brimful of the latest information about the scenes and sights of London, it is for its price—which is but six pence—the cheapest, best and most up-to-date guide to the capital city of the British Commonwealth.

The scope of the second publication in our list is not, in a sense, so wide as that of *London, 1928*. Divided into two parts, its first section deals with the “licensed” London hotels and restaurants in which the members of the Hotels and Restaurants Association (founded in 1906) are interested, and the second section is similarly devoted to those in Great Britain outside London. Beginning with a select list of the best-known establishments of the metropolis, an alphabetical arrangement is adopted for the country generally, with a separate classification for Scottish hotels, which facilitates reference. But this is not all. In addition to useful information regarding accommodation, telephone numbers and telegraphic addresses, with a short note descriptive of the attractions in the

various towns, the tariff charges for bedrooms, meals, etc., are appended in each case, also a photographic view of the establishment in question. The book—which is copiously illustrated—will be serviceable to travellers in the British Isles seeking suitable accommodation in such hotels or taking meals at such restaurants as are licensed to supply liquor on the premises—as opposed to the “residential” hotels or private establishments, which are not so licensed, and which are dealt with in *London, 1928*. Since it has absorbed *Barrow's British Hotels*, the *Guide* is now the only official hand-book so far as licensed hotels and restaurants in Great Britain are concerned. We are glad to find that its scope has been enlarged and improvements have been effected which render it far more useful than the previous editions. Both *London 1928* and the *Guide* are very neatly printed on good paper, are well-illustrated and are in handy pocket size, convenient for being carried about when travelling.

Lucknow: The Garden of India. (G. W. Lawrie & Co., Lucknow), 1928.

Messrs. Lawrie & Co. are a firm of photographers and Art publishers of long standing in Lucknow. In their *Lucknow: The Garden of India* they have brought out an excellent and exceedingly well-illustrated hand-book to the historic capital of the province of Oudh. It contains a short sketch of the rulers of Oudh and of the buildings they built. There is also a four-day's itinerary for the visitor to Lucknow. The text is both historical and descriptive and the visitor will find it highly useful. But it is the numerous admirable photographic reproductions that form a distinctive feature of the book. These are well reproduced and materially enhance the value of the letter-press.

Wheeler's Indian Guide to British Health Resorts, 1928. (A. H. Wheeler & Co., Temple Chambers, Temple Avenue, London, E. C. 4; also at Bombay, Calcutta, Allahabad), 1928.

The Medical Directory Guide to the British Spas and Climatic Health Resorts, 1928. (J. & A. Churchill, 22, Gloucester Place, Portman Square, London, W. 1), 1928.

The Indian Guide to British Health Resorts is an useful hand-book to the beauty spots and health resorts of Great Britain. Issued annually at a nominal price

of four annas, it will be specially appreciated and welcomed by those who wish to enjoy their "home" leave. The illustrations, numbering over hundred, leave nothing to be desired, while the letter-press though necessarily brief and concise, is accurate and informative. The arrangement of the text is alphabetical, which facilitates reference. Containing as it does descriptions of all the leading health resorts together with beautiful photographic reproductions, it will be invaluable to those in India who may be visiting Britain for the sake of health.

A Guide to the British Spas and Climatic Health Resorts is annually compiled by the editor of the Health Resorts Section of the *Medical Directory*. It is an excellent, illustrated hand-book to British Spas and health resorts—both inland and coastal—and includes useful lists of hotels, hydros and residential accommodation. Revised with the assistance of medical and health officers, its information is fully up-to-date, and it will be found exceedingly useful by invalids and visitors to those places. This book and Wheeler's *Guide* usefully supplement each other.

Sicily: Present and Past. By Ashley Brown. (Methuen & Co., 36, Essex Street, London, W. C.1, 1928.

Sicily: Present and Past, by the author of *Greece: Old and New*, will be very welcome to those intending visitors to Sicily who are familiar with the happy fashion in which Mr. Ashley Brown conveys his information. The most important tourist centres upon the island are dealt with in detail, and sufficient is said of the lesser known sites to make this work of unusual interest. The great show places are fully dealt with, but Mr. Brown, being an experienced traveller, has given attention, too, to lesser known sites, and those who follow in his footsteps will find at the end of their tour that they know much more of Sicily than those who are content with an ordinary guide-book. The book is divided into two parts—the first descriptive and the second historical, and Mr. Brown's vigorous and picturesque style makes every page capital reading. The author deals in a fascinating manner with the historical aspect of the Sicilian monuments, whilst his comments, at once penetrating and entertaining, give a distinct individuality to what should prove one of the most popular works yet written upon the most beautiful island in Europe. Mr. Brown's book is a pleasant and useful one, and it can be recommended to those who wish to learn something about the history and the buildings of the places they are to visit in Sicily.

Pocket Guide to May Meetings and to London.

U. E. May, 68, Fleet Street, London, E. C. 41.

Mr. J. E. May's *Pocket Guide to May Meetings and to London* contains in its 112 pages the usual long list, in dated order, of May Meetings, conventions and conferences, and gives a good idea of the greatness of the varied activities of the many philanthropic and religious institutions of the country. It will also be found useful by the general reader who is also entered for, and who will find the large coloured map very useful, showing as it does the principal thoroughfares and buildings at a glance. The well-written illustrated article on "The Bells of London" is full of interest. Altogether Mr. May's annual volume is a capital little guide.

IV. RECENT LEGAL LITERATURE

Commentaries on the Law of Evidence. By "Bavanandam Academy." (Higginbotham & Co., Mount Road, Madras), 1928.

The "Bavanandam Academy" which was founded and endowed by Dewan Bahadur Bavanandam Pillai, Ex-sheriff of Madras, has a Law department, which has produced (with the co-operation of eminent lawyers and high judicial functionaries) the book under review, called *Commentaries on the Law of Evidence in British India*. It is a bulky volume of about 1200 pages and its especial features comprise the following amongst many others of importance:—(1) Commentary—an analytical, expository and illuminating commentary on the Law of Evidence, with annotations and case-law incorporating about 7,000 English and Indian cases brought up to March, 1928, containing a correct, concise and clear view of the provisions of each section of the Act and an analytical and critical exposition of the principles involved therein by reference to English and Indian cases; (2) exhaustive synopsis—the only work yet published on the subject in which an exhaustive synopsis of all the points dealt with has been given under each section. The arrangement of the topics and the principles in the synopsis under every section are among the unique features of this book. The synopsis is invaluable as it is designed to facilitate the study of the subject; (3) Introduction—in the elaborate Introduction extending over 70 pages the origin and development of the Law of Evidence have been traced and a survey of the provisions of the Act and copious extracts are given from the several standard works on the subject and from the

Reports of the Select Committee and the speeches in the Legislative Council in which, at various stages of the Bill, the Law Member explained its principles and arrangement. (4) bibliography of the Law of Evidence—two tabular statements—one showing the names, etc., of the authors and the description of the works on the Law of Evidence in India and the other showing those on English, Scotch and American Law. (5) Evidence are given for bibliographic reference; (6) statutory and Legislative provisions saved by Section 2 of the Act—A chronological tabular statement showing the Acts of the Governor-General of India in Council, the Acts of the Provincial Legislatures, the Regulations of the Bengal, Bombay and Madras Codes and the Acts of Parliament applicable to India which contain all outstanding rules of Evidence expressly saved by the second section of the Indian Evidence Act is inserted in the book for easy reference; (7) table of cases and subject index—an exhaustive table of about 7000 cases giving the names of parties and references, adds in the utility of the work; (8) copious subject index—the exhaustive subject index logically arranged makes the book complete as a work of constant reference. The typography adopted will readily catch the eye of the reader, so that the required reference may be found with the least amount of search and in the shortest possible space of time; (9) an exhaustive list of about 300 abbreviations with explanations is given to facilitate reference; (10) maxims and dicta—a full list of over 200 maxims and dicta used in standard works on Law of Evidence with clear explanations has been added; (11) legislative proceedings—the Law Commissioners' Report and Proceedings in Council prior to the passing of the Bill including the speech of the Hon'ble Mr. Stephen on presenting the Report of the Select Committee are added as appendix A of about 75 pages as they form a complete explanation of the Act by its chief framer and others who approved of, and were responsible for it; (12) all the measures relating to judicial evidence—all the measures (about ten in number) connected with the subject of judicial evidence, which legal practitioners and others may find it convenient to have at hand have been added in appendix B. It would thus be seen that this unique and up-to-date work has been written to meet the urgent need keenly felt by the legal profession, judicial Officers, litigants as well as students and members of the public interested in the subject. No practitioner can, with safety, ignore this work which may prove a formidable instrument in the hands of his opponents. We have much pleasure in commending it to the magistracy, the judiciary and the profession.

Justice and Administrative Law. By W. A. Robson. (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., St. Martin's Street, London), 1928.

Dr. W. A. Robson—who is a Lecturer on Law at the London School of Economics and Political Science—has in his *Justice and Administrative Law* attempted a study of one of the most important phases of modern British constitution. Readers of the late Dr. Dicey's famous *Introduction to the Law of the Constitution* will recall the statement that "*Droit administratif* is not to be identified with any part of English law." *Droit administratif* is the name of the French system—which obtains more or less in some other Continental States—under which officials can not be proceeded against in the ordinary courts but only before special tribunals constituted for the purpose. The main contention of Dr. Robson is to join issue with Dr. Dicey. He urges that "Dicey did not look very far below the surface" in claiming for English law that it has no taint of the *droit administratif*. He claims to have established that that is not so, as "there is in fact at the present time in England a very considerable body of administrative law—jurisdiction of a judicial nature exercised by administrative agencies over the rights and property of citizens and corporate bodies." Dr. Robson has marshalled his arguments well and has tried his best to make out his contention. But we do not think he can be said to have fully succeeded in his effort. He himself admits that "there is, it is true, nothing similar to the French system in England,but (he adds) because there is no *droit administratif*, it does not follow that we are without a system of administrative law." It seems to us that the author has not kept clearly before him the distinction between the two, which are not quite the same. However it be, it is clear that Dr. Robson's book though not convincing is suggestive and thought provoking. His *Justice and Administrative Law* is a stimulating contribution to the discussion of the subject and deserves appreciation.

The Book of English Law. By Dr. E. Jenks. (John Murray, Albemarle Street, London, W.1, 1928).

The Book of English Law by Dr. Edward Jenks, —Professor of English Law in the University of London—has for its object a description of the framework and principles of the whole of English Law, in language intelligible to the educated layman. It is based upon the experience of a course of lectures delivered during the last three sessions to University audiences of a non-professional character, which was undertaken at the suggestion of, and in close accor-

dance with a scheme prepared by, Lord Justice Atkin and Sir William Beveridge, K. C. B., the present Vice-Chancellor of the University. The book has further had the singular good fortune of having been carefully read in MS by Lord Justice Atkin, who has given the author the benefit of his criticisms and who contributes a Foreword. It is admittedly an ambitious book to attempt a complete and readable statement of the fundamentals of English law and procedure in a single volume of moderate size. But the learned author's long experience as a teacher and writer on the subject justifies the belief that he has succeeded. The book offers a popular sketch of the whole body of English Law—civil and criminal, substantive and procedural—and explains in lucid language the principles of the legal system of England. The result is a work which should interest that large circle of readers who (without having any professional interest) would like to possess some knowledge of the elements of English Law.

A Dissertation on the Muslim Law of Marriage and A Dissertation on the Administration of Justice of Muslim Law. By Mahomed Ullah, Bar-at-Law, (Butterworth & Co., India, Ltd., 6, Hastings Street, Calcutta), 1928.

Mr. Mahomed Ullah's two dissertations are interesting contributions to the study of Mussalman Law. The principles of Muslim law of marriage are drawn mainly from Arabic authorities. The book shows a commendable spirit of research and the author is possessed of critical acumen. Being based on the original sources the exposition of the subject is sound and accurate, while the comparisons instituted with other systems of law on the same subject make the work particularly useful for a study of Comparative Jurisprudence. For these reasons the book is a notable addition to the literature of Anglo-Muslim law as administered in the courts of British India. In the *Dissertation on Muslim Justice* the author has presented an historical narrative and surveyed the progress of the Muslim Law, during the era of the Holy Prophet, Al-Khulafa-ur-rashidin, the Umayyad, the Abbasside and the Fatimid Khilafat, in Spain, in the Turkish Empire and Egypt, in Persia, and finally in India during the reigns of the early Muslim monarchs, the Moghal Emperors and the East India Company practically till the events of 1862. This little work reviewing the systems of courts and procedure in the principal states, past and present, of the Muslim world, is prefaced by an Introduction giving an abstract of various conceptions of the State, and is a work of merit.

Misleading Cases in the Common Law. Reported by A. P. Herbert (Methuen & Co., 36, Essex Street, Strand, London, E. C.), 1928.

Mr. Herbert's *Misleading Cases in the Common Law*—which is introduced by the Lord Chief Justice of England—is, of course, a book on legal humour. None of the younger writers has so quickly and safely made a name as Mr. Herbert, who is everywhere welcomed as a humorist, a wit, a keen satirist and a chivalrous champion of the under-dog. Although chiefly known as a writer of short sketches and rollicking verse, he is the author of a psychological war novel of great power, of a sensational mystery story, of light fantastic social dialogues and nonsense with a sting. Thus there is no more alert or uncompromising satirist now writing than the author of this book. Among his constant batts the professional advocate has always occupied a prominent place, and now a whole volume is given to him. That no ill-will is felt on the other side may be gathered from the fact that the Lord Chief Justice himself bestows his blessing on Mr. Herbert's very diverting pages.

V. RECENT SOCIOLOGICAL LITERATURE

The Mechanism of the Modern State. By Sir John Marriott, 2 Vols. (Oxford University Press, Bombay), 1927.

Sir John Marriott's *Mechanism of the Modern State* is a learned, luminous, and highly instructive work. The author has for many years past represented Oxford and York in the House of Commons. He had been engaged upon his present monumental work for many years and his preliminary study of *English Political Institutions* has been accepted as the text-book on the subject in all parts of the English-speaking world, and in other countries. The present work is on a much larger scale and combines wide historical research with first-hand experience of affairs. It deals with the actual mechanism of the modern State, as exemplified primarily in Britain, but also in the British Dominions and other leading States of the modern world. Sir John Marriott is, at once, the most learned of politicians and the most politically-minded (in the classical sense) of historians. As Chairman for several years of the Estimates Committee of the House of Commons, as a member of the Bryce Committee (Second-Chamber Conference), of the National Expenditure Committee, and of the Public Accounts Com-

mitter he has acquired a knowledge of the actual working of the administrative machine unique among living historians, and equalled by few if any politicians. The result is an exhaustive treatise on a subject of the highest importance to the statesman, the politician, the publicist, the professor and the student of the subject. It has many merits which deserve appreciation, amongst which may be mentioned its comprehensiveness, accuracy, soundness, broad outlook and masterly exposition of the whole constitutional and administrative system. The book will be found of the highest utility. Appended to the work is a large collection of documents illustrative of procedure, legislative and executive. *The Mechanism of the Modern State* will be indispensable as a work of reference for students in every library of the world, while the author's reputation as an expositor of exceptional lucidity will secure for his important work a wide welcome from the general reader, who desires to know something of the political institutions under which he lives and the machinery by which his daily life is increasingly controlled. We hope it would be possible for the publishers to issue before long a cheap and popular edition of the whole work in one handy volume, which will ensure it the large circulation which it so richly deserves.

Industry and Politics. By Sir Alfred Mond. (Macmillan & Co., St. Martin's Street, London, W. C. 2), 1927.

In his collection called *Industry and Politics* Sir Alfred Mond has brought together essays and addresses on modern industrial problems which betray not only first-hand knowledge of the subject but a capacity for expert criticism and constructive suggestion. The topics dealt with are many, of which the most important are peace in industry, unemployment, arbitration, security for the worker, and profit-sharing. These are all dealt with skill and knowledge and the writer's comments on them are apt and apposite. Particular interest attaches to Sir Alfred's treatment of the application of science to industry and with the growing need of reorganizing industry on lines suited to modern conditions and requirements. The essay on Rationalization of Industry is a most lucid and conviction carrying statement of the prospect of increasing industrial prosperity by adaptation and adjustment to modern conditions in the West. Sir Alfred Mond has thus produced an instructive and highly stimulating work, which we have great pleasure in commending to the notice of all students of present-day economic and industrial problems.

Modern Japan and its Problems. By G. C. Allen (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 40, Museum Street, London, W.C.) 1928.

In his *Modern Japan and its Problems*, Mr. G. C. Allen has made a solid and substantial contribution to the sociological conditions of the greatest Asiatic power and admittedly one of the greatest in the world. The author, who was for several years a lecturer in a Japanese Government College, has tried to interpret the civilization and the national character of Japan in the light of his experience and of his studies in that country. He describes the novel problems and phenomena which have been created by the attempt of the Japanese to graft the political, the economic, and the educational institutions of the West on to their oriental, social organization. He deals with the influence of the West on the different phases of the national life, and with the attitude of the Japanese to Europe and America. Particular attention is given to industrial and financial development and to contemporary economic problems. There are chapters on the political system, on the social organization, and on the educational system; and there is a special study of the population problem. The book is thus fairly comprehensive in its scope and treatment and the writer has brought to bear upon the discussion an unprejudiced frame of mind. The result is a work of merit which deserves acknowledgment and wide appreciation.

Italy To-day. By Sir Frank Fox. (Herbert Jenkins Ltd., 3, York Street, St. James's, London, S.W. 1) 1927.

The literature of Mussolini's Italy is growing apace in English. Italy—the new, vital, aggressive Italy—seeking her place in the world, not the museum Italy of the tourists, is Sir Frank Fox's theme in *Italy To-day*. Is Mussolini an accident or the expression of a true national awakening as was Caesar, or as were the great men of the Renaissance? That is the chief of the questions he discusses, and he bases his inquiry on a close study of the industrial conditions and the political and social thought of Italy in 1927, as well as on the historic origins of the people and the effects of the World War on their outlook. Though one may not agree with all the views expressed by the author, there can be no doubt that the reader will rise from a perusal of this book with a clearer conception of the sociological conditions in present-day Italy. It is an admirable exposition of the State of affairs in Italy under Mussolini.

Modern Denmark. By Hugh Jones (P. S. King & Son, Ltd., Orchard House, Westminster, London) 1937.

Mr. Hugh Jones's *Modern Denmark* is a study of the agricultural, the economic and the social life of that country. Within the short compass of about 80 pages the author presents an excellent conspectus of the sociological condition of the Denmark of to-day. The book—small as it is—deals fairly comprehensively with all the salient sociological features of the country, in the light of its history. Economic factors, educational progress, religious freedom, social evolution, co-operative enterprise, credit and insurance facilities, land culture and production, efficiency, organization and control are all instructively surveyed, while the last chapter is rightly devoted to useful deductions and profitable suggestions. A series of valuable tables and a select bibliography are appended which materially increase the utility of the book. Mr. Jones's work should deeply interest all students of the sociological conditions of the land of the Danes.

VI. RECENT BOOKS ON CHINA AND JAPAN.

San Min Chu I: Edited by L. T. Chen. **What's Right with China.** By O. D. Rasmussen. (The Commercial Press, Ltd., Paoshan Road, Shanghai, China) 1937.

The Kuomintang, or Nationalist Party, which is showing so much vigor and enthusiasm in modern Chinese politics, was organized by the late Dr. Sun and is animated by the Three Principles of the People enunciated by him. To members of the party Dr. Sun is a hero. His principles are being taught in schools as a required course, and are daily preached to the youth, to the army, to workmen, and to the people as a whole. Wherever the Kuomintang holds sway, Dr. Sun's parting message is recited before the opening of any meeting. Thus Nationalism is the driving force that moves China to-day. No one can hope to understand the ideals and aspirations of the Chinese people without a knowledge of the Three Principles of the People and what the Kuomintang stands for. *San Min Chu I* which means "The Three Principles of the People" is a work (in Chinese) by the late Chinese leader. It has been rendered into English by Mr. F. W. Price and edited by Mr. L. T. Chen. The translation is very well done. In view of the prominent and influential position which *The Three Principles of the People* holds in the Chinese Nationalist movement, Mr. Price has rendered a complete translation. It will be of help to westerners, as it is a very important contribution to current affairs.

Geographical and historical references have been verified, and the book has been equipped with features making for its greater utility. Three features not in the original Chinese text have been added in the translation: the number of paragraphs has been increased. A few brief notes have been added to explain generally unfamiliar names and references. A brief summary has been placed at the beginning of each chapter, and a short biographical sketch by the editor is prefixed to the book. This translation is issued under the auspices of the China Committee, Institute of Pacific Relations, as a volume of the "International Understanding Series" with the hope that it will promote a better understanding abroad of the great forces that are now driving China forward. It should certainly succeed in its object in making the present political aims and objects of the Chinese better understood and appreciated outside China.

Mr. O. D. Rasmussen's *What's Right with China* is a fearless refutation of gratuitous insults to China's institutions and people, and is one of the most remarkable books on China ever written. It effectively answers the trite, much-hackneyed criticisms which have become the stock-in-trade of publicists, and which serve no purpose other than to perpetuate contentions, embitter the issues involved, and generally befog the Sino-foreign relations. The author takes each pet criticism, puts it to the test of analysis as to its applicability and truth and compares it with analogous conditions in Western countries. The mountain of critical publicity that has accumulated in the past few years dissolves with remarkable speed when subjected to this manual attack, and the author has thus rendered very great service to the Chinese. He has scorned the ordinary fine writing and abstract opinionating which goes towards current literature on China and instead takes the actual words of each critic and subjects them to close scrutiny upon their merits. He goes to the source of accepted history on China to disprove the basis upon which a great deal of anti-Chinese criticism rests, and in this respect his work is of paramount importance to current study of the subject. He appends a short bibliography for those who desire further study. Dr. Rasmussen is fully aware of the existence of unhappy causes of misunderstanding as viewed by both the Chinese and foreign elements, but he shows throughout this work that most of the current recrimination is ill-judged, badly timed, faintly based, and more or less irrelevant to the principal issues. His underlying appeal, from the first chapter to the last, is for the elimination of false perspectives, the sweeping aside of the vast smokescreen of propaganda raised by selfish interests, and their substitution by a common-sense

programme of co-operation and readjustment. May he succeed in his noble effort.

The Chinese Puzzle. By Arthur Ransome (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 40, Museum Street, London, W.C. 1) 1927.

The China of To-day. By Stephen King-Hall (The Hogarth Press, 52, Tavistock Square, W.C. 1) 1927.

It was stated by a critic of Mr. Ransome's writings on China that to read them "is like getting into a well-ventilated, cool, light room, in which thought and judgment once more become possible. Here is a man with a fair, observant, educated mind, who tells us freshly and temperately how he sees the puzzles and the problems of China; the result is that he is credible and—what is more difficult, comprehensible." This seems to us—in the words of the immortal Mr. Tony Weller—to verge on the poetical. Mr. Lloyd George who introduces Mr. Ransome's book—*The Chinese Puzzle*—is less poetical but no less enthusiastic. He says that "Mr. Ransome's vivid pages give us a real insight." After having read *The Chinese Puzzle* we are disposed to agree with the ex-Premier that it is a graphic presentation of the state of affairs in China, written dispassionately and even sympathetically. The book should be studied by all students of current international affairs.

Mr. Stephen King-Hall's *China of To-day* is but a pamphlet of 42 pages and is necessarily a meagre sketch of a great subject. But though that is so, his treatment of the subject is fair and free from prejudice. The author being naturally anxious for the rehabilitation of the British in China advocates the adoption of "that liberal British policy with which we have cemented together the most remarkable political association of peoples yet achieved by man." But what about India?

Contemporary Thought of Japan and China. By Dr. K. Tsuchida. (Williams & Norgate, 14, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, London, W. C. 1), 1927.

Yet another series! called "Library of Contemporary Thought." The prospectus of the new series states that the literature of contemporary thought has increased to such an extent in our own generation that it is no longer possible for any but a limited few to survey the whole field. And yet it is of extreme importance that every intelligent layman should be aware of what the leaders of contemporary thought in the various countries of the world have to say

concerning the meaning of the universe and of human life. Hence the inauguration of the present series. The publishers and the editor have been for some time conscious of the need of a library which would present, in as simple a manner as the subject-matter would lend itself, the ideas of the leaders of thought of the present day concerning man and the universe. Writers have been chosen who have had special privileges and wide experiences of the thought of the various countries on which they write: they are thoroughly conversant with the intellectual and spiritual currents which run in these countries. The work of these writers is now offered to the public of the English-speaking countries of the world, and publishers and editor are confident of a ready response to their undertaking. Volumes have been already arranged on the various important countries of Europe, Asia and America. The inaugural volume is Dr. Tsuchida's on *Contemporary Thought of Japan and China*. The work of a ripe scholar, it surveys lucidly modern philosophic and social thought in Japan and China. But it tries to cover too work large a ground within the covers of a short work and modern China fully deserved a volume to itself. But even as it is, the book is informative, instructive and suggestive. We shall look forward with interest to the volume on India.

VII. RECENT LITERATURE OF INDIAN ECONOMICS

A Study of Indian Economics. By Dr. P. N. Banerjee. Third edition. (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., St. Martin's Street, W. C., London), 1927.

Economic Principles for Indian Readers. By Dr. P. C. Basu. (Sir Isaac Pitmans & Sons, Ltd., Parker Street, Kingsway, W. C. 1), 1927.

Essentials of Indian Economics. By R. G. Sapat. (The Author, Willingdon College, Sangli), 1927.

Elementary Indian Economics. By D. L. Dubey. (The Indian Press, Ltd., Allahabad), 1927.

Of the four books enumerated above, the first—Dr. Pramathanath Banerjee's *Study of Indian Economics*, having passed through three editions, may now be regarded as a standard work. The author—who is a distinguished scholar and economist and is the Minto Professor of Economics in the Calcutta University—has thoroughly overhauled, judiciously revised and carefully brought up-to-date the text of his work for the third edition and the book in its present form is likely to hold its own as an authoritative exposition of the present-day Indian Economics.

Dr. Praphullachandra Basu's treatise—*Economic Principles for Indian Readers*—is an ambitious text-book of the subject and is very well put together. In this book the principles of Economics are explained with an Indian background and illustrated from the facts of Indian economic life. While written primarily for students, the book will also be found useful by a wider public, as it covers a large ground and is lucid and comprehensive. This text-book deals with the general principles of economics in special relation to the economic facts of Indian life. The value of such a book to the Indian reader will be obvious, since the average text-book at his disposal must necessarily be written with an English or American background. But this is not all. In clear and unambiguous language the author has presented facts and explained the principles without introducing controversial topics or opinions, and has therefore succeeded in providing an excellent preparatory grounding for students pursuing the higher branches of the subject. Apart from the subject-matter, an extremely valuable aid to the study will be found in the author's method of collecting and defining the various terms in one of the early chapters. The reader is thus saved a considerable amount of confusion. Further, the division of the contents of the book, as shown on the opposite page, simplifies the study to a very large extent. For these important reasons, it may safely be hoped that *Economic Principles for Indian Readers* will be a welcome addition to the library, not only of the student, but of the general reader interested in the welfare of his country. We have much pleasure in commending this highly useful book to students of the subject.

Professor B. G. Sapsre is a well-known writer on Indian constitutional law and economics. His *Growth of Indian Constitution and Administration* and *Economics of Agricultural Progress* are admirable works on the subjects they deal with and have been noticed in terms of appreciation in the *Hindustan Review*. His latest production—*Essentials of Indian Economics*—is a useful and meritorious contribution to the subject it deals with, but the book does not seem to have been planned on the lines of a systematic treatise like the two noticed above or the other well-known text-books written by Professor Kale, Professor Jadunath Sarkar or Messrs. Wadia and Joshi. This want of systematic arrangement will to some extent detract from its utility as a text-book. But considering that there are now so many excellent manuals on the subject, it would not matter, as Professor Sapsre's book can be used for supplementary reading. It is a store-house of valuable information and is highly instructive. The select bibliography

prefixed to the text adds materially to the usefulness of Professor Sapsre's work.

Professor Dori Lal Dabey's *Elementary Indian Economics* is—as its title aptly indicates—a work dealing with the rudiments of the subject and is frankly intended as a text-book for intermediate students. It will amply serve its object and successfully cater for those for whom it is intended. It is enriched with some useful and well-drawn economic maps, charts and plans which enhance the value of the letter-press. The get-up and the mechanical execution of the volume reflect the highest credit on the resources and the enterprise of the publishing firm—the Indian Press of Allahabad.

Land Tenure and Agricultural Production in the Tropics. By H. Martin Leake. (W. Heffer & Sons, Ltd., Cambridge), 1927.

Indian Agriculture. By A. Howard and G. I. C. Howard. (Oxford University Press, B. I. Building, Nicol Road, Bombay), 1927.

Dr. Martin Leake is already well-known as the author of that excellent treatise—*Foundations of Indian Agriculture*. His *Land Tenure and Agricultural Production in the Tropics* is an instructive discussion on the influence of the land policy on development in tropical countries. The subject of the development of the tropical dependencies of the Empire is shown to depend in a large measure on the policy adopted with regard to the land. Starting with a discussion of the theoretical aspect of the subject of land in its relation to the human race, the author outlines a policy which appears most adequately to supply all the requirements for the progress, both moral and material, for which modern ideas are incorporated in the Covenant of the League of Nations, places the responsibility on the sovereign power. A whole chapter is devoted to "The Indian Tenure System." The book is of especial interest to educated Indians, but it should appeal to all who are or will be directly concerned with the administration and practical development of the Tropical Colonial Empire.

The Development of Indian Agriculture—which is volume VIII of the "India of To-day" series—is an exceedingly good compendium of the subject it deals with, written as it is by two great experts. In less than a hundred pages, the authors have presented a remarkably comprehensive sketch of the various aspects of Agriculture in India. There are in the book some excellent illustrations and also useful, select bibliographies appended to each chapter, which will enable the student to follow up his study. Al-

together, *Indian Agriculture* is a book to be prized alike for its instructiveness and informativeness.

The Co-operative Organization in British India. By B. G. Bhattachagar. (Ram Narain Lal, Katra, Allahabad), 1927.

Studies in Co-operative Finance. By V. L. Mehta. (Servants of India Society, Poona), 1927.

These two books usefully supplement each other and deal with one of the most important branches of Indian economics. Professor Bhattachagar's work—*Co-operative Organization in British India*—is the most up-to-date and about the most exhaustive account of the subject covered by the volume. It is thoroughly sound and accurate and should appeal to all interested in that most beneficent movement for ameliorating the lot of the tenantry—viz., the co-operative credit organization. Professor Bhattachagar's book dealing as it does so admirably with this movement ought to find large circulation and wide appreciation.

Mr. Vaikuntha Mehta—Managing Director, Bombay Provincial Co-operative Bank—is a specialist in the subject of co-operative finance. His *Studies*—issued as the Servants of India Society Pamphlets No. 17—is a meritorious work, replete with highly useful information. It should be studied by all students of co-operation in India.

VIII. RECENT LITERATURE OF BUDDHISM.

The Ethics of Buddhism. By S. Tachibana. (Oxford University Press, Bombay), 1927.

Dr. S. Tachibana is Professor of Pali and Primitive Buddhism at the Komazawa-Daijaku at Tokyo. His *Ethics of Buddhism* he wrote in 1911 as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the Oxford University. The author justly claims that his work is the first of its kind; for though the subject of the ethics of Buddhism is more or less dealt with or referred to in almost all standard works, there was no systematic exposition of it available in any European language. Considering, therefore, that it is a pioneer work, Dr. Tachibana's book is deserving of very great appreciation alike for its learning, philosophic insight and lucid exposition. The author—who is a master of the subject—emphasizes the origin of Buddhism as a religion of practical morality. "Religion is wisdom to Brahmanism; philosophy is wisdom to Mahayanism or the advanced form of Buddhism; and morality is wisdom to Pali Buddhism or its primitive form.

Every one of these is at once a religion, a philosophy, and an ethical system, but each of them has its characteristic features; and Pali Buddhism is characteristically ethical." This is how he—and, indeed, accurately—puts his view in a nutshell. His development of the subject and the treatment accorded to it are singularly sound and admirable and the book is a notable contribution to the ethical side of Buddhism. Appended to the text is a very useful, select bibliography, which will enable the student to follow up his study with advance. The book redounds to the credit of Japanese scholarship and spirit of research.

Truth and Tradition in Chinese Buddhism. By Karl Ludvig Reichelt. (The Commercial Press, Ltd., Shanghai, China), 1927.

Dr. Karl Reichelt's *Truth and Tradition in Chinese Buddhism*—which has been rendered into English from the Norwegian—is a valuable study of Chinese Mahayana Buddhism. It is the result of more than twenty years of study in China by a Norwegian missionary. In addition to the study of the original Chinese Buddhist texts, he travelled extensively to famous monasteries and holy mountains, where he came into intimate contact with the best and most learned monks and lay-devotees. In the preparation of the book he also consulted all the best authorities written in various European languages. Bishop Logan Herbert Roots in his preface to the book says: "In this book we have the work of neither the partisan adversary nor the partisan advocate, nor yet of a cold and scholarly but personally indifferent (and quite objective) student of the history of religions. The author has indeed supplemented his long and intimate personal observations and studies of Buddhism in China by scholarly and exacting study of original Buddhist texts and the published works of other Western students in this field; but his chief claim on our gratitude is his illuminating appreciation of what is best and even of much which at first sight seems hopelessly superstitious and corrupt in this ancient and prolific faith." The book is translated from the Norwegian edition that was published a few years ago. For this English edition a revision was specially made by the author in the light of the results of latest investigations. The English edition which contains twenty-five full-page illustrations, is beautifully printed on antique wove paper and bound in board cloth with gilt letters. It is an original contribution of great value to the modern literature of Buddhism in China.

Buddhism and Buddhists in Japan. By R. C. Armstrong. (Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, Northumberland Avenue, London, W.), 1927.

Dr. Armstrong's *Buddhism and Buddhists in Japan* is a popular work on the subject it deals with. It is the fifth of the series of American books—called "World's Living Religions"—which the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge wishes to make available outside America for students of Comparative Religion. For its rather small size of less than 120 pages, it is a comprehensive sketch of the subject, dealing with the period of the establishment of Buddhism as the leading religion of Japan to the present day. Buddhism as professed and practised in Japan in its various aspects and manifestations is dealt with by the author lucidly, succinctly and impartially, though there is in the book the one usual chapter on "The Christian Appeal to Buddhism". Making allowance for such a natural bias in a missionary work, Dr. Armstrong's book can be justly commended as an excellent and, on the whole, unprejudiced survey of Japanese Buddhism. The "Brief Annotated Bibliography" appended to the text, is a very praiseworthy feature of the book, which is compact, handy and informative.

Buddhism. By Paul Dahlke (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., St. Martin's Street, London, W. C.), 1927.

The full title of Dr. Paul Dahlke's latest work (available in English) is *Buddhism and its Place in the Mental Life of Mankind*. It is obviously impossible to do justice to a work of this kind within the limits of a short notice. The author is one of the most eminent and most learned expositors of the true spirit of Buddhism—as has been placed beyond doubt by his two previous works (rendered into English) called *Buddhist Essays* and *Buddhism and Science*. His present work is, if anything, even more recondite than his previous studies of Buddhism. Here is a typical sample—culled from the Foreword—of the author's exposition:—"Buddhism is the Doctrine of Actuality. Actuality is always actual, is always important and, in the last analysis, the only subject worthy of the actual thinker." Now it may all be true, but it is not easy reading. As a matter of fact Dr. Dahlke's works are not popular expositions of Buddhism but scientific and technical. They are primarily intended for scholars and thinkers and for those interested in the greatest problems of life. The author is perhaps the greatest and soundest exponent of Buddhism as a living faith and his expositions of the subject are deservedly entitled to a very careful consideration and the highest appreciation.

IX. RECENT IMAGINATIVE LITERATURE.

The Assassins. By Sir Henry Sharp. (Paler & Gwyer, 24, Russell Square, London, W.C. 1) 1928.

Who of those who knew in India Sir Henry Sharp ever thought that that dry stick was capable of developing into a successful writer of fiction. And yet as "Oliver Ainsworth", he seems to have come into his own. The publication of *The Assassins* reveals the identity of the author "who as "Oliver Ainsworth" recently thrilled so many readers with his book, *The Devil's Tower*. He here returns to the charge with no less resource. The present story centres around that heretical sect of the Muslims called 'Assassins', a sect having something in common with the more modern 'Anarchist', in that its adherents aimed at the removal by death of the temporal rulers of this world. Their agents were made contemptuous of the harshest reprisal by a training which consisted of hashish-eating; under the influence of this drug they were lulled into a sensual paradise, which was represented to them as but a foretaste of the rewards which should be theirs everlastingly in return for their murderous obedience. So the agents of the 'Assassins' set forth, and for many years their name was a terror in Western Asia and even in Europe. Enough has been said to show that, in the hands of Sir Henry Sharp, such a theme must yield several hours of a more than oriental indifference to the affairs of this world, to all readers who like a good story.

The Splendour of Asia. By L. Adams Beck. (W. Collins & Co., Ltd., 48, Pall Mall, London, W.) 1928.

In his *Splendour of Asia*, Adams Beck has accomplished in prose what the late Sir Edwin Arnold achieved in verse in his world-famous poem, *The Light of Asia*. Here, with careful fidelity to truth and infinite feeling for her subject, Adams Beck has recreated, with all the splendour and mystery of its oriental background, the life of the Buddha, his marvellous birth, his marriage to the loveliest of women, his great renunciation, and his supreme leadership and unparalleled example in those quiet hermit groves along the Ganges where, almost two and a half millenniums ago, the highest summit of man's spiritual development was reached. Those who are familiar with the author's previous works will not at all feel surprised at her great success in reproducing so faithfully a true picture of the life and civilization in Ancient India.

Shakespeare as a Letter-writer and Artist in Prose.

By R. L. Megroz (Wishart & Co., 19, Buckingham Street, London, W.C. 2) 1928.

Mr. R. L. Megroz's book with rather a long name—*Shakespeare as a Letter-writer and Artist in Prose*—though it sounds like a treatise in criticism really appertains to imaginative literature. The author's recent book on Francis Thompson earned him such golden opinions that no introduction of him to the public is necessary, so far as his new work is concerned. We therefore confine ourselves to saying that, not only will lovers of Shakespeare and Elizabethan literature in general find many of their favourite passages here linked together in amusing and instructive fashion, but many little known examples of Elizabethan quaintness and splendid vigour as well. Aided by a perusal of his highly interesting book, they will find Mr. Megroz's stimulating company extremely edifying.

The Short Stories of Thomas Hardy. (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., St. Martin's Street, London, W.C. 1) 1928.

We welcome this handy, compact and complete edition, in one volume, of the short stories of Hardy. It contains four groups called *Wessex Tales* (1888), *A Group of Noble Dames* (1891), *Life's Little Ironies* (1894) and *A Changed Man and Other Tales* (1913), as also a well-drawn map of Hardy's Wessex. Comprising as it does over one thousand pages of large, clear print, it is a marvel of cheapness and it should be possessed by all lovers of the works of that great novelist.

The Persians of Aeschylus. Translated into verse by C. B. Armstrong. (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 49, Museum Street, London, W. C. 1.) 1928.

We commend Mr. Armstrong's rendering of the "Persæ" of Aeschylus, the tragedy of an empire, a dramatic poem rather than a drama. Apart from its poetic merit, it has an added interest as the first approach to contemporary history among the Greeks. The play contains, perhaps, the most noteworthy examples of the descriptive power of Aeschylus, and is admirably suited for verse translation.

X. RECENT NEW EDITIONS AND REPRINTS.

The three hundredth anniversary of John Bunyan's birth will fall on the 28th November this year and

in view of it the publishers (Hulbert Publishing Company, 7, Paternoster Row, London, E. C. 4) have done well to bring out the "ter-centenary edition" of Dr. John Brown's standard *Life of Bunyan* (originally issued in 1883), judiciously revised by Mr. F. M. Harrison, who has added marginal notes, addenda and appendices. The special features of the book are that it contains the results of a long life of research which covered a period of about forty years, information that no other work on John Bunyan ever has contained, and this is now brought up-to-date of publication. It contains not only biography: it is also topographical and bibliographical, so far as is possible in the limited space, and gives information respecting the present whereabouts of rare editions of Bunyan's works. It is regarded by experts on Bunyan to be the standard work on the subject, and what is not contained in this volume is either "unknown," or else unworthy of inclusion. The editor of this new issue has, for years past, devoted his entire study to Bunyan literature and lore, and has spent many months in the revision and completion of this work. Thus the new edition is a book which is indispensable to those who make a real study of John Bunyan, his times, and his works. It may be safely said to be the last word on Bunyan, edited by the greatest living authority on that classic. No expense has been spared to bring together both in type and illustration the best obtainable. There are over 600 pages, fifty illustrations, and the book is well bound in green cloth. It should find a place on the bookshelf of all students of Bunyan's masterpieces.

Mr. Allardyce Nicoll's *Restoration Drama*—which on its first appearance in 1923 was welcomed by competent critics as a serious contribution to the study of the subject—has just been issued (by the University Press, Cambridge) in a carefully revised edition. The author says in the preface to the second edition that though no new documentary matter on the subject has appeared since 1923, yet "research into the works of particular authors has revealed a number of fresh facts." These have, of course, been incorporated in the new edition under notice. A summary of the author's more important studies is rendered available to the student in a series of additional notes. These additions and improvements materially enhance the value and ability of this highly meritorious work, which is likely to hold its own, for years to come, as the standard work on the subject it deals with.

Studies Indian and Islamic by Mr. S. Khuda Bakhsh (Paul, Trench, Trilmer & Co., 68—74, Carter Lane, London, E. C. 3) reprinted almost entirely from

the various periodicals to which they were originally contributed, are nonetheless welcome on that account. The essays in this volume deal with various subjects of literary and historical interest, such as Mohamed: Prophet of God; Arabian Poetry; Islamic Regeneration; Book-Trade under the Caliphate; The Shahnamah of Ferdusi; Marriage and Family Life Among the Arabs; Social and Political Conditions under the Caliphate; Literary and Scientific Activities under the Caliphate; Mahatma Gandhi; C. R. Das, etc. The subjects are mainly Arabian or Persian and but few deal with Indian topics. But Mr. Khuda Bakhsh wields a facile pen and has mastered the subject of Islamic culture. His books—whether original or translated—are, therefore, very useful contributions to Islamic studies and the present collection deserves attention.

Professor Harold Laaski has edited with an introductory essay Sir Henry Taylor's book called *The Statesman* (W. Hefner & Sons, Ltd., Cambridge). It is an ironical treatise on the art of succeeding, and was originally issued so far back as 1836. The tradesman, the surveyor, the farmer, the merchant, the lawyer, all had their complete guide to the functions they perform; and Peacham was prepared to teach all and sundry how to be a gentleman on the best Italian model. But the art of statesmanship remained a mystery unredwed to rule, and even in our own day Prof. Wallas is perhaps the only writer who has sought seriously to speculate on how the statesman can best perform his work. But in *The Statesman* the author explains in detail the art of the administrator from the day he enters office to the day he leaves it. The book is certainly instructive even to-day and we welcome and commend this reprint to the many budding statesmen in this country.

Dr. Draper's *History of the Conflict between Religion and Science*—published first in 1873—is a classic in scientific literature and we welcome the new, annotated edition by Mr. Robert Arch (Watts & Co., Johnson's Court, Fleet Street, London, E. C. 4). Writing as an impartial student of history, qualified to speak with authority on behalf of science, the author presents with fascinating skill the story of the "conflict of two contending powers, the expansive force of the human intellect on the one side and the compression arising from traditional faith and human interests on the other." It is a book for every reader who brings to the problems of history a desire to know the truth about them. The present pocket edition has been carefully prepared, and is provided with a new Introduction and explanatory notes,

which add substantially to the utility of this highly informative book.

The Times Literary Supplement Printing Number, now issued in book form (Printing House Square, London, E. C.) should appeal to a large circle amongst those interested in typography. It deals with many phases of the subject—modern typography, text and illustration, the beautiful book, continental trade printing, commercial printing, types for books, bindings, book illustrations, &c. Beautifully printed and neatly got-up, it should find a very large circulation. It is a great deal more than a Supplement. It is really a History of Modern Printing and Book production. Written in a not too technical manner it gives in a short space a description of processes, and a criticism of the values of various founts and of the way in which they have been and can be used so as to obtain the best effects. It tells too who the best designers are; something of the history of their work; and to what presses we owe the fine productions we now know. A valuable book for the collector of fine modern printing work, which must always have a value for both student and amateur.

NL OUR LIBRARY TABLE: MISCELLANEOUS LITERATURE.

In 1908, Mr. K. M. Nadkarni brought out his excellent treatise called *Indian Plants and Drugs*, which was appreciatively commended by the *Hindustan Review* as "a valuable treatise which will be found highly useful not only by the medical profession but also by the lay public." Encouraged by the reception accorded to the book and gathering in his experience during this long interval, the author has now produced a more comprehensive work rightly designated *The Indian Materia Medica*. It is a scientific work of the highest value and is a meritorious treatise which greatly redounds to Indian scholarship and research. Of the greatest value to the use and study of Indian drugs for medicinal purposes, the book deserves to be prescribed as a text-book in all our medical schools and colleges. It can be had of the author, P. O. Box 3358, Bombay 4.

In his *What Remains of the Old Testament*. (George Allen and Unwin Ltd., Museum Street, London) Dr. Hermann Gunkel has written a book of great interest. This book of essays from the pen of one of the most distinguished Old Testament scholars of

the day presents the results of decades of critical study of the literature of the Old Testament, and opens up avenues for further study on lines in which the author has been a pioneer. It demonstrates in detail the light that is shed on the meaning of the Old Testament by a study of its characteristic literary features. The first essay, "What Remains of the Old Testament?" supplies what many people have long desired to have—a definite statement of the results of long years of criticism of the Old Testament. The last essay: "Jacob," is a fine specimen of the results of literary criticism as applied to a cycle of narratives. Essays like that on "Fundamental Problems of Hebrew Literature" and on "The Closing Verses of Micah" are full of illumination regarding the latest methods of Old Testament study, and the book, as a whole, deserves attention.

Mr. G. C. Crump's *History and Historical Research* (George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., 68-74, Carter Lane, London, E. C.) should appeal to a large circle of readers and particularly to students of historical studies. Few of those who read history have any clear idea of the way in which it is written. This volume shows the methods of historians and the kind of thought required to produce the books which we, as readers, enjoy. Thus we may acquire a more critical judgment in reading history. This book appeals also to students intending to devote themselves to research work, and shows them the difficulties they will have to overcome and the problems they will have to apply themselves to solve. We have much pleasure in commending this book to all students of history and research.

Mr. A. Radcliffe's *Sources of English Literature* (The University Press, Cambridge) is a guide for the student. The object of this book is to help the student who is beginning research in English literature to find his way through the vast accumulations of bibliographical sources which confront him: to acquaint him with the standard catalogues and lists of books to which he will have need to refer, and thus lighten his task. It is likely to fully serve the object in view.

Messrs. John Hamilton Ltd. (London) have started a new series of books giving brief outlines of all the most important subjects of the day, in such a manner as to make them intelligent to the ordinary man in the street. You will gain more by reading the books in their "Vanguard series" than in devoting years of patient study to others on a subject. Though "Vanguard series" than in devoting years of patient

struggle through many others on a subject. Though short they are comprehensive. The man who reads this series will be a really educated man, however much or little knowledge he had when he started. The books in the series cover all the branches of the Physical and Natural Sciences. In one of the volumes Buckle's splendid and enormous work has been adequately and skillfully summarized, with all the pivotal conclusions given in the author's own words.

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"John O' London's Little Books" is a series of capital little books (George Newnes, Ltd., 9-11, Southampton Street, Strand, London) which deserves to be better known in this country. So far about a dozen original and compiled works have appeared in it. Of these John O' London's *Is It Good English* is highly useful, his *Treasure Trove* is an almost superb anthology of rare gems of poetry, and his two series of London stories are delightful collections. Similarly, Mr. H. G. Smith's *Old Moments*, *Stranger than Fiction* and *Romances of History* are fine repositories of tales. There are also in the series some very good compilations like *Twelve Masters of English Prose*. It also contains instructive manuals of science like those by Professor Thomson on *Revolution and Animals*. Altogether the series merits wide appreciation.

The Warfare of Reconciliation by Professor J. S. Hoyland (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., Museum Street, London) deals first with the various elements of division and hatred which endanger modern civilization, and urges the necessity for a new impulse of reconciliation if mankind is to be saved from self-destruction. Attention is then paid to the fact that, in the past, movements for reconciliation have

succeeded on a very important scale, and therefore there is hope that the same may take place again. In this connection emphasis is laid upon the need for a fresh realization both of the circumstances of Christ's life and of the spirit of reconciliation for which He stands. Next, the various aspects of the modern warfare of reconciliation are considered from the point of view of the believer in Christ who recognizes the vastness of the problems involved and the necessity for a new way of life in order that those problems may be solved. The book concludes with certain general observations concerning the spirit and manner of the modern warfare of reconciliation. Though all readers may not agree with the author in his Christian standpoint, there is nevertheless much in this book that is stimulating.

In his *The Way the World is Going* (Ernest Benn, Ltd., London), Mr. H. G. Wells betrays his truly encyclopaedic mind. His keen observation and facile judgment qualify him in an extraordinary degree to fill the double role of publicist and prophet. He looks at China and is not blinded by the kaleidoscope

of its turmoil, he sees its trend. Democracy is being revised, Fascism and Communism, are some of its new forms. He asks frankly what the British Empire is worth to mankind, whether armies are needed any longer, and if Americans are a sacred people. All such questions touch the 'quick.' His answers are filled with uncommon sense and are well salted with humour. *The way the world is Going* is a highly instructive work. More than mere political prophesying, it is a rapid and clear survey of the many forces, some moribund, some new-born, that are constantly at work in human society to-day. While containing "Guesses and forecasts of the years ahead," it is no less with to-day that we are confronted in Mr. Wells's latest collection of essays.

The New Pocket Atlas of the World (George Philip & Son, Ltd., 32, Fleet Street, London, E. C. 4) is a capital, little collection of 120 pages of maps, together with an index of nearly six thousand names. It is handy, compact, up-to-date and there is no better pocket atlas in the market for the price. It deserves a large circulation.

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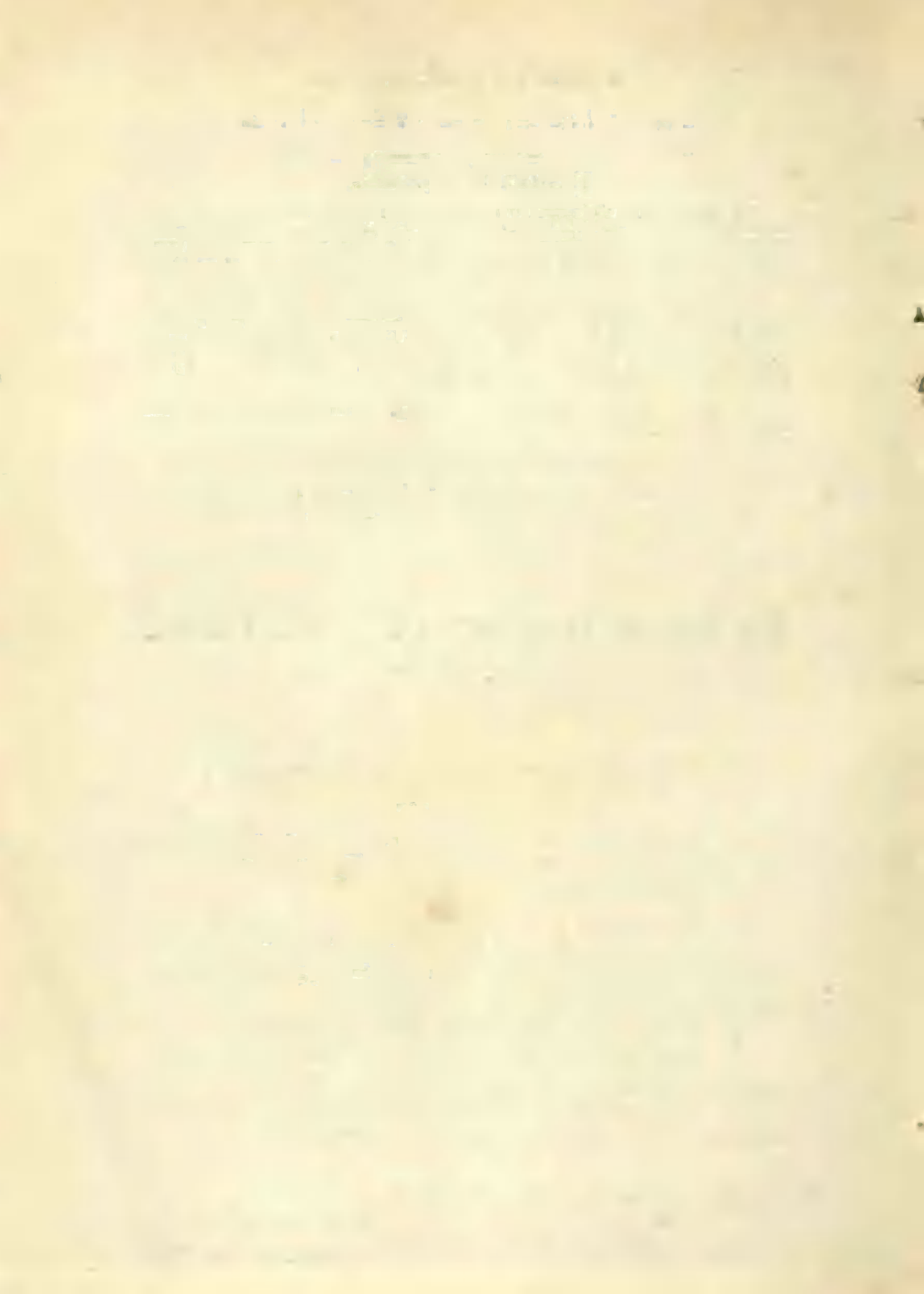
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THE FEDERAL IDEA: ITS APPLICABILITY TO INDIA.*

By SIR C. P. RAMASWAMI Aiyar, K.C.I.E.

(*Ex-Law Member, Madras Government*).

A few months ago, in the course of my professional duties, the task devolved on me of investigating certain aspects of the problem of federation in connection with the future of Indian States. It then struck me that the topic will repay careful study, both from the historical and the practical points of view. Some of the results of such study have been embodied in the address which I now have the privilege of delivering to you, and it is to me a source of intense gratification that the occasion is associated with the Jubilee Celebrations of a Ruler, who, by his progressive methods of administration and his adherence to sound constitutional principles is, in his own person, one of the strongest arguments in favor of such a federation of self-governing political entities, as is now envisaged by the majority of Indian thinkers.

It is a very trite saying and true, that there is nothing new under the sun, and this adage is especially illustrated in philosophy and politics. Let me give an illustration which will demonstrate that the teachings of history are never obsolete. Those of us who have had an experience of Diarchy, if we may profitably turn to Roman History, will discover that almost exactly in the places where our shoes pinch us to-day, was the pain felt in the Rome of the Augustan age. It may not be well-known that

Diarchy was the name assigned by the celebrated historian, Mommsen, to the system introduced by Augustus—a constitution wherein the Emperor and his own officers, while really exercising all the powers of Government, hid their omnipotence by bestowing on the Senate certain apparently important functions while taking away from that body at the same time, its ancient control of finance and the direction of foreign policy. As Gibbon, amongst others, has pointed out, the Augustan Diarchy was a division of executive functions and not of power, and to the curious, the following sentence from Gibbon will read like an extract from some daily newspaper. "The principles of a true constitution are irrevocably lost when the legislative power is nominated by the executive." The Roman method of solving the problem of Diarchy was direct and summary and led to the establishment of a unitary Government, which soon outlived its usefulness and toppled over by its own weight.

Whatever the systems of internal Government were, and whether they were city states, monarchies, oligarchies or republics, attempts have been ever made in the ancient and modern world to form federations for general or limited purposes, and it will be my object rapidly to pass in review as many as possible of these attempts at Federal Government, to analyse their essential characteristics and to deduce

*An Address delivered at the Mysore University.

therefrom such lessons as may be useful for us to-day. As the poet sings, each age is a dream that is dying or one that is coming to birth ; and I think it can be stated without fear of contradiction that, among the lessons of the Great War may be classed the realisation of the necessity for the grouping of states and the consciousness that political federations and a League of Nations furnish the best protection in the case of states and nations who have till recently been the victims either of a war of armaments or a trade war. This is one of the manifestations of the time spirit, and at this juncture, we may well keep in mind what Morley once declared in regard to Cobden and his times. "Great economic and social forces," said Morley, "flow with a tidal sweep over communities that are only half conscious of that which is befalling them. Wise statesmen are those who foresee what time is thus bringing and endeavor to shape institutions and to mould men's thoughts and purposes in accordance with the change that is silently surrounding them." In such an endeavour, we shall get instruction and apposite illustration from many quarters, in the Vedas and the *Itihasas* and Kautilya, in Aristotle and Machiavelli, not to mention later thinkers and legislators who have built securely on old foundations. This study, as I have already stated, is much more than merely academic ; for, we cannot forget the relevance and the importance of the federal idea at the present moment. The authors of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, whatever the value of the particular scheme evolved by them was, have had before them, it must be acknowledged with gratitude, a true vision of the India of the future. What do they say? "Our conception of the eventual future of India is a sisterhood of states self-governing in all matters of purely local or provincial interests, in some cases corresponding to existing provinces, in others, perhaps modified in area according to the character and economic interests of their people. Over these congeries of states would preside a central government increasingly representative of, and responsible to, the people, dealing with matters, both internal and external of common interest to the whole of India, acting as arbiter in interstate relations and representing the interests of all India on equal terms with the self-governing units of the British Empire." They add in words, which will no doubt be familiar to this audience, "In this picture there is a place for

the Native States. It is possible that they too will wish to be associated for certain purposes with the organisation of British India in such a way as to dedicate their peculiar qualities to the common service without loss of individuality." Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford must be classed among the wise statesmen whom Morley has referred to as those who foresee what time is bringing. In this passage, there is found the germ of all the leafage and the fruitage of Indian politics—provincial autonomy, linguistic provinces, a strong central government, a federation of various political units and an exposition of the limits of their jurisdiction, (such units including the Indian States) and the constitution of a commonwealth equal in status and similar in function to the self-governing Dominions.

THE IDEAL IN GREECE.

I shall now discuss the growth of the ideal, which has found expression in the above passage. A federal union was often attempted in old times by Sovereign States for mutual aid and the promotion of common interests, and if the Achaean and other Greek Confederacies, which were formed after the death of Alexander, had been formed earlier, Hellenic culture and Grecian freedom may perchance have been preserved.

The two Leagues of which we hear most in Greek history are the Aetolian and the Achaean. The former was a league of districts rather than of cities, and it had many points of similarity with the Swiss Confederacy of city and forest cantons. The Achaean League, on the other hand, was composed of cities, and it flourished for over a couple of centuries. The Achaeans destroyed their monarchy and set up a Federal Republic, ten of the twelve cities composing their league being situated on the Corinthian Gulf. The historian, Polybius, tells us that this league was admired for its fairness and equity and was taken as a model by the cities of greater Greece in the early part of the 3th century, when the lingering consciousness of Hellenic unity and the influence of a common danger obliterated the separatist tendencies always so rife in Greece and brought about a certain amount of consolidation and union in action.

Sparta was the head of a purely voluntary confederacy in the 5th and 4th centuries B.C.,

the members of which for some time, at all events, regarded their interests as bound up in hers. In contrast, Athens was the mistress of an Empire. The contrast in the political development of Athens and Sparta was similar to the contrast displayed in the political growth respectively of the United States and Great Britain.

It is not my object further to discuss the history of these Leagues, but speaking of such federations as well as of the Swiss, Machiavelli, than whom there has been no shrewder judge of men nor keener analyst of affairs, observed in 1513, that "federal States cannot easily expand but hold firmly to what they have acquired and do not lightly embark on war since a republic thus divided cannot make quick decisions. Ambition, moreover, is less set to expansion when its fruits have to be shared," and he further remarks that "the number of fourteen States in the Swiss Confederation has never been increased." It will be noticed that this great political thinker has perceived both the merit and the demerit of federations, their slowness in executive decisions as well as their general pacific disposition. Speaking of various political methods, he gives utterance to an idea which is the nucleus of all modern thought on the subject, "This way is still the best," he says, "namely, to win partners, not subjects."

The controversy amongst ancient and medieval writers regarding federations, their value and their demerits, was renewed in a very startling manner when certain State Premiers in Australia claimed to be admitted to the Imperial Conference along with the Federal Premier on the ground that under the Australian Commonwealth Act the residue of sovereignty was in the States. In the course of that discussion, Denkin, the well-known Australian Premier, reiterated what the Greeks and the Italians had stated centuries ago, namely, that there are two absolute and essential requisites of a federal system (1) equality of status and (2) direct relation of citizen to citizen under the federal government, irrespective of the State Governments. He thus emphasised the two distinct, though not incompatible, elements of a federation, namely, autonomy of the individual states and the co-existence therewith of loyalty to the central federation. The second essential often tends to be absent in Imperial partnership because of the absence of a supreme federal authority.

In Sir Richard Jebb's book on the Imperial Conference, this proposition is strongly emphasised, and the argument adduced that it is necessary to maintain in full strength the central organisation. This, it will be remembered, was attempted in the case of the War Cabinet, and further steps are now being contemplated in the same direction.

IN INDIA.

Turning to the history of India in the Vedic and post-Vedic times, we perceive that monarchy is described in the *Rig Veda* as the normal form of government, but Greek writers from Megasthenes onwards have informed us that many centuries before the Christian era, various republican experiments were tried in India. Some of those experiments have been described in the well-known work of Professor Jayaswal on Hindu Polity. We have been given a description of the democracy of the Ambasthas who had a second House composed of elected elders, of other tribes, who instead of sending ambassadors sent 100 or 150 representatives to negotiate a treaty of peace, and of the Patalas, where the Council of Elders ruled, the ultimate political authority resting with the Gana or Saugha, i.e., the tribal assembly. Whilst on this topic, it may be noticed that the *Mahabharatha* speaks of the troubles of the Gana constitution arising from the difficulty of keeping resolutions secret, and of the consequent necessity of vesting matters of policy in the hands of a few Mantradharas. Much later than these republics, which were described by Diodorus and the well-known Arrian, arose the Imperial systems, such systems developing along the two familiar lines of Imperial suzerainty and of federation. The former was described by such expressions as Maharajya and Adipathya, and the latter was spoken of as Sarvabhauma or Samrajya. The Samrajya is very frequently adverted to in Vedic and post-Vedic literature, and mention is made of it in the *Aitareya Brahmana*. Literally translated, it means of course a collection of states under one super-state. The *Brahmana* speaks of a certain ruler being consecrated as Samrat at Magadha. The *Sukla Yajur Veda* speaks of the Samrat as existing elsewhere also. In the *Sabha Parva*, Ch. 19, we get an account of the Rishi Chanda Kausika meeting Brihathiratha and greeting his son as a future Samrat. He says:

"All the kings of the earth will be in obedience to the commands of this child, like every creature endued with body living dependent upon Vayu that is dear as self unto beings." The son so blessed was Jarasandha. Elsewhere in the *Mahabharata*, i.e., in the *Adi Parva*, it is narrated that the position of the Samrat namely that of the chief of the federal organisation, was acquired by Jarasandha, and Sisupala, the king of the Chedies, was constituted the common Commander-in-Chief, these appointments being founded on an inter-state contractual basis. We also learn in regard to this Federation, that the Kukura and the Vrishni tribes, acting on motives of policy, determined not to fight with Jarasandha but apparently made terms with him and joined his federation. One of the causes of the downfall of Jarasandha was that, having acquired his position for the purpose of common protection, he abused that position and endeavoured to reduce other sovereigns into practical slavery. In addition to Jarasandha, another Samrat or President of a federation is known to us, e.g., Janaka, King of the Videhas. Videha, it will be recollected, was a small state in North-east India, and it was the outstanding personal quality of King Janaka which led to his obtaining the position of President or Chief of the Federation. It was on account of its inherently democratic character that in the *Aitareya Brahmana*, the Samrajya is classed amongst the forms of popular Government. Other passages in our literature also furnish indications pointing in the same direction. The elective principle of kingship, the possibility of deposition or refusal to re-elect the chief, are all discerned in the germ. In the *Atharva Veda Samhita*, Ch. 6 vs. 87, 88, the following passage occurs:—"Let all the people want thee; let not the kingdom fall away from thee, be not moved away like a mountain; let the gathering Samiti suit thee who art fixed,"—the Samiti referring to the assembly of those gathered together, the chiefs, for election. This evidently is an invocation to the king to preserve all these qualities, which will keep him at the head of the federal system. This hymn also occurs in the *Rig Veda* and both in the *Rig* and *Atharva Vedas* after this hymn there is another passage containing the expression of a hope that the Samrat will not fall from his office.

It may not be out of place to remember that in close analogy to the electoral machinery of

the United States, there were certain officers of state in some Indian kingdoms who were called Rutchins, who gathered together and gave a symbolical authority to the Raja or Samrat. These men were also called Rajakrit or king-makers, and they were spoken of as sometimes degrading and banishing and sometimes re-electing the Samrat. As time went on, and as the spirit of conquest became more and more prevalent, the unitary Imperial system superseded the Samrajya theory and the Chakravarthi ideal became prevalent. But many Indian philosophers embodied in their writings a reaction against this Chakravarti system which generally went hand in hand with continuous expeditions and conquests or defeats. In the *Vishnu Purana*, for instance, the federal system has been praised by way of contrast, and it is worthy of notice that both in *Manu* and in the *Vishnu Purana*, the suggestion was made that that system was the best in which even after conquest individual States were not annihilated nor dynasties destroyed.

IN ITALY AND GERMANY.

In medieval Italy, a large number of city states came into existence, which were true self-governing communities; such communities coalesced into leagues or groups, but they were the predecessors not of modern federations but of the national and regional states of recent times.

The German Federation as it existed before the French Revolution was a complex affair. Its component parts were (1) ecclesiastical electors and secular electors, including the King of Bohemia; (2) spiritual and temporal princes and (3) Imperial cities. This federation was destroyed by Napoleon and was succeeded by the confederation of the Rhine established in 1806 with the French Emperor as Protector. The later German confederation was formed in 1871. Delegates from various Governments formed the Bundesrath, the popular assembly or Reichstag being directly elected. The federal body had jurisdiction over foreign affairs, the army, navy, postal services, customs, tariffs, coinage, political laws affecting citizens, commerce and navigation, passports, etc.

IN SWITZERLAND.

Switzerland was in reality the oldest, as it is perhaps the most stable, form of federative

union. It now comprises 22 sovereign States, there being two federal legislative chambers, the Senate and an Assembly. The system originated as early as 1291, when three Cantons entered into a defensive league. The present constitution came into force in 1874 and included the compulsory referendum as well as the right of the people to inaugurate legislation as distinct from the right of the legislature, a right which is called the popular initiative. The federal government consisting of the two houses and the federal executive, exercise jurisdiction in matters of peace, war and treaties, army, railway, post and telegraph systems, coining of money, the issue and repayment of bank notes and weights and measures. Legislation on copyright, bankruptcy, patents, sanitary police and certain public works concerning the whole or a great part of Switzerland, are also within the federal jurisdiction. The Council of States is composed of 44 members, two for each Canton chosen and paid by the 22 Cantons. The National Council, or the Lower House, consists of representatives of the Swiss people chosen by direct election at the rate of one Deputy for every 30,000 souls. The executive authority is deputed to a Federal Council for three years by the Federal Assembly. The President of this very economical Republic has a salary of £1,080 per year, each member of the Federal Council getting £1,000 per year. The constitution of this country is however *sui generis* and doubts have been expressed by such competent thinkers as Viscount Bryce whether a similar system extending over wide areas and in vast populations, such as Great Britain or France, will work as well. This aspect was emphasised in a very remarkable address delivered by the great Napoleon in 1801 to the Swiss delegates. He said: "For States like yours, the federal system is eminently advantageous. I am myself a born mountaineer, and I know the spirit which inspires mountaineers. The more I reflect on the nature of your country and on the diversity of its constituent elements, the more am I convinced of the impossibility of submitting it to uniformity at the top. Everything amongst you conduces to federalism. How much difference exists between the dwellers among the mountains and the dwellers in the cities?" He added that the "Swiss resemble no other State, whether in the nature of the historical events that have happened during the many centuries, or the different languages, different religions and the

differences in manner that exist in different parts. Nature has made the State federal." In 1803, Napoleon wrote a letter to the Swiss Republic in which he observed: "A form of government, which is the result of a long series of misfortunes, of efforts and of enterprise on the part of the people, will not easily take root anywhere else." No doubt there are special features of the Swiss constitution, which cannot be easily reduplicated in larger countries. I am especially bearing in mind the referendum and the initiative. It is also no doubt true that the success of the experiment in that country is due to historical antecedents, to the long practice of self-government in small communities, to social equality and the pervading sense of public duty. But, nevertheless, it may be remembered that this federal system has brought about united effort among men belonging to different racial stocks, speaking different languages and divided not only by religion but by manners *inter se*. In his classical book on *Modern Democracies*, Viscount Bryce has drawn pointed attention to the circumstance that the federal system lends to many matters being settled by the State, provincial or cantonal assemblies, but that, at the same time, discussions and differences of opinion in the federal assemblies do not generally or necessarily coincide with local differences. Men opposed in national or federal politics often work together harmoniously in the conduct of local, county or municipal business, and this is a feature that obtains not only in Switzerland but also in England, in Canada and in the United States.

IN AMERICA.

The constitution of the United States was settled on the 17th September, 1787, and 19 amendments have since then been added, the 18th amendment dealing with prohibition and the 19th with women suffrage. One of the most remarkable things about the development of the constitution in America is the marked difference in the progress of political institutions there as compared with England. In the language of President Wilson, the mode of integration in America has been federal. In English politics, it has been absorptive. Elsewhere he says that "in all countries the rule of government action is co-operation and the method of development is the shaping of old habits into new ones and

the modifying of old means to accomplish new ends. The methods, however, differ according to racial genius." An illustration of this difference is easily available even in America. The Southern Colonies took a different line from the Northern, and their method of progress was on English lines to start with. But in New England, the process was federative from the first, a matter of concession and contract and voluntary association. The Union originated in the grouping together of the new England colonies against the Indians. In 1765, delegates from 6 colonies met at New York, and protested against taxation by the English Parliament, which started the revolution. In 1774 was inaugurated the first of the series of conferences in which the American Union took its rise. In the early stages, there was no trace of organic union or an attempt to bring it about. Federal powers were exercised by the Congress through committees, which were its executive organs: but these committees were advisory, and at the start, the whole thing was more or less like an International Convention, or a meeting of the present day League of Nations. The Confederation had no executive power as such, and the 6 constituent States had to concur before any resolution was adopted and carried out. The executive agency that was created was moreover a committee of members representing all the States. In the language, again, of President Wilson, "it could ask the States for money, but could not compel them to give it; it could ask them for troops, but could not force them to heed their requisition; it could make treaties, but must trust the States to fulfil them; it could contract debts, but must rely on the States to pay them." In his expressive phrase, "it was a body richly endowed with prerogatives but not with powers." The result of this executive imperfection became very obvious when the immediate pressure of war was removed and a war of tariffs began between neighbouring States, such as New York and New Jersey, Virginia and Maryland.

STRONG CENTRAL GOVERNMENT.

The working of the original system very soon led American statesmen to the conclusion that in order to maintain internal order and to produce inter-state peace and good-will, a real and powerful central government was essential. This feeling led to the Convention of 1787,

which in turn created the modern government of the United States. In this Convention was it that the idea originated of two legislatures, not following the English system, but exemplifying a real difference of character and origin, one House representing the States equally, the other House representing the people in the aggregate proportionally. The written constitution and its character led to the judiciary being placed not under the President or the two Chambers, but on a footing of equality and alongside of them. As has been observed in an authoritative treatise on the American Constitution, written constituent law is, by its very nature, a law higher than any statute and by that Constitution, as by an invariable standard, the Supreme Court should test all legislation. It is well-known that although the constitution framed then has subsisted and grown from strength to strength the originators were not very much in love with the system they produced and, in fact, they would not have produced it but for the feeling that the only alternative to complete disintegration was some kind of definite union. The fathers of the Constitution were always nervous of having too potent a central government rather than of having one which was too weak. They made very elaborate provision to secure that no sacrifice of autonomy or individuality should be made by the States. As is sometimes seen in India, so in the United States, patriotism was often confounded with State patriotism, and did not always signify federal patriotism, and only idealists like Hamilton felt and spoke otherwise. This led to constant threats of secession, and it needed the Civil War to complete the union, to make the country homogeneous and to convert the Federal Government into a real representative of the Nation. Even now, the American Government is somewhat amorphous. The Central Government has become permanent and very strong, but the States have retained their powers and their individuality. In a passage in Woodrow Wilson's *The State*, it is asserted that "the prerogatives of the State are as essential to our system as ever, are, indeed, becoming more and more essential to it from year to year as the already complex organism of the Nation expands. But instead of regarding the Government of the United States and the Government of a State as two governments, we are beginning to regard them as two parts of one and the same government, two complementary parts of a

single system." As in Switzerland so in America, the various States have maintained their right to govern in all ordinary matters without federal interference. As De Tocqueville has emphasised, "the States are the chief constituent units of the political system. They make up the mass, the constituent tissue, the organic stuff of the government of the country." The ideal of the United States, in short, is that federal government is the exception, while the government of the State is the rule.

POWERS OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENTS.

Following up this principle, the legislative powers of the Union are only those which it would be impossible to regulate by any system of State action. The Congress, therefore, has the power to levy and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises for the support of the Government of the Union, the payment of its debts and the promotion of the common defence and welfare, as well as the power to borrow money on the credit of the United States. But powers of taxation and borrowing also belong to the States, though they must not raise their revenues by a resort to duties, imposts and excises, which privilege appertains to the Union exclusively. The powers differentiating the general government from the government of the States are not really the powers of raising money but the following:—control of the monetary system of the country, the maintenance of post office and postal roads, patents and copy-rights, crimes on the High Seas and against the law of Nations, the foreign relations of the country, the control of the armed forces, the declaration of war and peace and the regulation of commerce with foreign countries and among the States. All these powers, as will be seen, are such as will affect interests, which cannot be adequately regulated by separate State action. All other powers inhere in the States. There are certain further powers which the States cannot exercise; namely, passing any *ex post facto* law or bill of attainder, impairing the obligation of contracts, or granting any title of nobility and concluding agreements with other States or with foreign powers. These restrictions, however, hardly impair the normal sphere of action of the States. What are the powers inherent in the American States? All the civil and religious rights depend on State legislation; education, regulation of suffrage, rules of marriage and of

guardianship and parent and child, partnerships, insurance, corporations, possession, distribution and use of property, all contractual relations, and all criminal law with unimportant exceptions are within their purview. As stated by a text writer on the subject, to detail the parts of State jurisdiction would be to catalogue all social and business relationships, and to set forth all the foundations of law and order. An illustration has often been given of the preponderant part played by State law, as contrasted with the English system, consisting in the fact that practically all the subjects of legislation which engaged the public mind of England in the 19th century would have come within the purview of State legislation:—Catholic emancipation, Parliamentary reform, the amendment of the Poor laws, reform of municipal corporations, the admission of Jews into Parliament, the dis-establishment of the Irish Church, the alteration of the Irish land laws, the establishment of national education, the introduction of the ballot and the reform of the criminal law. In fact, it has been averred that excepting the repeal of the Corn laws and the abolition of slavery, all the main subjects with which the English Parliament busied itself during the whole of the last century would have been subjects for State regulation; and even about slavery, it was only by constitutional amendment that the slave question was brought within the field of federal authority.

This discussion will demonstrate how very tenaciously the States have clung to real power and authority, and maintained their autonomy in spite of the necessity and the beneficial character of federal action. In other words, although the articles of Confederation recognised a common citizenship, each State has insisted on keeping within as short a compass as possible the extent of jurisdiction delegated to the Congress. The principle underlying the American Constitution is a conjunction of sovereign States for the purpose of serving certain common interests, each agreeing to give up certain functions, in order that those functions may be jointly exercised for the common good by a body created for the purpose. The powers of the Central Government are limited by a written constitution, which can only be amended by the consent of two-thirds of both the legislative bodies and the execution of those powers is entrusted to three authorities, executive, legislative and judicial. The legislative

organisation of the federation, which was originally borrowed from the Connecticut practice, seeks to represent the two elements upon which all federal governments rest; namely, the popular will of the country at large and the opinion of the States. The States themselves have two legislatures, but the purpose of the second House therein is to ensure deliberateness in legislation and to escape the taint of precipitate action, which may be taken by a single all-powerful chamber. These two chambers in the various States represent different constituencies, though both come directly from the people. So far as the executive functions are concerned, the President of the United States is the only executive officer of the Federal Government, who is elected. All other federal officials are appointed by him. Whatever they may be in fact, in theory they are only his advisors. In the various States, on the other hand, the Governor and the officials are all colleagues of each other.

President Woodrow Wilson in his treatise on *Congressional Government*, thus sums up the fundamentals of the United States organisation: "They consist of a Congress exercising law making power, a President charged with the execution of the laws and a Supreme Court determining the lawfulness of what is done by individuals, by the State Governments, or by federal authorities." The line of division as between federal and State powers is not easy to draw. The weakness of the system has been described as follows, namely, that federal government in the United States as at present constituted lacks strength because its powers are divided, lacks promptness because its authorities are multiplied, lacks wieldiness because its processes are round about, lacks efficiency, because its responsibility is indistinct and its action without competent direction. Lowell, in fact, has called it government by declamation,

THE DEFECTS.

The transcendent success of America in many spheres of life and the general national efficiency ought not to blind us to the many difficulties produced by its constitution, from every one of which framers of new systems and constitutions may take a lesson and warning. It has been justly argued that the speakers of a congressional majority are at liberty to condemn what their own committees are doing. At the same

time, practically all the work of the Congress is done in committee. Nobody stands sponsor for the policy of the Government as a whole, and the doctrine of ministerial responsibility is unknown. It has been picturesquely stated that the policy of the American Government may be originated by a dozen men, a dozen more may compromise, twist and alter it and a dozen officers, whose names are unknown may put it into execution. Competent thinkers have also often expressed the view that in the United States, though the Congress possesses all legal authority and jurisdiction, the Press and political machines have the greatest weight. Epigrammatically, it has been alleged that the Editor directs public opinion, the Congressman obeys it. Hamilton, himself, the originator and father of the Constitution, held the view that it would be more easy for the States Governments to encroach upon national authority than for the national governments to encroach upon State authorities. This is another of the inherent weaknesses of federal constitutions, where the individual State is the residuary legatee of all power, and it is necessary therefore, to keep in view always the importance of giving federal authorities all the force which is compatible with liberty. By reason of these conflicts, actual and potential, the balance between the State Governments and the federal authorities has to be maintained by the judicial system. Justice Cooley has summarised the position thus:—

"The real growth of the power of the Congress has been by its jurisdiction over commerce and the public utility services and the sole and sufficient legitimate check upon the encroachment of federal power is in the Federal Supreme Court, with competent power to restrain all departments and officers within the limits of their just authority, in so far as their acts come within judicial cognisance."

This survey of the constitution of the United States and its working cannot but make us realise that the creation of a federal government is a matter of no small difficulty, its working is very complicated and resort to legal machinery is, from the nature of things, apt to be frequent. There is another difficulty which has to be recognised, and it has arisen not only in the United States but in other federations as well. This difficulty has been very accurately indicated by Keith in his *Imperial Unity and the Dominions*. He remarks that the theory

that changes of law, say, for instance, as to legislation regarding pollution of waters can be effected by the parallel action of a number of legislators is one which will not be entertained very readily by any person, who has observed the trouble experienced in the United States, or in any other federation in securing uniformity in different legislatures. Moreover, such divergencies may become very troublesome in business transactions. Each province may insist on having its own type of legislation as to company law or as to insurance or patent, trade mark or copyright, and the best solution therefore would be to make all these federal subjects. But even as to what may be described as essentially State subjects, it would be futile to ask one legislature exactly to follow the precedent of another. Questions of *ultra vires*, the hampering of governments, the weakening of the executive and the possibility of serious disputes between the federation and its members, cannot also be lost sight of, and these latter may become very serious indeed, where the members of a federation are situated at a distance from each other. The danger experienced by Canada owing to the attitude of British Columbia in the seventies, the failure of the Australian Commonwealth to make the Railway between South and Western Australia, and the controversies between New Foundland and Canada *inter se* and New Zealand and Australia, ought to convey a warning to would-be framers of constitutions. In short, the problem presented and not completely solved by the United States Constitution is the problem of retaining sufficient executive and legislative power at the centre to secure strength and uniformity without trespassing on the legitimate powers of the component States.

FEDERATIONS IN BRITISH EMPIRE.

I shall next deal with the Federations within the British Empire. It is surely needless to recount the earlier history of Canada and the manner in which Durham and his advisers overcame the obstacles in their path, local, personal and Imperial, before Canada was welded into a confederation. Many of the arguments, which are familiar to us in India, were adduced by opponents of the scheme. The French and the English disliked each other intensely. There were conflicts of manners, customs, and religions, and different parts of Canada had attained

different stages of educational advancement and political training. Nevertheless, the great experiment was made, and not only has the Canadian constitution vindicated the wisdom of its originators, but it has been the model for many subsequent experiments, the latest of them being that inaugurated in the Irish Free State. Each of the constituent parts of the Canadian Federation had a different history. As in India, so in Canada, several portions came under the British power at various times by settlement, conquest or cession. It became essential both on account of the history of the various Provinces and by reason of other overmastering political considerations, to emphasise the importance and maintain the strength of the central machinery. Not all the Provinces were willing to come together, and, therefore, provision was made in the original Act for the admission, as and when they chose, of States like British Columbia and other territories. Newfoundland has not yet availed itself of this provision. The preamble of the British North America Act, 30 Vic. Ch. III recites that the provinces of Canada, Novascotia, and New Brunswick have expressed their desire to be federally united into one Dominion under the Crown of the United Kingdom. As already stated, provision is made by the Act for the admission into the Union of other parts of British North America. The distinctive feature of the Constitution is that the powers of the Dominion or Federal Parliament include all subjects not assigned exclusively to the provincial legislature. In Canada, therefore, the Central Federation is the residuary authority. In the language of Section 91 of the Act, the Parliament of Canada has legislative authority in respect of all matters not assigned exclusively to provincial legislatures, these matters including Public Debt, Regulation of Trade and Commerce, Borrowing money on public credit, Military and Naval matters, Navigation, Shipping, Currency, Coinage, Banking, Criminal Law, etc. The Executive power is vested in the Governor-General aided and advised by a Privy Council. Of the two Houses of Parliament, the Upper House is based on a property qualification, the House of Commons being a wholly elected body with exclusive originating powers with regard to appropriation and tax bills. In the provinces, some have bi-cameral and some uni-cameral legislatures. Amongst the subjects assigned to the provincial legisla-

tures are the amendment of the provincial Constitution, direct taxation for revenue purposes, the financing and execution of local works and undertakings, excepting those extending beyond one Province or connecting with other Provinces and excepting also other works which the Dominion Government declares are for the general good. Certain backward portions of Canada are governed by Commissioners assisted by Councils, e.g., the north-west territory and the Yukon. Each Minister is paid a salary of 10,000 dollars a year, the Prime Minister 15,000 dollars, the leader of the Opposition receiving a salary of 10,000 dollars, in addition to the sessional allowance which every member receives of 4,000 dollars subject to deduction for non-attendance. The Canadian Constitution by common consent has been an outstanding success, and not only has Canada greatly prospered under it, but it has attained such a position that at the present moment, it is practically treated as a separate international entity. During the War, each Dominion not only took an active part in the direction of the British Commonwealth's War efforts, but received a recognised place in the War Council, and at the Paris Peace Conference and the Washington Disarmament Conference, there was distinctive representation of the Dominions. Finally, the British and Dominion Governments have definitely agreed that the principles of autonomy and equal nationhood shall govern their future political relations, this of course implying that the Dominions have an adequate voice in foreign policy. All this was largely achieved through Canadian efforts. Canadian statesmen were last year elected to the Council of the League of Nations and sat side by side with the representatives of Great Britain, France, Germany and Japan; and Canada sends its own Minister plenipotentiary to Washington, and the United States sends a Minister to Canada. Canada has thus not only worked out her national salvation by means of its constitution, but has created for herself an international position of importance.

The wisdom of the Canadian settlement and the beneficent results achieved by it will be realised all the more vividly if we bear in mind the position of affairs during some years before the passing of the British North American Act. In various ways, a spirit of antagonism was manifesting itself between the French inhabitants and the British population settled in

Canada. The temporary truce, which prevailed during the War of 1812 was soon succeeded by grave internal political difficulties. The Legislative and Executive Councils were at open variance with popular-representative assemblies. Strife prevailed between Upper and Lower Canada. The natural position of Quebec and Montreal gave Lower Canada a special position as to exports and imports. There were serious financial misunderstandings between the Provinces respecting their share of import duties. Although there was a Legislative Union between the two Provinces carried out in 1841, it was found that the British were divided on old English party lines, but the French Canadians, united by race and religion, were able to hold the balance of power between the British parties. Thus it was that a practical deadlock was in existence until the happy solution was reached of a Federative Union, reserving to each State the control of its own Local Government. The effects of this great experiment cannot be described better than in the language of the Earl of Dufferin, who speaking of the Canadian spirit after the Act had been worked for a few years declared: "I should be the first to deplore this feeling if it rendered Canada disloyal to herself, if it either dwarfed or smothered Canadian patriotism or generated a sickly spirit of dependence. Such however is far from being the case. The legislation of the Parliament of Canada, the attitude of its statesmen, the language of its Press, sufficiently show how firmly and intelligently its people are prepared to accept and apply the almost unlimited legislative faculties, with which it has been endowed, while the daily growing disposition to extinguish sectional jealousies and to ignore obsolete provincialism, proves how strongly the heart of the confederated Commonwealth has begun to throb with the consciousness of its national existence. Yet so far from this gift of autonomy having brought about a divergence of aim or aspiration on either side, the sentiments of Canada towards Great Britain are infinitely more friendly now than in those early days, when the political intercourse of the two countries was disturbed and complicated by an excessive and untoward tutelage." These are words of profound statesmanship and wide applicability. Only superficial observers can say that the Canadian Constitution is a copy of the American. That the framers of the Quebec

Resolutions adopted portions of the American system is undoubted, but every care was taken to avoid those weak points in that system, which the experience of years had brought to light. "We can now", said Sir John MacDowall, when moving in the Legislative Assembly of Canada, the resolution in favor of the Union, "take advantage of the experience of the last 78 years, during which the United States Constitution has existed, and I am strongly of belief that we have in a great measure avoided in this system, which we propose for the adoption of the people of Canada the defects which time and events have shown to exist in the American Constitution."

The election of a President for a term of 4 years, the independence of the President during this period, both of his Ministers and of Congress, and the delegation to the Central Government of definite, specified powers, leaving the balance of legislative power in the States, are three of the most important characteristics of the United States Constitution. But not one of these principles was adopted in Canada. The Executive authority was vested in the Crown, represented in Canada by a Governor-General, appointed by the Crown, who is required to act by the advice of a Ministry *responsible to the Canadian Parliament*. Specified powers only are given to the Provinces, the balance of legislative power being lodged in the Dominion or in the British Parliament, for the belief prevailed in Canada that the exceptional powers of the American States and the doctrine of State rights had been leading factors in bringing about the great Civil War.

Some unexpected constitutional developments have occurred in Canada as in the United States. In the States, there is no more characteristic feature than the growth of the power of the Senate as compared with the decreased influence of the House of Representatives. In Canada, on the other hand, the influence of the House of Commons has grown at the expense of the Senate. Two reasons may be assigned for this. In the first place, the Canadian Senators are nominated by the Governor-General as the representatives of the Crown, whereas the American Senators are elected by the State Legislatures and an elected body tends to become more powerful than a nominated body. The system of nomination is indeed sufficient of itself to explain the decadence of the Canadian Senate; but the

election of Senators by the State Legislatures is not sufficient to account for the power of the American Upper House. Such a method of election is not far removed from the method of nomination. The real cause of the predominance of the latter body seems to lie in the fact that all Ministers and officials are appointed by the Senate, though nominated by the President. No such power has been given to the Canadian Senate. All Ministers and officials are appointed by the Governor-General as representing the Crown, though such appointments, when not the result of an examination, are made on the advice of the Privy Council.

A second unexpected result has been the conflict between at least one of the Provinces and the Dominion. When the framers of the Constitution provided that all powers not specifically delegated to the Provinces should remain with the Dominion, it was thought that all danger of conflict between the Central authority and the Province had been removed. The exercise of the Governor-General's right of veto in the case of the Manitoba Railway Acts showed that it was not the case, and that where the veto is exercised, not on the ground that the Province has exceeded its legislative powers but on grounds of "general policy" a conflict may arise. It should be added that the Dominion is fully alive to the necessity of rarely interfering with provincial legislation, except where clearly illegal.

COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA ACT.

The Commonwealth of Australia Act 63 & 64, Vic. Ch. XII, is also an attempt at Federation. It begins by reciting that the people of New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, Queensland and Tasmania humbly relying upon the blessings of Almighty God have agreed to unite into one indissoluble Commonwealth under the Crown of the United Kingdom. Under Section 51 of the Act, the legislative power of the Federal Parliament in Australia includes commerce, shipping, finance, banking, currency, defence, external affairs, postal and telegraph and like services, census and statistics, weights and measures, copyright, railways, and conciliation and arbitration in industrial disputes, extending beyond the limits of any one district. But the Federal Parliament in Australia is a legislature with limited

and enumerated powers, the several States retaining the residuary power of Government over their respective territories as in the case of the United States. The Senate or Upper House is chosen for a term of six years, there being six Senators for each original State. The Lower House or the House of Representatives is chosen in proportion to the respective numbers of the people. Recent Australian history has revealed the same difficulties in the working of this Federal constitution as have become apparent in the United States.

The first ten years of the Commonwealth were somewhat disturbed, and the evolution of parties and political creeds did not proceed fast, nor did the people easily begin to think in terms of the Commonwealth rather than of a group of States. It was the War that gave that common aim, which the years of peace did not afford. Although the construction of the Trans-Continental Railway, the provision of Compulsory Military Training, and the creation of the Australian Navy were initiated before the War, yet it must be remembered that even the erection of a Federal Capital at Canberra at first aroused feelings of jealousy and derision. There were very sharp divisions on questions of Tariffs and Taxation, which were succeeded by a cleavage between political Labor and the forces that opposed it. The rise of Labor in politics was a remarkable feature of Australian growth. At the end of 1925, it was the main force in Opposition to the Federal Government, and it actually held office in every State, excepting Victoria. The rise of Labor in Australia has been thus described:—"The broad lines of the movement may be said to have run along the ever-increasing education of the working classes to political power, the application of the machinery of the great Unions towards party ends and the determination of the Labour leaders that their influence should extend far beyond the industrial as distinct from the political life of the community." The apprehensions of those who feared revolutionary changes as a result of the political activities of organised Labor have been falsified and the rigidity of the Australian Constitution has been demonstrated by experience, and proposals which obtained the necessary statutory authority in both Houses of Parliament were generally lost when they were referred to the people. The position of the States as originally contemplated has been to a

certain extent altered by the activity of the High Court, which under the terms of the Constitution, is made the final interpreter of the Constitution. The High Court of Australia has enunciated the following doctrine in connection with cases of over-lapping of State and Federal Powers, viz., that Section 109 of the Act gives supremacy not to any particular class of Commonwealth Act, but to every Commonwealth Act over not merely State Acts passed under concurrent powers but to all State Acts though passed under an exclusive power if any provisions of the two conflict. This decision given in the *Amalgamated Society of Engineers vs. The Adelaide Steamship Co.*, really amounts to a new principle obviously affecting the status of the States and detracting from their autonomy. By one or two other decisions of the High Court, State Legislation as to the creation of new types of property and as to restrictions on the sale of commodities, was declared *ultra vires*. There is thus observed in Australia the tendency to enhance the powers of the Federal Legislature or at all events to exclude certain fields of legislation from the jurisdiction of the States, thus bringing the constitution of Australia if not in theory at least in practice nearer to the Canadian ideal. This result, he it remarked, is effectuated by what may be termed judicial legislation.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN ACT.

The South African Act, IX Ed. VII, Ch. IX, was a legislative union of the already self-governing colonies of the Cape of Good Hope, Natal, Transvaal and the Orange River Colony. The Upper House consists of eight nominated and 32 elected members, and the House of Assembly consists of 135 elected members. Although, it is difficult to give summary judgments on the work of this legislatures and governments, it cannot but be admitted that the South African Constitution has not been as successful as the Canadian in welding together for common national endeavour the various elements of the population, aboriginal, Dutch, English and Indian. Although the South African Colonies and Republics became united in 1910 under a common administration, the Commonwealth did not soon enter upon the longed-for era of racial reconciliation and material progress. The first Union Parliament gave rise to a predominantly Dutch

Ministry, and racial jealousies have been a feature of some of the administrations. A great deal of patient and uphill work had to be done by General Botha to carry out economic reforms in the matter of using the State Railways as agencies of taxation, the reorganisation of the Civil Service and the apportionment of the Revenue between the Provincial and Central Administrations. The reorganisation of the Railways led to a series of dissensions, and in 1912, the well-known speech of General Hertzog was made, which declared that when the proper time came, South Africa will look after its own interests first and those of the Empire afterwards. This speech led to the cleavage between Botha and Hertzog and the Asiatic legislation, and the disturbances of the Rand led up to a situation, which is still in a position of unstable equilibrium. The post-war attitude of the political parties has to a certain extent mellowed the acerbities of the situation, but even after the modification by General Hertzog as Prime Minister of his previous declaration and his avowal that secession would be a flagrant mistake, there is still a very strong secessionist party in South Africa and the political segregation of the natives is one of the problems on which cleavage in thought and action is most manifest. The Flag question, and what is usually styled the Native question, are still factors which not only detract from the solidarity of the parties, but are the outward manifestations of what may be a serious disruptive tendency. How far these disharmonies are the result of the imperfection of the Constitution, and how far they are based on other and equally fundamental reasons, cannot yet be affirmed with certitude. There has been a very perceptible tug of war between the Dutch and the English elements, and it is only the limited population and the vast resources of the country that have enabled it to tide over the many crises, which have confronted it.

OTHER FEDERATIONS.

We now pass on to certain Federal Constitutions fashioned by countries and races remaining outside British or rather Anglo-Saxon influence. After the deposition of Don Pedro II in 1889, Brazil was declared a Republic under the title of the United States of Brazil. This Federal Union consists of 20 States, a

national territory purchased in 1902 and a Federal State. Each of the Federal Provinces forms a State administered at its own expense without interference from the Federal Government, excepting for defence, for the maintenance of order and for the execution of the federal laws. Fiscal arrangements in such matters as import duties, stamps, postage rates and circulation of Bank Notes belong to the Union, but export dues are the property of the various States. Here, as in most modern constitutions, the Lower House is constituted on a population basis, the Upper House being chosen at the rate of 3 Senators for each State. The executive authority of the State is vested in the President, who holds office for four years and is not eligible for a second term. In order to avoid dictatorships, provision is made that no candidate for Presidentship must be related by blood or marriage in the first or second degree to the actual President or Vice-President or a person who has ceased to be so within six months. The Ministers have no right of audience in Congress, but communicate with the Congress by letter or in conferences with Committee. The Federal Ministers are not responsible to the Congress. Each State in the Federal Union is organised separately and the Governors and the members of the Legislatures are all elected.

The new federal constitution of Mexico was promulgated on the 5th February, 1917. By the terms of its Constitution, Mexico is declared a federative republic divided into States. There are 28 States, one federal district and two territories. Each separate State has its own internal constitution, government and laws. Interstate customs duties are not permitted. Each State has its own special codes, but it must publish and enforce laws issued by the Federal Government. Though each State has a right to manage its local affairs, the whole is bound together by certain fundamental and constitutional laws. Here, as in the United States, the powers of the Federation are divided into three branches, legislative, executive and judicial, the legislative power being vested in a Congress consisting of a House of Representatives and a Senate, representatives being elected for two years by universal suffrage, and the Senators being elected two for each State. The President is also elected. He is ineligible for re-election, and he appoints Secretaries of State.

Under the new German Constitution promulgated by the National Assembly at Weimar on the 11th August, 1919, the federal matters are foreign relations, defence, customs duties, taxation and railway services.

There is a Lower House and a State Council. The Cabinet appointed by the President must, however, enjoy confidence of the Reichstag, that is, the Lower House. The principle of ministerial responsibility is thus introduced at the centre, this feature differentiating the German system from the American model. This Constitution is also noteworthy in as much as it is based both in the federal and State legislatures on universal franchise, and elections also are regulated according to the principle of proportional representation.

In the Union of the Socialistic Soviet Republics as in most other Constitutions, there is provision made for two chambers, the Union Council consisting of 450 members elected on the principle of proportional representation by the people of the constituent republics and the Council of Nationalities elected on the basis of five members for every independent and autonomous republic and one member for every autonomous region.

In the Constitution of the Irish Free State laid down by the Irish Free State Agreement Act of 1922, its status in the community of nations known as the British Empire is assimilated to that of the Dominion of Canada. Provision is also made in the Act for a Referendum and for the Initiative on the Swiss model. Election to the Lower House is on the principle of proportional representation, and the term of office is four years. The Senate or Upper House is also elected, and its members must be citizens who have done honour to the nation by reason of useful public services or who represent important aspects of the nation's life, the duration of the Senate being 12 years.

DEDUCTIONS.

From the above rapid analysis of many of the federal constitutions of the world, the following conclusions emerge. The recent tendency has been to rely upon a federation in all cases where different political units desire to come together for common political ends. In practically all these constitutional experiments, the federal legislature is composed of two Houses, one representative of the various

States or political units and the other of the people at large. In all these experiments, moreover, the various States have got their own legislatures and executives, the latter being chosen by and responsible to the respective States in greater or less degree, the former being sometimes unicameral, sometimes bicameral. There are, however, notable difference in the extent of authority of the States, and in the jurisdiction and powers of the Federal and State legislatures and executives. There are also important divergences as to the respective authorities of the legislative and judicial machinery, ranging from parliamentary omnipotence to the supremacy of federal Courts. Some countries like Germany have adopted the principle of responsibility of the federal executive to the federal legislature. Others have made the federal executive the nominee of the chief of the federal Government. This, however, has happened only in cases, where the head of the federal Government is himself the nominee of the people, is elected by them and is their true representative. Nevertheless, the legal authority of the President of the United States is almost supreme and is unique among the advanced countries. I am not of course comparing it with the practical dictatorships of Italy and Spain, which are the results of a reaction against a badly worked parliamentary system.

MODERN TENDENCIES.

The predilection of modern constitutional writers and publicists has been in favor of the federal model rather than of the unitary Government. In India also, there has been considerable discussion as to the possibility of a federal reorganisation of the country. Without entering into present day politics and political controversies, I shall only point out that in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report of 1919, it was recognised that some kind of collective consultation and some means of deliberation between the Government of India and the various Princes on matters of common interest to both, must be devised. It was admitted that in the present state of things, many States were vitally affected by decisions taken by the Central Government of India and by the Secretary of State without reference to them. It was realised that there was no machinery for collective consultation, and it was conceded that the

Indian States, at all events, had a clear right to ask for such collective consultation in the future. The scheme was adumbrated of a Council of Princes, a Council of State and a Privy Council, and the ideal was envisaged of constituting a machinery for bringing what were termed the Senatorial institutions of British India into close relation with the rulers of Native States. There was hinted the possibility of joint deliberation between the Council of State and the Chamber of Princes. The idea was also adumbrated of Princes serving on Committees of the Privy Council, which was sought to be brought into existence. The outlines of this federal arrangement, if such it can be called, were obviously very sketchy, and like some of the more recent speculations in that direction, including Sir Leslie Scott's, it suffers from the serious defect of failing to recognise two factors of considerable moment:—(1) the people of the Indian States and (2) the need to co-ordinate the political and economic ideals of the Indian States on the one hand and of the people of India on the other in matters of common concern.

FUTURE INDIAN CONSTITUTION.

Various political bodies and individuals in India have exercised themselves in the task of constitution building. Mr. S. Sreenivasa Iyengar, President of the Indian National Congress, 1926, in his publication entitled *An Outline of the Swaraj Constitution*, initiated a discussion as to whether the future constitution of India should be on the federal model or the unitary. He attacks the theory of unitary Government with concurrent powers vested in the Central and Provincial legislatures in provincial subjects. He combats the argument that under a unitary Government, a conflict would be avoided between central and provincial authorities, and does not share the belief that under a unitary Government, there would be less chance of the domination of one community over another. His arguments in favor of the federal system are these: (1) The importance and the necessity of gradually including the Indian States, which may fit into a federal India whilst retaining independence in domestic affairs. (2) The prevention of the acquisition by any dominant caucus of too much power. According to him, and in his own language, "a federal democracy is the best safeguard against

the springing up of ambitious oligarchies, commercial or militarist." His pamphlet is a suggestive contribution to the discussion of the subject, and has the great merit of drawing pointed attention to the eastern conception of "the law of Dharma" as being above and beyond the Sovereign. He contends that many Indian institutions, although autocratic in form, are really democratic by instinct. The Commonwealth of India Bill of 1915, which owes its inception to the industry and enthusiasm of Dr. Besant, and which rightly stresses the importance of organising the constitution from the village upwards, and most of the other draft constitutions so far attempted including Sir Abdur Rahim's, prefer the centripetal federation of Canada to the federalism of the United States or Australia.

AIM OF GOVERNMENTS AND CONSTITUTIONS.

Having examined the main features of some of the federal constitutions of the world, let me for a moment analyse the objects of all Governments and Constitutions. It has been aptly and truly asserted that in order to satisfy the just and legitimate demands of the citizen, a Government should have these essential characteristics:—It should be strong enough to defend itself from outside attack, and keep peace at home and administer justice. This requisite of Government has been well described in a recent and thought-provoking book entitled *Rods and Axes* by A. L. Carhill who is also responsible for the *Last Dominion*. "Every Government must be strong enough," he says "to coerce the criminal and the rebel, the former being the man who sets up his private will and the latter the man who sets up the will of a section against the will of the community." The second requisite of Government is that it should have the vision to perceive and to diagnose the evils that affect or are likely to affect the body politic. But however strong and wise a Government may be, no Government and no Constitution has a long "expectation of life" in the phraseology of Insurance Law, unless it adapts itself to the National genius, and unless, moreover, it works in consonance with the dictates of the Time Spirit. A form of Government imposed from without has less chances of survival than one which is evolved spontaneously. In fact, a Government being one of the manifestations of

racial or national spirit, must express in the political field its special aptitudes and outlook. The same writer dealing with this particular topic makes some pertinent observations. "A Government which is a mechanical one, for instance, which is imposed from without or from above, however skilfully it may be constructed, and however efficiently it may work for a time, yet by the very fact that it is a mechanism, is a dead thing, and possesses no flexibility. Sooner or later, the time will come when stresses which it was not designed to bear can no longer be coerced by its rigid framework, and the whole cunning structure will fall into irreparable ruin. Destruction in due time awaits the organism also, but the death of an organism is a benign and fertilising process compared to the ruin of a machine."

This is a period when fundamentals are being examined and re-examined and no single political solution can be all-embracing or totally satisfying. A nation like the Italian, which organised the best type of mediæval City State and convulsed Modern Europe with its national efforts, is now apparently doubtful of the efficacy of Parliamentary Government as understood in recent European History. In certain countries, a Supreme Chief is often associated as a co-equal colleague of Parliament, having powers not dependant on the will of Parliament. Large Socialistic experiments shifting the centre of gravity of Parliamentary authority are in progress in certain countries; but whatever may be the extent or validity of these endeavors, the maxim of Aristotle is applicable to them all. "Every form of Government or Administration must contain a supreme power over the whole State. This supreme power must necessarily be in the hands of one person or a few or many. Such States are well governed when these apply their power for the common good. But they are ill-governed when the interest of the one or the few or the many who enjoy this power are alone consulted." The next passage in the same work contains a statement which is both the argument and the justification for Democracy and for Federation. Aristotle proceeds to observe: "For, either affirm that those who make up the community are not citizens or let those share in the advantages of Government." This share of the common people in the advantages of Government is what is attempted, and can be conferred only by a successful Parliamentary system.

The success of any Parliament depends upon a franchise and electoral system, which make it sufficiently representative of the opinion of the country. As important as this requisite is that while Parliament should control the Executive, it should not destroy its initiative or impair its authority in the things that are essential to proper Government.

It is at this point that there arises the need to examine the efficacy and the utility of a strong Executive Government, and no system or Constitution can be pronounced successful which does not secure this end. Parliamentary Government is, as already stated, on its trial, and one of the institutions which is most canvassed is the second chamber, which is a common feature in federal systems, and which in some of these systems, shares a part of the executive power with the head of the State, e.g., the Foreign Relations Committee of the American Senate. Having regard to what has been stated above, it is worth considering whether, in order to secure efficient legislation whilst keeping intact the power of the Central Executive, there should not be a complete re-orientation of ideas regarding the functions and jurisdiction of a second chamber. *Apocryphal* of this subject, a very fruitful speculation was initiated by Mr. Spender in his book on the *Public Life*, wherein he has discussed the possibility of "a second chamber being a preparatory, rather than a revising chamber, a chamber which shall prepare the ground for legislation on burning questions, provide Government and the public with all the available knowledge on these subjects, show what the alternative solutions are, and which, if any, of the solutions are barred by economic facts or unforeseen consequences, a chamber, in fact, which would provide all the essential knowledge, which is so apt to be obscured in the battle of parties and their electioneering cries," and I may add, so apt to be obscured also in the battle between the conflicting claims of various States or component units of a Federation.

SOME SUGGESTED SOLUTIONS.

If the considerations detailed above lead to the conclusion that the future constitution of India cannot be constructed save on a federal basis, the following problems arise for discussion and solution. Some of the solutions may

be tentative and temporary and others permanent.

1. The regrouping of the Provinces on the lines of linguistic and cultural or historic and administrative unity.

2. Indian States with their varying sizes and importance and differences in political evolution. Federation in the sense of each Indian State being considered equal in voting power to every other State would be impracticable. The question, therefore, arises of a resort to a system of grouping of certain States, in order to enable them to play their part in such a Federation.

3. The careful circumscribing of interference in internal matters, both in the case of the Provinces and of the Indian States, the limitation in the latter case originating from treaties and political practice, and in the former case from motives of administrative convenience.

4. The drawing up of a list of subjects, in regard to which Federal activity is legitimate, such a list excluding matters having a direct bearing on internal administration. A tentative list is appended herein below:

(a) Transport and communications (inter-State, inter-Provincial and All-India).

(b) Rights in water for irrigation or other purposes and inland Navigation, where more than one State or Province are concerned.

(c) Merchant shipping including coastal navigation.

(d) Customs and Tariffs including bounties.

(e) Coinage and Currency. The future Federal Reserve Bank, which is inevitable.

(f) Codification of Commercial Law.

(g) Weights and Measures.

(h) Extradition.

(i) Labor questions of a general character.

(j) Public Health and Emigration questions having a more than local importance.

(k) And of course all questions of defence and armaments and foreign policy.

5. The consideration of the creation of a Privy Council composed of representatives both of the Provinces and of the States and their Rulers, from out of which the Federal Executive may be chosen and which may be utilised as a consultative body for many purposes as in England, Canada and even in Imperial Japan. The Executives to be chosen must enjoy the confidence of the appropriate Legislatures and the device of the Privy Council is not suggested as an oligarchical apparatus.

6. The vesting of residuary and exceptional jurisdiction in federal matters in the representative of the Sovereign.

7. The creation of a new federal legislative body, wherein representatives of the various Provinces and of the Indian States would both sit. The other alternative of the inclusion in one or other of the present legislative bodies of a certain number of Indian State representatives is not practicable for the following reasons:—

(a) The internal administration of Indian States not forming the appropriate subject of legislation by the federal legislative body, it may be well argued that Indian States representatives should not play any prominent part in legislation solely appertaining to British Indian affairs.

(b) It would be inconvenient to include representatives of Indian States in a body which will mostly deal with subjects on which they cannot and ought not to exert any decisive influence.

(c) The creation of a body representative solely of Indian States, forming a separate chamber of the legislature, operating only on matters affecting Indian States is also objectionable, the ground being that it will not be possible to secure that co-ordinate action, which will only arise as a result of mutual compromise and give and take, where a homogenous legislative body functions as such, its powers extending over the whole country.

8. The elimination of all ideas of creating a rigid Super-State.

9. The erection of a tribunal for the purpose of giving opinions on what may be called justiciable matters, which will inevitably arise in the working of any written constitution, such a tribunal having jurisdiction at least in its earlier stages (a) to hear and determine any dispute which parties thereto may submit and (b) to give an advisory opinion in certain circumstances and classes of cases.

10. The question of vesting taxation or revenue raising powers in federal bodies and for the purpose of avoiding acute controversies or dead-locks, the laying down of some such proposition as follows:—

That if a certain proportion of Indian States representatives or British Indian representatives be opposed to any fiscal policy or policy of taxation, such a policy should not be carried out for a specified period.

11. A second chamber of the kind described above would be invaluable on such occasions as well as in connection with controversial, social and economic legislation.

12. The very difficult problem of the distribution of Customs Revenue among the component political units in proportion either to population or volume of trade or on some other workable hypothesis.

On the adequate and speedy solution of these problems, and on the creation of such a

political machinery as will revive village and district autonomy, and will, at the same time, erect thereupon a federal system compatible alike with the utmost practicable freedom of action to local legislatures and with a strong and one pointed central executive, free from the influence of caucuses and responsive and responsible to the Central Legislature and the general public opinion, will depend the contentment and progress of Indian India as well as of British India.

THE WORKING OF THE REFORMS.

REPORT OF THE BIHAR GOVERNOR-IN-COUNCIL.

By MR. SACHCHIDANANDA SINHA, BAR-AT-LAW

(*Ex-Finance Member, Bihar and Orissa Government*),

I.

I have studied with the care and attention it deserves the Report submitted by the Governor-in-Council of this province to the Government of India on the working of the Reformed Constitution in Bihar and Orissa during the period 1923-26. My interest in it is of a two-fold character, firstly as a citizen of the British Commonwealth concerned in the healthy political progress of my country, and secondly, because during practically the whole of the period covered by the Report, I was myself a member of the Bihar and Orissa Government, on the reserved side, in charge of the portfolios of Justice, Irrigation and Finance. As Finance Member I had occasion almost daily to watch with a sympathetic interest the working of the administration on the transferred side, under the control of the Ministers, with whom—as also with my colleagues on the reserved side—my relations were cordial and happy. I am, therefore, not quite disqualified from discussing the Report now submitted by the present Governor-in-Council, who are the successors of those

whose work and that of the Ministers (who still continue in the Government) is brought in it under survey. The Ministers, however, are not responsible for the Report, which as stated in it "embodies the unanimous views of the Executive Council"—or (to put it correctly) of the Governor-in-Council. The Ministers have had no lot or part in its preparation; they were only allowed to peruse it and to write "seen." Their own joint note (appended to the Report) does not, therefore, deal with it, but consists merely of replies to questions supplied to them on which they were asked to express their opinion. As regards the Executive Council, it would be wrong, for reasons that need no recounting, to hold the permanent Indian Member of it responsible for the contents of the Report, which may be taken to be the production of H. E. the Governor and the Civilian Executive Councillor. But as the Report covers some thirty pages of closely printed matter, an exhaustive discussion of the controversial points with which it bristles, is beyond the scope of this statement, which is necessarily confined to but a few topics selected by way of example to show the tenor of the

Report and the value of its declarations on and criticisms of the work of the Ministers and other non-official workers in the Legislative Council and in the local self-governing bodies.

What has struck me at the very outset is the marked contrast in tone, temper and substance between the Report under notice and the earlier one on the same subject, prepared at the request of the Government of India, in 1923, during the regime of Sir Henry Wheeler. That Report being also a published document, any one interested in the matter can easily compare and verify for himself the manifest contrast it presents to the one just issued. This reference by me to the earlier document is not in the nature of a digression or as something by the way, but has been deliberately made in order to emphasise the conclusion I have arrived at, that in this patent contrast between the two Reports there lies a world of significance, which deserves to be carefully noted. When the earlier Report was published, or rather prepared, the prospect of a Statutory Commission seriously investigating the question of the extension or otherwise of the Reforms, did not loom on the political horizon as it did last year. What is more, the spirit of healthy progress generated even among the members of the Indian Civil Service, largely due to the inspiration or influence of the late Mr. Montagu, had not then altogether evaporated, as it has unfortunately done since. There can be little doubt that the Report under consideration has taken the form it has, both in language and sentiment, largely because of the above-mentioned factors; and it is plain that the almost wholesale denunciation and belittling of non-official work and effort, whether in the Legislative Council or in the local bodies, has been induced in it by an anxiety, which may be assumed to be unconscious, to prove the unfitness of the educated Indians for a further substantial instalment of Reforms. It is, therefore, that the Report is, in the nature of things devoid of genuineness, remote from realities and reads like—what it is—a piece of special pleading, pure and simple. Unfortunately for its authors, it carries the anxiety, which seems to have inspired it, too much on the surface, and it is, in my opinion, so full of wrong assumptions, false premises and unwarranted inferences that it cannot impress any one but those who are but too willing to convict the politically-minded Indians of an almost eternal unfitness to be ever in their

country what their British fellow-subjects are in theirs. I shall now briefly attempt to substantiate my allegations and contentions.

II.

To begin with, we are assured that "there have been no constitutional difficulties in the relations between Sir Henry Wheeler and the Members of his Government, although the local politicians and press have tried to invent them." By the phrase "Members of his Government," the obvious reference, from the context, is to the Ministers and not to the Executive Councillors. The latter are practically the equals of the Governor, who can not either appoint or dismiss them, as he does and can his Ministers—as was done, for instance, sometime back by the Governor of Madras and but the other day by the late Governor of the United Provinces, in spite of the fact that the Ministers had, in each case, the support in their policy of the majority of the non-official elected members of the Legislative Council. In case of a difference between the Governor and an Executive Councillor, the former can not overrule the latter. Unlike the Government on the transferred side—the "Governor-in-Ministry"—the principle of joint responsibility of the Governor-in-Council is too well established both by law and convention. The papers have, therefore, to be circulated amongst the other Executive Councillors and the final decision arrived at is that of the majority of the Members of the Government on the reserved side. In such a system the Governor himself, as often as not, stands a chance of being overruled by the Executive Council—barring the exceptional case when the safety, tranquility or interests of the province or any part thereof require that the Executive Council be overruled. But such a situation has never arisen in this province since it was constituted. That being so, it is quite clear that no "constitutional difficulties" can possibly arise between the Governor and his Executive Councillors. They can do so only between him and his occasionally "strong" Ministers, although the latter being the Governor's "creatures" and altogether dependent upon him alike for appointment and dismissal, are not likely to prove assertive enough to create deadlocks. Thus while in relation to the Executive Council, the Governor is but "the first among his equals," in that to his Ministry

he is the dominant or rather the predominant partner, and exercises by reason of his position, status and power, an amount of influence over his Ministers which makes them, in effect, dependent upon—if not subservient to—his will, rendering any formally overruling them, on the part of the Governor, absolutely unnecessary. This is no reflection on any individual Minister, but the inevitable result of that hopelessly defective administrative arrangement, called "Dyarchy." And, as if all this were not sufficient to reduce individual Ministers to submission to the Governor, there has been given effect to in province after province the sinister and insidious policy—wholly indefensible because gravely unconstitutional—of the "promotion" of Ministers to the Executive Council—though (fortunately) it has not yet come about in Behar and Orissa. For these reasons, I am not at all impressed by the assurance in the Report that it is "untrue" that "the Ministers have no real power and have been constantly overruled." In the absence of joint ministerial responsibility, such a statement is not likely to impress those who understand the working of the system. And one need not go to "the local politicians and press" to be enabled to form one's opinion on this point, for fortunately we have the unequivocal testimony of the two Behar and Orissa Ministers themselves, by which to test the correctness of the assertions made in the Report and to estimate the true position of the Minister in the present scheme of Reforms and in its actual working.

Both Sir Muhammad Fakhruddin and Sir Ganesh Dutta Singh were the Ministers throughout the period covered by the Report. Let us note what they have to say on the subject, i.e., about their possessing or being allowed to exercise "real power." Speaking so recently as March, 1927, in the Legislative Council, Sir Muhammad Fakhruddin declared that the Ministers are "impotent," that they "are certainly powerless," as "they have to serve under various restrictions and limitations." He added: "without (the power over) purse, others consider as if I am simply a clerk to prepare a certain scheme and after that scheme is ready, the Finance Department is entitled to knock it down on the ground of want of funds." Sir Ganesh Dutta Singh is no less explicit in the statement of his views on the same subject. In his "Memorandum on the Indian Constitution" he expresses himself as follows:—"The recom-

mendations of Ministers in certain matters are restricted by the suggestion of local officials, who serve under the reserved side of Government; and frequently Government is therefore hampered by consideration of prestige of officers of these services." Again: "though the administration has been carried on with apparent success in the province, this had only been rendered possible by a degree of forbearance on the part of the Ministry which cannot be expected to continue much longer." If, therefore, the Ministers are "impotent" and "certainly powerless," and the success of the administration on the transferred side in this province has been rendered possible only by "a degree of forbearance on the part of the Ministry which cannot be expected to continue much longer," is it to be wondered at that there were no "constitutional difficulties" between the Governor and the Members of his Government on the transferred side? Thus on the testimony of the two Ministers themselves, it is clear that there has been (on the transferred side) a Government on sufferance, pure and simple, a Government technically by the Governor-in-Ministry, but really by the Governor, let us say, putting it mildly, with the willing or the unwilling acquiescence of each individual Minister, the principle of joint ministerial responsibility being completely absent in the administration of the departments on the transferred side. And yet in the face of these ministerial declarations, the statement is made in the Report—astounding as it may seem—that "this complaint (i.e., of the Minister's powerlessness) has not emanated from the Ministers, but from those who have made it their business to abuse them." Such a statement is obviously incorrect and is bound to prove mischievous, unless it is challenged. Hence why I have brought together all the data to enable the reader to test the matter for himself.

III.

But unfortunately that is not all. It is that in the Report under notice not only the Governor-in-Council has sat in judgment over the work of the Ministers and the non-official collaborators with the Government, but there is broadcast in it the opinions of the various departmental heads and Secretaries seriously reflecting upon the work of the Ministers, the

Legislative Councillors and the members of the local bodies. These comments make it quite clear that the relations between the Ministers and their departmental subordinates have been very far from what they should be or say from what they are between the Governor-in-Council and their Secretaries and departmental heads. Lest it be suggested that this statement of mine also "has not emanated from the Ministers but from those who have made it their business to abuse them"—namely "the local politicians and press"—I hasten to quote the very words of the two Ministers themselves, embodied in their joint note appended to the Report under consideration. This is what they say on the subject in the very opening lines of their note:—"The relations between the Ministers and the public services were generally smooth as far as practicable. As we were anxious to have co-operation of the public services, our differences used to be settled by discussion. The orders passed by us were carried out without any apparent resentment. There were occasional protests from the local officers when the Reformed Government did not act according to their wishes." This declaration is so explicit that any comment on it would be an act of supererogation. Perhaps the only thing permissible is to put into italics (as I have done) some of the expressions. For the rest it may be left to speak for itself. Now these opinions of the officers subordinate to the Ministers, which are so copiously quoted in the Report, throw a flood of light on Dyarchy in its actual working. The fact is that the higher public services, no less than the Governor-in-Council, are naturally interested in discrediting the work of the local bodies, and in belittling and crying down Indian effort and achievement, as reflected in the work of the Ministers and the Legislative Councillors. And it is this which explains the most extraordinary aspect of the Report, the amazing spectacle of not only the Governor-in-Council but even the departmental heads, Secretaries and other officials, sitting in judgment on the work of the Ministers under whom the latter are supposed to serve and take their orders from. That the opinions of the Secretary to the Education Department, the Director of Public Instruction, the Director of Agriculture, the Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals and the Excise Commissioner, all constitutionally and theoretically direct subordinates of the Ministers, should have been quoted with evident approval

by the Governor-in-Council, taken as the texts for their own comments, and formed integral parts of their despatch on the working of the Reforms, brings into prominent relief the mockery of the position in which the poor Ministers stand in the scheme known as Dyarchy. Such a method of preparing the Report is bound to prove subversive of all discipline in the administration of the transferred departments under the Ministers, while its publication is undoubtedly calculated to humiliate them as those who can be "abused"—to borrow with apology a term from the Report itself—with impunity by their own subordinates.

To take but one example out of many. Here is a gem from the criticism of the Minister's work offered by the Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals: "If the country is to take its place with the other nations of the world in medical and scientific matters, the department should be divorced from its present control and work along lines which exist in all civilized nations." And, pray, what are they? And are the British a civilized people? And are not "medical and scientific matters" administered in Britain by a Minister who is dependent on the vote for supply of the House of Commons? And yet the Minister's subordinate here demands his Minister's recall! Clearly also the whole object of these unjustifiable quotations interspersed throughout the Report, as well as of the dissertation in it on the position of the public services under the Reforms, with the frequent lament on the decline in the importance and influence of the officials, is to emphasise that the latter are losing their old power and position, that the non-official representatives in the Legislative Councils are insistent that this process should be accelerated, that they are, therefore, no longer amenable (as of old) to the advice of the officials, and lastly that there is a growing tendency on their part to attempt to exercise an effective control over the Executive. Now to those familiar with even the rudiments of responsible government, these developments would seem to be the natural concomitants in the progressive passage of the country from the undiluted, though benevolent, despotism of the pre-Reform days to the very meagre transition towards popular control, and the inevitable and quite intelligible reaction from the extreme irresponsibility of the past to the partial responsibility of the present. But to our officials it all seems like a downright

popular revolt; hence their open protests and demand for going back on even the present Reforms, as evidenced by the desire of the Inspector-General of Hospitals to abolish the control by the Minister.

IV.

But there is one statement in this connection which should not be passed over, as it very correctly sets forth the settled characteristic of the official mind. It is stated, evidently with the approval of the Governor-in-Council, that the District Officer "has strong doubts of the wisdom of the policy that the people should learn by their mistakes"? Now, need it have been so solemnly broadcast? Was there any occasion for doing so? Did ever the most irresponsible Indian publicist attribute to our officials the heresy that they believed that "the people should learn by their mistakes." Never, I think. It was not our officials but Macaulay who wrote (in his famous essay on Milton) that "there is only one cure for the evils which newly-acquired freedom produces: and that cure is freedom." It was not our officials but that eminent statesman, Gladstone, who declared that, "It is liberty alone that fits men for liberty." Again: it is not our officials but Mr. Lionel Curtis—the alleged father of Dyarchy—who has stated it as his conviction that "responsibility in the long run is the only educator for responsible government" (*Dyarchy* p. 121) and that "freedom, which in its political aspect is responsible government, is a human and not a western ideal" (p. 432). Those, therefore, who may be troubled for an explanation of this seemingly superfluous statement in the Report—about the attitude of the officials on the question of people learning responsibility by their mistakes—will do well to remember that at the head of the Bihar and Orissa Government is a genial and urbane Scotch gentleman—H. E. Sir Hugh Stephenson. Hitting off in his inimitable language the characteristics of the Scotch, that delightful English classic, Charles Lamb, writes:—"Persons of this nation are particularly fond of affirming what nobody doubts; they do not so properly affirm as annunciate it. They do indeed appear to have such a love for doing so that all propositions to them are equally valuable—whether they be new or old, disputed or indisputable." That is probably the only

explanation for the appearance of this statement in the Report. But though I think the stage has passed when the soundness or otherwise of the policy of Reform leading to the establishment of full responsible government in this country could be seriously canvassed, I am not in the least surprised that our officials should still refuse to see the obvious inevitability of the growth and development of that policy. Speaking in the House of Commons, as Secretary of State for India, the Marquess of Hartington said:—"The Anglo-Indian, whatever be his merits—and no doubt they are just—is not a man who is distinguished by an exceptionally calm judgment." I am, therefore, not at all surprised at the opinions expressed by the District Officers, who evidently still believe with Macaulay's fool that "no people ought to be free till they are fit to use freedom," and who himself "resolved not to go into water till he had learnt to swim!" Better was, however, certainly expected of the Governor-in-Council and they might have consulted their dignity by abstaining from quoting such views of the District Officers or the departmental heads, with evident approval, on the work of the Ministers or of the local bodies, for they certainly were expected to know that "if men are to wait for liberty till they become wise and good in slavery, they may indeed wait for ever."

V.

Turning to the portion of the Report dealing with the work of the Legislative Council it is, to my mind, grossly unfair to the non-official elected members. The attitude of the Government seems to have been one of systematically picking holes in their work, but studiously avoiding all reference to the earnestness, enthusiasm and ability which a large number of them have brought to bear upon it. This portion also seems to me to be vitiated by a most amazing incapacity to understand the ordinary implications of democratic Government, however partial or limited, on the part of the many officials whose verdicts have been quoted with approval by the Governor-in-Council. Thus the Secretary to the Government in the Education Department avers that the "Ministers' dependence on the vote of the Council leads to a marked lack of finality in the decisions of the Government on the trans-

ferred side." This seems to me to betray a lamentable ignorance of the rudimentary principles of responsible Government, which is but another name for the political system in which the Ministry (or the Executive) is responsible to the Legislature. But for aught I know the Secretary who thus trounces and traduces his own Minister, might be in favour of the abolition of the House of Commons and the whole parliamentary system in his own country. Evidently he is a gentleman who shares the views of the old Turk in Morier's famous novel, *Haji Baba of Isphahan*, about parliamentary government in Britain, for did he not declare that the British "have certain houses full of mad men who meet half the year round for the purposes of quarrelling" and "who throw more words away in settling a common question than would suffice one of our muftis during a whole reign" and where "nothing can be settled until these people have wrangled." Who knows but that the Education Secretary may be the old Turk reborn in a new physical vesture!

One or two more—out of the innumerable—examples of the carping, cavilling criticism indulged in by the Governor-in-Council on the work and attitude of the Legislative Council will not be without interest to students of our public affairs. We are told:—"The Council has also shown itself anxious for a large increase in the number of medical schools, a proposal which does not meet with the approval of the Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals, who considers that the standard of qualification of men of the Sub-Assistant Surgeon class 'is pitifully low and undoubtedly getting lower.'" In the first place, it is unthinkable that a representative body like the Legislative Council should entrust its conscience in a matter like this to the safe keeping of the Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals or take its cue from the policy which he may desire to pursue. But that apart, I find it stated in one of the recent Administration Reports of the province—known as *Behar and Orissa*,—that "a further cause which hinders the expansion of medical relief is the lack of Sub-Assistant Surgeons. A second difficulty is the lack of facilities for medical education which will become more pronounced in the future." Need the Legislative Councillors have been, therefore, certified as political charlatans if they, in the light of the above authoritative expression of opinion of the Governor-in-Council themselves, should have urged an

increase in the number of medical schools with a view to turn out more Sub-Assistant Surgeons, whose lack "hinders the expansion of medical relief?" I shall give but one more example to illustrate the nature of the many similar unjustifiable attacks levelled in the Report against the Legislative Councillors. It is said:—"Attention must however be drawn to one resolution in which the Council showed a tendency to usurp the functions of the Executive when they proposed that a revision of canal water rates should be subject to the previous approval of the Council." The reference here is to a resolution recommending that steps be taken to introduce legislation with a view to obtain the previous approval of the Legislative Council to a revision of canal rates. The mover took his stand on the recommendation of the Joint Select Committee of the two houses of Parliament that "the imposition of new burdens shall be gradually brought within the purview of the Legislature." The mover of the resolution claimed that the factors to be taken into account in fixing the rates on revision should be definitely regulated by law and suggested an amendment of the Canal Act on these lines. He referred in support of his view to that expressed by the Government of the United Provinces in respect of a similar resolution moved in the Legislative Council of that province. Now, there may well be reasonable difference of opinion as to whether canal rates come within the meaning of the "burdens" the Joint Select Committee had in view when they recorded the opinion quoted above. Not satisfied that it necessarily did so, I myself (as Irrigation Member) opposed the resolution unsuccessfully, as it was carried in spite of Government's opposition. But it is certainly open to the Legislative Councillors to demand that canal rates might well be regarded as included in the category of such fiscal burdens as were contemplated by the Joint Committee. If the object of the Joint Select Committee in making their recommendation was that the "people who are most affected" should have a voice in the shaping of additional burdens to be imposed upon them, then there was at least an arguable case for the resolution moved and, despite Government's opposition, adopted by the Council. And yet this is the only resolution which could be fastened upon and quoted as an example to prove a "tendency to usurp the function of the Executive." But this is typical

of the attitude betrayed throughout the Report, to fix upon almost every case of difference between the Executive and the representatives of the people as a proof of the innate perversity of the latter. The authors of the Report in launching upon this and similar criticisms on the attitude of the Legislative Council do not seem to have appreciated the fundamental fact that in the absence of any real power of initiative conferred under the Reforms upon the Legislatures, an attempt to pry into the details of the administration is about the only method open to their members to bring their political acumen to bear upon the machinery of Government and to convince their constituents that they are mindful of their interests, by turning the searchlight on the daily work of administration.

One would have expected in a document of this kind some little, if not much, appreciation of the work of the Legislative Councillors in the discharge of their new duties and responsibilities. But there is no trace of any such recognition. Fortunately, we can appeal in this matter from Philip drunk to Philip sober. Let us listen to the latter:—"The general discussion on the budget afforded abundant evidence of the great pains which members have taken in mastering the complexities and technicalities of the financial system. It was clear that the estimates had been carefully scrutinized; speeches were generally well-informed, and irresponsible criticisms and suggestions were comparatively rare. This was the more remarkable and praiseworthy in a Council which consisted so largely of new members. There is no doubt that the Council as a whole realizes and attaches a proper value to the wide powers of control which it now exercises over the finances of the province." This extract is from *Behar and Orissa, 1926-27*, which is the latest Administration Report and has come to hand while I am preparing this statement. Surely Legislative Councillors, whose work in the scrutiny of the financial administration of the province has been so satisfactory, were entitled to some appreciation in a Report on the working of the Reforms. And what is one to think of a survey which but tries to find fault with almost anything and everything they did and said without giving them credit for the good work done by them. The fact of the matter is that hostile critics like the authors of this Report seem to be unable to appreciate the

cardinal principle which should govern a sound political constitution, but which is so conspicuously absent from that obtaining at present in this country. This point is very clearly brought out by Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Ex-Member, Madras Executive Council, in his recent statement on the Madras Report, in the course of which he wrote: "The attacks levelled by many Governments on what have been termed obstructive tactics failed to realize that obstruction is resorted to in most cases because nothing positive can be done;" for "if no tangible results, happy or calamitous, will ensue from the conduct of a political personage or party, there is every temptation to indulge in abstract argument." That clinches the matter. "Literary critics," said Disraeli, "were those who had failed in literature." But how is one to describe such high-placed "political critics" as the authors of this Report on the working of the Reforms in the province of Behar and Orissa?

VI.

The most vehement attack, however, levelled in the Report is in the portion relating to the working of the local self-governing bodies since the introduction of the Reforms. It is claimed that "there has been serious maladministration in the majority of the local bodies both generally and in regard to education;" that "this depressing failure of local bodies to carry out their duties with *even a moderate degree of efficiency* is the most ominous symptom of the general trend of events" and so on and so forth in the same strain. The point is repeatedly emphasised that "this deterioration has followed directly on action taken in the spirit of Reforms." We are assured that "misappropriation of public funds is generally regarded more as a subject of mirth or envy than reprobation" and the conclusion arrived at is "that too rapid relaxation of control such as was effected by the (Local Self-Government) Acts passed..... is bound to lead to a disastrous fall in the standard of honesty and efficiency." There are, if true, damaging charges, in all conscience. But it is amazing that such a serious indictment should have been made against many of the most disinterested public workers in the province, in the form of a sweeping generalization with so little material to support it, and that too against the accumulated weight of wholly opposite

opinions expressed in previous years both by the Governor-in-Council and the Governor-in-Ministry in the course of their annual Administration Reports called *Behar and Orissa* and their Resolutions on the working of the local-self-governing bodies in the province, since the inauguration of the new policy of relaxation of official control consequent upon the introduction of the Reforms. I regret I cannot quote them here in extenso for fear of unduly lengthening this statement, but they can easily be found in the documents I have just referred to. To satisfy, however, those who may like to have some idea of these official declarations, I have compiled a short summary in the very words of the Government Reports and Resolutions which I would append here in support of my contention :—That “the emancipation of Municipalities and District Boards from official control has, in some cases at least, infused in the Commissioners a higher sense of their responsibilities ;” that there “has been a hopeful tightening up of the administrative reins ;” that there was “a distinct improvement in the amount of touring performed by non-official Chairmen and Vice-Chairmen of District Boards ;” that “in the past this important branch of their work (touring) has been neglected and it is gratifying that the need for regular inspection of roads, schools and dispensaries is now more generally recognized ;” that “experience of the difficulties of administration and the readiness of the District Officer and other officials to co-operate with them has helped to moderate extreme ideas ;” that “one pleasant feature of the new Boards is the keenness of members for education and medical relief ;” that “few too were the deliberate manifestations of the lack of sense of responsibility ;” that “a new keenness was evinced by most District Boards in the conduct of their affairs ;” that “this greater interest has tended to the improvement of the District Board administration ;” that “the non-official executive have been able to devote considerable time to their duties ;” that “the supervision exercised has been more effective” and that in 1926-27 “the tendency towards co-operation with the local officers continued in several districts and the feuds and factions in various boards waned.” In consonance with these declarations made in previous years, the latest Administration Report called *Behar and Orissa 1926-27*, which has just come to hand, records the very gratifying fact in

respect of Municipalities that “embezzlement and defalcation are comparatively rare.” In respect of District Boards it states :—“During the last year of their term of office most of the Boards showed less inclination to indulge in politics. As a consequence the practical work of education received more attention and was better done” and that “faction and personal animosities were also less noticeable.” To crown all is the following ungrudging testimony borne in it :—“It would be a mistake to infer that the administration of educational affairs by local bodies has been systematically perverse or incompetent. In many districts too a wise use has been made of the liberal funds which Government have been able to place at the disposal of the Boards and the non-official Chairman appeared to be more interested in education than the old official Chairman used to be.” These unequivocal admissions can leave not the least doubt in the mind of any unprejudiced person that the opinions now expressed by the Governor-in-Council are neither warranted by facts, nor justified in the light of their own opinions expressed in previous years in appreciation of the work of the new local self-governing bodies. According to the Governor-in-Council and the Governor-in-Ministry themselves, it was repeatedly stated in the official declarations that a new spirit of progress had been infused in the post-Reform self-governing bodies, their executives devoted considerable time to their labour of love, the supervision was more effective, greater attention was being paid now to Education and Medical relief, the earlier intransigence (of the non-co-operation days) had yielded to a healthy co-operation between the local bodies and the officers of Government and that party feuds and factions had gradually waned. All these earlier admissions, however, have been now given completely the go-bye and statements have been made in the Report under notice which are in direct contradiction to them. How can this somersault be accounted for, except on the hypothesis advanced by me—viz., the advent of the Statutory Commission.

VII.

But to be able to verify the correctness of the serious charges made in the Report against the new local bodies, I have carefully re-studied the Government's Reports on their working and

I am satisfied that far from the disaster that the Bihar and Orissa Governor-in-Council apprehend in the near future, the progress made by the local-self-governing bodies during the post-Reform period augurs well for the future of responsible government in this country. To refer to but a few figures gleaned from the official Reports, I find that the gross receipts of the Municipalities here have gone up from Rs. 34,57,753 in 1911-12 to Rs. 47,55,230, ordinary taxes from Rs. 12,88,494 to Rs. 26,75,177 and special taxes from Rs. 34,427 to Rs. 86,685. The result is that the incidence of taxation per head of the people in the municipal areas has risen from Rs. 1-11-4 to Rs. 2-0-0. What is more, the progress has been rapidly steady ever since the reformed municipalities came into being, and it appears that whereas the progress during the ten years of the pre-Reform period was from Rs. 1-1-4 to Rs. 1-9-4, during the six years of the post-Reform period the increase has been from Rs. 1-11-1 to 2-0-0. Moreover, out of Rs. 2-14-2 representing the incidence of income per head of population, as much as Rs. 2-0-0 comes from taxation. In respect of expenditure the scale is naturally fluctuating as a result of the outlay for such purposes as drainage, water-supply, etc., in a given year, but the growth there also is equally clear. On education there has been a steady growth during the life time of the new Boards, so much so that from Rs. 22,97,38 expended in 1923-24 the figures stood in 1926-27 at Rs. 29,75,89. Similarly in regard to roads, the rise in expenditure has been from Rs. 3,09,780 in 1923-24 to Rs. 4,19,282 in 1926-27. As a last test I may add that whereas during the six years since 1921-22 there have been but 13 cases of embezzlements, there were during the ten years from (1911-12 to 1920-21) of the pre-Reform period over as 43 such cases. Obviously, on these figures municipal administration does not emerge with the stigma so seriously cast upon it in the Report.

Let us now take the case of the District Boards. There too gross receipts have gone up since 1924-25, when the new Boards came into being, from Rs. 1,80,58,773 to Rs. 2,18,29,150 in 1926-27. The incidence of taxation stood in 1926-27 at Rs. 0-4-3 per head of the rural population as against Rs. 0-3-11 in 1924-25 and Rs. 0-1-1 in 1911-12. The incidence of income similarly stands to-day at Rs. 0-7-6 as against Rs. 0-6-4 in 1924-25 and Rs. 0-2-2 in 1911-12.

What is more remarkable is the striking increase in expenditure on almost all the heads that affect public well-being so vitally as Education, Medical-Relief and Water-Supply. In regard to Education, expenditure, since the coming into existence of the new Boards, has gone up from Rs. 29,21,329 to Rs. 40,33,186 as against but Rs. 7,42,038 in 1911-12 and Rs. 18,95,537 in 1920-21, the year immediately preceding the Reforms. On Medical Relief expenditure has gone up from Rs. 14,32,895 in 1923-24 to Rs. 18-01,696 and on Water Supply from Rs. 1,65,000 to Rs. 4,97,000. This then is the position of our local self-governing bodies and the figures tell their own tale. Surely, all this result could not have been attained if the Boards or their executives had been all that is stated or suggested about them in the Report. I, therefore, maintain without any fear of contradiction that judging by the manner in which they have discharged their duties in respect of which Government's own testimonies quoted above should be conclusive, and by the progress effected by them in the departments of public well-being, as testified to by the figures quoted above, the verdict any reasonable and unbiassed person would come to is that far from the dark and dismal prognostications of the Governor-in-Council coming true, the chances are that they would be just the other way about. I regard it, therefore, as absolutely reprehensible that a wholly unsustainable attack should have been made on the working of the post-Reform local self-governing bodies which, when analysed and tested by official figures themselves, falls like the proverbial pack of cards.

VIII.

It is time, however, to bring this statement to a close. But before doing so, I may briefly refer to its most objectionable feature, namely a wholly unwarranted attack on the younger generation of Indian nationalists—many of whom are men of the highest educational qualifications, great strength of character and who have displayed a spirit of rare self-sacrifice in the cause of the country by refusing to crowd the already over-crowded public services or the legal profession and have dedicated their lives to public work. Far from any appreciative reference being made to this class of public workers, it is solemnly stated that 'an ominous and disquieting sign of the times is the growth

of a class of professional politicians—mostly new youths—who take up politics as a livelihood," "many of them mere adventurers with no stake in the country" "irresponsible demagogues..... already a danger," who "owing to the ignorance of the common electorate may bring about disastrous results." And so forth. I shall leave each reader to form his own opinion whether this is the language of statesmanship. Claiming, as I may justly do, a better and more intimate knowledge of the public life of this province than the authors of this Report, I must assert in unequivocal terms that the impression sought to be conveyed by these "choice and elegant" expressions has no substratum of truth. Even assuming, however, that it were otherwise, is the "professional politician"—whatever it may mean—necessarily any worse than the professional administrator or the "mere adventurer" in the field of politics than that in the sphere of administration? Was not the late Mr. Gokhale repeatedly called by his opponents a "professional politician?" I wish Sir Henry Wheeler were still here to impress upon his "successor in Connell"—what he was always justly insisting upon—that hard words break no bones and that in the discussion of public questions they should be studiously avoided. It is a great pity that even in a State document, the temptation to indulge in gibes and sneers against the Indian nationalist could not be resisted by even the Governor-in-Council of the province. I willingly concede that just as the public have the right to criticize reasonably the actions and the policy of the Government, so have the latter an equal right of fair comment on the activities of our public men. But if the use of intemperate language, misstatements of facts and unwarranted inferences are to be condemned in the writings in the press or the utterances on the platform, they are *mutatis mutandis* deserving of an equal, if not greater, censure in a State document. An emphatic protest must, therefore, be entered alike against the substance and the form of this Report. Argument upon the matter is to be desired but not invective, and in the opinion of all disinterested and unbiassed persons, qualified to judge of Indian political conditions, there is so much reason to think that the Indian nationalist movement really represents the cultivated intelligence of the country and all that is patriotic in the land that those who, like the authors of this Report, try to misrepre-

sent, discredit or ridicule it do harm more to the interests of Great Britain in India than to those of Indian nationalism itself, by bitterly wounding and alienating men who are fully justified in what they do, who do it in a reasonable and constitutional manner and who—if only prudence, foresight and imagination were found in the seats of the mighty—ought to be conciliated by being met even more than half-way. It is not suprising, therefore, that even the two Ministers were so shocked at the perusal of this Report that (though they were denied the opportunity of writing notes of dissent), they felt constrained to request H. E. the Governor to agree to the addition, to the last paragraph of the Report, of the observation that in their opinion "it is too pessimistic in tone and stresses too much political conditions that are transitory." They do not seem to have realized, however,—or if they did so, they have not cared to speak out their minds—that the Report has been so prepared in view of the appointment of the Statutory Commission, and that that is the only explanation of its having had imparted to it the spirit, tone and temper which are its distinguishing features, and to but a few examples of which I have been able to touch upon in this statement. For the benefit of those who may feel sceptical about the matter, I would recall a notable passage from a memorable speech on India, delivered by Gladstone in the House of Commons, in 1883, in which that great statesman took a correct measure of the characteristics, mentality and attitude in public affairs of officialdom in this country. Said he:—"Their position is less favourable than ours for forming a comprehensive judgment, as they are doomed almost to narrow modes of examining those questions. They each of them look at themselves in relation to persons whom they feel to be inferior to themselves, and there is a tendency to indulge in a spirit of ascendancy which it is the business of this House to modify and check. This is not the first time that such a state of things has existed. Go back to the time when Indians began to be entrusted with judicial function, go back to the time when the liberty of the press was enacted in India; go back to the time of Lord William Bentinck and Lord Macaulay. And so it will be in the future." These words of the great Liberal leader display a profound political prescience and a keen insight into the realities of Indian political con-

ditions, for though uttered nearly half a century back, they are as true to-day as when they were first spoken. And it is because the same "spirit of ascendancy" still dominates the Indian Administration in the matter of Reforms

and political progress, as it did in the earlier days to which Gladstone referred, that I have felt it to be my duty to my country to prepare this statement to enable the reader to view the question from a correct perspective.

THE PROPOSED CONSTITUTION FOR CEYLON.*

By ST. NIRAL SINGH.

The proposals recently put forward for the revision of Ceylon's Constitution should be carefully studied by our people for a variety of reasons.

Firstly, they relate to a country that lies at the feet of Mother India. The narrow strip of water that separates the two has never been a barrier either to the migration of human beings or to the influx of thought. From times so remote that our knowledge of the happenings of those days is derived entirely from traditions incorporated in our own epic literature, or in the chronicles compiled by the Sinhalese and regarded by them as history, there has been a living connection between the two lands. The Ceylonese of to-day are almost entirely the progeny of adventurers, invaders and peaceful emigrants from various parts of India. By far the greater bulk of them claim to be of Aryan descent, though undoubtedly considerable mixture with the Tamils has taken place through the centuries. Most of the Sinhalese, the descendants of Sinha-bahu (the lion armed) through Vijaya, continue to profess Buddhism, just as the majority of the Tamils cling to Hinduism. Any changes of a far-reaching character in the form of administration of a people who are so closely bound together with us and who live in such propinquity, cannot fail to be of interest to us.

Secondly, in addition to some 4,000,000 Ceylonese who, almost without exception, have ethnic, linguistic and cultural affinities with us,

there are something like 900,000 Indians in the Island who are spoken of as immigrants. Racially most of them belong to the Tamil group; their home is in the Madras Presidency and contiguous Indian States; and they profess Hinduism. The percentage of Indians from other parts of India is very small. The bulk of the immigrants have been brought to Ceylon, having been visited in their villages by agents, known as *kanganies*, sent over by employers in Ceylon, and are engaged in producing tea, rubber, cacao (the cocoa of commerce), cardamoms and coconuts for planters, some of whom are Ceylonese. According to the President of the Ceylon National Congress, himself a Sinhalese planter employing a considerable number of Indians on his estates, they live "in lines or rooms situated within an estate and any person who comes to visit" them "is legally an intruder and can be prosecuted and punished." That statement, he added, was not of a hypothetical nature. "As the records of our (Ceylon) Law Courts show", he emphasised, "such prosecutions are quite common and the restrictions are rigidly enforced." The form that is given to the Government of Ceylon will necessarily affect our own people in the Island.

Thirdly, the authors of the scheme that has been adumbrated for the revision of the Ceylon Constitution claim to have invented a system calculated to democratize the Island. They, in fact, profess to have devised a Constitution that will devolve upon "the inhabitants of Ceylon the responsibility of managing their own internal affairs, subject only to certain safeguards in the background." If the recom-

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mondations they have put forward do carry out such a benevolent intention they have indeed gone far beyond any plan so far formulated for the transference of authority from British into indigenous hands; and their report must be regarded as an epoch-making document in the British Orient. An acid test must, therefore, be applied to their sincerity.

Fourthly, some British friends of India are telling us that we should regard ourselves as fortunate indeed if we can get an instalment of constitutional reforms modelled upon this pattern. These Britons have rendered noteworthy service in the past and their counsel merits at least careful consideration.

Fifthly, whether these British friends of India are right or wrong in this matter, the mere production of the scheme and its application to Ceylon might conceivably have a reaction upon India, just as hitherto constitutional reform in India has had a powerful reaction in Ceylon. The throwing open to election of four seats, of which one was reserved for the "educated Ceylonese" in the Ceylon Legislative Council in 1910 followed the Morley-Minto reforms of 1909. (Until then all the unofficials had been nominated). The agitation that resulted in India through the unsatisfactory character of the Morley-Minto reforms aroused considerable interest in Ceylon. The promiscuous shooting of Sinhalese leaders and the goaling of several of their prominent leaders, including the present planter-President of the Ceylon National Congress, following Buddhist-Muslim riots during 1915, led to the quickening of the political movement in the Island and to the temporary fusion of the Tamil and Sinhalese forces. The Ceylon National Congress was founded under the leadership of Sir Ponnambalam Arunaschalam in 1917, not long after he had retired from the Ceylon Civil Service. The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms were followed by the revision of the Ceylon Constitution in 1920, when an unofficial majority in the legislature was conceded without the bifurcation of the Budget, but with the power of certification reserved to the Governor. That Constitution, with minor modifications relating to the representation of certain minority communities in the Council, has continued to this day.

Sixthly, this process of constitutional revision in Ceylon following constitutional revision in India has on the present occasion been reversed, it has been suggested, in order to reward the

Ceylonese because, according to the President of the Ceylon National Congress, they were not given to "sulking," and also to teach a lesson to Indians because of their tendency to non-co-operate. If the Ceylonese have, indeed, been "good boys," and because of behaving well are being given a valuable consideration by the British, it might pay Indians to take a leaf out of the Ceylonese book and to change their tactics. We, therefore, might do worse than to examine the record of the Ceylon Legislative Councillors as also the scheme of constitutional reforms that their conduct has elicited.

II.

If the Ceylonese elected to the Ceylon Legislative Council had been angelic in disposition it is to be doubted that any initiative would have been taken to reform the Constitution for at least some years to come. They, however, refused to permit the British officials, in whose hands power is at present centralized, to rule the Island as they pleased; and would not complacently provide them with funds for administrative purposes. Regarding themselves as the custodians of the public purse, they scrutinized every requisition for money submitted by the Executive, compelled the officials responsible for the items to justify the expenditure; and did not hesitate to cut it down or even to refuse sanction if necessary. They knew that the Governor had the power to certify certain expenditure, but he could do so only by claiming it to relate to a matter of "paramount importance." He would take such action only if he were prepared to try conclusions with the Legislature and the onus of bringing about any crisis that might result would rest with him.

Nor did the Ceylonese in the Legislative Council content themselves with paring down or even deloting items in the estimates submitted to them by the Executive. They, on the contrary, hauled the officials over the coals for their acts of omission and commission. They reviewed matters of minor as well as of major importance. Men who had regarded themselves as rulers of the land were made to explain what they did with the time that belonged to the State and with the funds and staffs that the State had committed to their charge.

The fact that discussions of this kind were conducted mostly in the Finance Committee of

the Legislative Council, which met behind sealed doors, did not prevent information from leaking out. The officials who were severely handled by the Councillors talked among themselves when they got off the inquisition—as they regarded it and their underlings heard them, accidentally or by eavesdropping. All legislators could not, moreover, be expected to forget the triumphs that they had scored behind barred doors as soon as they walked out of the Chamber. Secrets thus became public property.

Newspaper men compelled to keep out of the room in which this committee met were particularly anxious to secure such news of the secret proceedings as they could and industriously gathered tittle-tattle, and they enterprisingly hid the paucity of their information under a particularly attractive garnish. Officials did not take the trouble to hide their chagrin and even muttered imprecations against the higher authorities who could (if they cared, or at least dared) have shielded them from humiliating treatment.

Included among the enquiries initiated by the Ceylonese legislators was one that the officials particularly viewed with alarm. A Committee consisting entirely of Members of the Legislative Council was set up to investigate matters pertaining to salaries, allowances, pensions, gratuities and the like. The terms of reference were sufficiently elastic to enable the members to go minutely into ancillary issues such as questions pertaining to the strength of the various cadres.

Some of the shrewdest legislators served on this Committee. They did not spare any pains to make the investigation thoroughgoing. Nor did they care whose toes they trod upon.

Hardly less obnoxious than the activities of the Salaries Committee were the labours of another body created at the behest of the legislature to go into matters relating to the alienation of land. The appointment of this Commission was regarded by the planters mostly British—as a blow aimed at them. On the pretext of ensuring that there would be land adequate to the needs of the Sinhalese villagers, they fancied, they were to be prevented from adding to the broad acres that they already possessed.

The unofficial Britons viewed the activities of the legislature in that as also in other connections with as much suspicion and hostility as did

the British officials in respect of other matters. Certain Ceylonese who had interests identical with those Britons shared such feelings: but on the whole the politically minded people appreciated the tussle in which the legislators were engaged with the executive, or at any rate were greatly amused by the spectacle.

III.

Such was the situation in Ceylon when I arrived early in the spring of last year, a little more than eighteen months ago. Sir Hugh Clifford, as Governor of the Island and its dependencies and Commander-in-Chief of the various forces, kept away from the legislative Chamber, though the Constitution made him President of the Council and he was fond of hearing his own voice. He was going about the country telling the people that the high office which he held had been shorn of all power—that though the villagers, following hoary custom, continued to present him with addresses petitioning him to grant this boon or that, his hands were tied.

These pronouncements were made in that semi-jocose vein which characterizes certain Tory literary efforts that find a place in the pages of *Blackwoods Magazine*, to which this pro-consul has contributed for many years. The Ceylonese professed to be greatly amused. The Britons in the Colony—officials and unofficials alike—kept silence. The legislators talked little: but went blithely on their way, exercising, with intelligence and vigour, such power as the undivided control of the public purse gave them over the administration—and the administrators.

During the early weeks of my sojourn I often wondered why Sir Hugh Clifford did not follow the example set by the "Indian" Governor-General and assert himself. He had spent many years among Asiatic and African peoples who, for the most part, were backward and, in some instances, even semi-savage. While serving as the Colonial Secretary—chief executive officer—in Ceylon some years earlier he had earned the reputation of being a "strong man." A despatch bearing upon its face unmistakable marks of his authorship sent out from this colony during his time contained a venomous attack upon the "educated Ceylonese." But for the accident that the Colonial Office in London was at that juncture presided over by an Englishman who did not take his cue from

Colombo, the thin edge of the electoral system would not have been introduced into the Ceylon Legislative Council even in 1910.

It was, indeed, surprising to me in those days that a pro-consul with such a record should sit quietly at Queen's House (as the principal residence of His Majesty's representative in the Island is called) or indulge in quasi-humorous sallies, while the legislators laid down administrative policies of which he did not approve and exerted themselves to the utmost to see that those policies were pursued. The surprise was all the greater because the Constitution gave the Governor considerable powers. He could have presided over any session of the legislature had he so desired. He could have "certified" any measure passed by the legislature that did not commend itself to him: for the formula designed for that purpose was exceedingly wide.

Why Sir Hugh Clifford, possessing such powers, did not assert himself remains a mystery. It is quite possible that he had not forgotten how the "educated Ceylonese" had combined to resist his high-handedness while he served as Colonial Secretary: and he did not wish to have a repetition of that experience. He had cause to know that the feeling of resentment that his action then roused had not disappeared. When the news of his appointment as Governor reached Ceylon there was talk of asking the Colonial Office to reconsider its decision. After his arrival in the Island the Hon'ble Mr. Edward W. Perera did not hesitate to speak of the "malign influence that the poisonous meals served at Queen's House" exercised upon Ceylonese publicists. He referred to him as the "pious Hugh" and, I believe, as the "prancing pro-consul." And what this intrepid legislator said, his less courageous colleagues thought.

If Sir Hugh Clifford had tried to come to conclusions with the legislature there is no doubt that that legislature would not have bent its knee readily. It is true that it was elected only partially on a territorial basis; and upon a franchise restricted to the propertied, highly conservative classes. Nevertheless on matters of national importance even most of the Ceylonese returned by special electorates saw eye to eye with their territorially elected colleagues; and in moments of crisis they did not hesitate to cast their votes against the officials who controlled patronage as well as titles.

While Sir Hugh Clifford refrained from taking any action that would bring about a deadlock, he moved the Colonial Office to order an investigation into the workings of the Constitution. The despatch that he wrote remains secret, though the Ceylonese have made every effort to secure its publication. From the many statements that he made publicly before he left this Island for Malayas where he began his career as a lad of 17 a half century ago it is clear that he must have warned Whitehall that if matters were permitted to drift in Ceylon the legislature and the executive would come into collision and a crisis would ensue.

IV.

Whether the Colonial Office immediately granted Sir Hugh Clifford's request, or whether it had to be persuaded to appoint a commission of enquiry is not known to me. The announcement, when he made it at a dinner, fell upon the Ceylonese politicians with the force of a thunderbolt; and even some conservative men among them spoke of the investigation with misgiving.

The nominees of the Colonial Office were, however, not only able but they also were urbane men. The Earl of Donoughmore, appointed the Chairman of the Commission, was a man of charming manner; and so were his colleagues—Sir Mathew Nathan, Liberal of the old school, Sir Geoffrey Butler, a "Tory Democrat" and Dr. T. Drummond Shiels, a Fabian Socialist and Labourite. Immediately after setting foot upon Ceylon soil they won the Ceylonese—and especially the impulsive Sinhalese—by their unflinching courtesy and accessibility. They gave a patient hearing to all and sundry: even Sinhalese and Tamils who had hardly emerged from secondary schools and maturer men who had little to their credit but defeats were received in formal audience in the chamber in the new Town Hall in which the enquiry was held. Except in one instance, of which the details are not edifying, they suffered political tyros and adventurers to talk at random and some of them kept smiling while the others maintained a dignified poise. Such urbanity and accessibility made the Ceylonese forget the genesis of the enquiry.

The terms of reference were, of course, available. They read:

"To visit Ceylon and report on the working of the existing Constitution and on any difficulties of administration which may have arisen in connection with it; to consider any proposals for the revision of the Constitution that may be put forward, and to report what, if any, amendments of the Order in Council now in force should be made."

The courtly manners of the Commissioners somehow made the Ceylonese forget that this cleverly worded sentence had ever been written. They began to look upon the enquiry as ordered, not for the purposes that Sir Hugh Clifford had in view, purposes of which he had openly boasted; but solely to carry them at least a stage further toward self-government.

The investigation was conducted in this atmosphere. The Commissioners departed from Ceylon amidst expressions of goodwill and the applause of every one.

The steamer that carried Lord Donoughmore and his associates to Europe also bore two distinguished members of the Ceylon Civil Service proceeding on leave. One of the permanent officials was exceedingly well connected. A relation of his served at the time as under-secretary in Whitehall. He himself had risen practically to the top in the Island. During the interregnum between the departure of Sir Hugh Clifford for Malaya and the arrival of his successor, Sir Herbert Stanley, he had been appointed to act as the Colonial Secretary in the room of the Hon'ble Mr. A. G. M. Fletcher, who had been appointed to act as Governor. Whereas Mr. Fletcher, with his liberal ideas and tactful ways, had managed to steer officialdom clear of all legislative rocks and shoals, his *locum tenens* insisted upon navigating that dangerous channel with full steam ahead. He had, in consequence, a crash. Mr. Edward W. Perera proposed a cut in the Colonial Secretary's vote. So high ran the feeling in the Council that even the Ceylonese members known for their caution supported the motion. Strange to say, a Sinhalese "unofficial" member of the Executive Council (the Hon'ble Mr. D. S. Senanayaké) delivered an attack upon his official colleagues and voted with Mr. Perera. The Government was defeated (not for the first, nor the last time).

It was, I assume, by the merest chance that this Civil Servant, as also his Irish colleague who for some years had been Controller of Indian Immigrant Labour, went home on leave

by the same steamer that carried the Earl of Donoughmore and his colleagues to Europe. At least one of them had appeared before the Commission—once at an open and the second time at a secret session.

Most of the official evidence had, in fact, been given *in camera*. The Ceylonese would, in any case, have been suspicious of what had been said behind closed doors: but certain statements, as to the handicaps under which the officials laboured and the insulting treatment that they received in the Finance Committee, made to the Commission by the deputation sent by the European (British?) Association, raised their alarms. A Sinhalese member of the legislature entered, in a closely reasoned memorandum, into a spirited defence of his unofficial colleagues: but he unfortunately marred the effect created by that document by giving his evidence in secret.

V.

I have taken pains to explain the genesis of the enquiry and the circumstances in which the investigation was conducted, for it is otherwise impossible to understand the significance of the scheme of constitutional reforms propounded by the Donoughmore Commission.

In considering that scheme I propose to bare it of all verbiage: but before doing so, I wish to pay my meed of tribute to the literary accomplishment of its author or authors. Seldom has it been my privilege to review a State paper that was couched in more elegant language. The marshalling of facts and the arrangement of the various sections are the work of a master-hand. The effect on the reader is almost hypnotic.

Divested of the gorgeous verbal habiliments in which the Earl of Donoughmore and his colleagues have dressed up their scheme, it immediately loses its attraction. Its magnetism lies not in the fundamentals but in the accoutrements.

There are two angles from which the scheme can be viewed:

Firstly, how far it fulfills the purpose for which the Commission was created; and

Secondly, how far it will enable the Ceylonese to manage their affairs themselves.

No fair-minded critic can examine the scheme from the first point of view without forming the conclusion that the Commissioners have

shown consummate skill in discharging the functions entrusted to them. If their recommendations are adopted, as they made them, the legislature will be divested of every vestige of control that it at present possesses and exercises over the permanent officials and the Governor will be rendered complete master over both the administration and legislation. To show that no conclusions other than these are warranted, I shall isolate the Commission's actual proposals bearing upon these matters.

In respect of the permanent officials, the Earl of Donoughmore and his colleagues propose:

Firstly, to take away from the legislature the control it now has over the public services through the power of the purse. They would give the State Council, that they propose to set up in place of the existing legislature, only the privilege "to offer comment and criticism" in respect of "all matters affecting the pay and allowances, pensions, prospects and conditions of service of public officers." They would place all these matters in the hands of the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

Secondly, the Commissioners would suppress the Select Committee appointed in 1926 to examine questions pertaining to the salaries of permanent officials and would substitute in its stead a Salaries Commission to be "sent out from the United Kingdom every ten years or at such intervals as the Secretary of State might determine." The constitution of this commission is not given, but though the Commissioners speak of it as "independent" it is likely to consist wholly or largely of persons of British blood. It only needs to be added that at present not a single Ceylonese occupies permanently a position in the public services that would entitle him to a seat in the Executive Council, nor is there a single Ceylonese serving as an Agent of a province—a post analogous to that of a Collector or Deputy Commissioner in Indian provinces. The higher appointments in Ceylon, in other words, are still the monopoly of the British, and the Donoughmore Commission would ear-mark at least fifty per cent. of the superior posts for their own people.

Thirdly, this "independent" Salaries Commission is admonished by the Donoughmore Commission to secure:

(a) stability in salaries and pensions scales, so far as may be;

(b) to bring about a differentiation between

the salaries paid to the Ceylonese and to the Europeans (by Europeans is no doubt meant Britons, since, so far as I have been able to ascertain, no non-British European occupies any position of importance in the administration); and

(c) to find ways and means to raise the emoluments of the British public servants on the plea that they are

"...a body of men exiled from the temperate climate which is their birthright and posted in a tropical country thousands of miles from their homes; a country in which it is impossible for them to bring up their children and from which it is essential for the sake of their own health that they should proceed on leave of absence at regular intervals; a country in whose service they are compelled not only to face all the difficulties involved in the maintenance of dual establishments, the risks to their health and the personal sacrifice of family ties but also to preserve at considerable cost a standard of living and hospitality in keeping with their own traditions and those of a Service which for over 125 years has represented a great Imperial Power."

Fourthly, the Commissioners propose the appointment of a member of the public service to act as an intermediary between the Ceylonese elected to be a Minister and the heads of the various departments placed under that Minister's "control." This official, acting as Secretary to the Minister, "would not occupy in relation to the heads of the departments a position of official superiority." The language of the recommendation can be legitimately interpreted as implying that while the permanent head of a department can, if he deems it essential or advisable get in "direct personal touch" with the Minister, the Minister must needs use his "official Secretary" as intermediary for such communication.

Fifthly, any public servant, be he British or Ceylonese, who was in service at the time of issue of the Commissioners' report, who feels aggrieved, is to be given an unqualified "right to retire on proportionate pension with compensation for loss of career," and that option is to be continuous—lasting, not for a specified period, but throughout the time of each officer's service under the Ceylon Government. Special tenderness is to be shown to "those officers who, after serving in the war, entered the service of the Ceylon Government at a later age than they otherwise would have done."

Sixthly, the Commissioners, not satisfied with these recommendations, further propose to introduce a provision in Article XIII of the Royal Instructions which would compel the Governor to withhold "assent in the name of His Majesty to any Bill...whereby the rights or privileges of public servants may be prejudiced."

If the Earl of Donoughmore and his colleagues consider that any serious student of constitutional history and procedure can regard a scheme containing provisions of such a nature as one designed to introduce responsible government in Ceylon, they must have a very poor opinion of the capacity of such a student. These and cognate proposals of theirs, in fact, are diametrically opposed to the fundamental principles of constitutional practice in Britain and the British Dominions.

In the circumstance in which the Commission was appointed, it would, of course, be manifestly unjust to expect them to devise a scheme whereby the officials in Ceylon would be made responsible to the Ceylon legislature. They were sent out for exactly the opposite purpose and enough has been written to show that they accomplished their object most efficiently.

VI.

It is hardly necessary to add that the Commissioners are so enamoured of the American system that they propose to model the executive in Ceylon upon the American pattern. They do not suggest that the office of the Chief Executive, as also the offices of Government Agents of Provinces (if those provinces may be regarded as analogous to the States comprising the American Union) be thrown open to election. Nor do they ask that the Ceylon legislature be given power to overcome ultimately the opposition offered by the Chief Executive, whether in respect of domestic affairs or matters pertaining to treaties with foreign nations.

The Commissioners reject the British practices not because they prefer to them the constitutional safeguards designed by the founders of the United States. Their purpose being entirely different, they actually propose to make the Governor of Ceylon supreme not only in administration but also over legislation.

As the agent of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, who is to be the unquestioned arbiter

of the public services in Ceylon, he is to constitute a sort of local protector of those services. All appointments not made from Whitehall are to be made by him. The elected Ministers, I may add parenthetically, are not to be given authority even to make transfers of officials:—

No executive business of any importance is to be transacted without the knowledge of the Governor, and he is to have ample powers to stay any action that he may desire. The Commissioners propose, in fact, to give the Governor "a general right to refuse or reserve approval to any executive measure." He is in addition to have power "to take executive action, in default of the co-operation of the (State) Council, in matters of paramount importance to the public interest." He is further to "have power to declare a state of emergency and on such declaration to take over the control of the police, and of any other Department or service which he may consider it in the public interest to direct."

The Earl of Donoughmore and his colleagues recommend the confirmation of the powers already vested in the Governor to refuse assent in respect of the following classes of Bills:

- "1. Any Bill for the divorce of persons joined together in holy matrimony.
2. Any Bill whereby any grant of land or money, or other donation or gratuity, may be made to himself.
3. Any Bill affecting the currency of the Island, or relating to the issue of Bank notes.
4. Any Bill establishing any Banking Association; or amending or altering the constitution, powers, or privileges of any Banking Association.
5. Any Bill imposing differential duties.
6. Any Bill the provisions of which shall appear inconsistent with the obligations imposed upon His Majesty by Treaty.
7. Any Bill interfering with the discipline or control of His Majesty's forces by land, sea or air.
8. Any Bill of an extraordinary nature and importance, whereby the Royal prerogative, or the rights and property of British subjects not residing in the Island, or the trade and shipping of the United Kingdom and its Dependencies, may be prejudiced."

The Governor is, in addition, to be given power to refuse assent to Bills of the following classes, unless they be enacted at his own request or with his own or the Secretary of State's prior consent:

"(a) Any Bill whereby persons of any particular community or religion are made liable to any disabilities or restrictions to which persons of other communities or religions are not also subjected or made liable, or are granted advantages not extended to persons of other communities or religions.

(b) Any Bill whereby the right or privileges of public servants may be prejudiced.

(c) Any Bill whereby the financial stability of the Island may be endangered.

(d) Any Bill relating to defence or public security, or any matter affecting naval, military or air forces or volunteer corps or the control of aerial navigation or aircraft.

(e) Any Bill relating to or affecting trade outside the Island, or docks, harbours, shipping, or any lands, buildings, or other matters of naval, military or aerial interest or of Imperial concern.

(f) Any Bill relating to or affecting the administration of justice in the Island."

With regard to all Bills, of whatever nature, the Governor is to be competent to—

"(1) Assent.

(2) Reserve assent pending signification of His Majesty's pleasure.

(3) Refer back to the Council for further consideration, with or without suggested amendments.

(4) Certify a Bill as coming within the Article of the Order in Council which demands its passage by a two-thirds majority.

(5) Attach to his assent a condition withholding the Ordinance from operation for a period not exceeding six months.

(6) Refuse assent."

The Governor is to be "vested with power to enact laws himself." That power is to "rest absolutely in" him and "no voting on" any such Bill is to "be required."

The President of the United States, whom certain British constitutional writers represent to be the greatest autocrat in the world, would, indeed, be a happy man if he could have anything like the powers that Donoughmore Commission wish to assign to the Governor.

VII.

The State Council that the Commissioners propose to set up in place of the existing Legislative Council not only will lack complete authority over the executive, and is to be incompetent to initiate legislation in all the

respects named, but it is also to be a subordinate legislature. His Majesty is to have unquestioned and unlimited right to "disallow any law assented to by the Governor," and the Parliament of Great Britain and Northern Ireland is to be competent to pass any law for application to Ceylon (exclusively, if so be its will) that it may like.

A subordinate legislature with such restricted powers is not worth much notice. Yet such a hypnotic spell have the Earl of Donoughmore and his colleagues cast over the Ceylonese, that few of them are able to think of anything but the methods devised for the manning of this body and the mode of working; and some Britons, known to be friends of Ceylon as well as India, are indulging in talk that would imply that the electoral machinery is not a means to an end, but the end itself.

The State Council is to comprise some eighty seats. Three of these are to be reserved for permanent officials—the Chief Secretary, the Treasurer and the Attorney-General—who, as will be related later, will control important administrative functions without being elected to the Council or being removable by it. Twelve seats (possible less but not more) will be earmarked for the representation of minorities, and of these as many as six may be allotted to the British bankers, insurance agents, merchants and planters in Ceylon, who at present have only three. Sixty-five seats are to be filled by election upon a territorial basis, the Island being divided into constituencies of 50,000 to 60,000 persons for that purpose.

The communal seats are to be filled, not by the existing system of communal electorates, but by reversion to the system discarded in 1913—that of nomination by the Governor.

The territorial electorate—the only electorate to exist in the future—if it is ordered according to the Donoughmore scheme—is to be created upon the basis of manhood suffrage for the Ceylonese men. Ceylonese women above thirty years of age are to be given the vote.

A residential qualification, avowedly designed to prevent a large number of Indians from getting on to the register, is to operate against the non-Ceylonese. No one among them can qualify who has not spent five years in the Island, nor has lived in a particular electoral district for eighteen months immediately prior to the preparation of the register relating to that district.

Some Sinhalese have set up a strong agitation to deprive Indians of such advantages as may accrue to them from this recommendation. Several members of the existing legislature are taking the lead in the matter. They are mostly Sinhalese planters who employ Indians on their estates in the conditions of isolation described in the beginning of the article in the words of one these planter-politicians. It is suggested that if Indian estate labourers were enfranchised they would cast their ballots in favour of candidates approved by their employers and thus British planters would be elected.

These Sinhalese planters really dread to have the public see the conditions in which they compel the Indian labourers on their estates to live and to work. They also fear that Indians enjoying full citizenship rights will not be the dumb, docile creatures that they now are.

Some of the opposition proceeds from racial and religious differences and historical hatreds. Most of the Indians in Ceylon are Hindu Tamils; and the Sinhalese—especially the Buddhist Sinhalese—look upon them as the descendants of men who wrecked their temples and palaces.

VIII.

* The Commissioners do not propose to permit the State Council, constituted upon the basis outlined above, to function in the way that Parliament functions in Britain or in the British Dominions. They would have it work both as a legislature and an executive body. The latter function is to be discharged something after the fashion of the London County Council—by dividing itself into seven committees, and each committee electing its own Chairman, who, if approved by the Governor, would become Minister.

The Commissioners may be pardoned for almost bodily annexing this municipal system and regarding it as a brand new invention of their own. They should, however, have taken some pains to justify the application of that local government system for the administration of not the local but the national affairs of Ceylon. I find no such attempt in the pages of their report. The omission, in view of their persuasive loquacity in other respects, is significant.

It is even more significant that the Commissioners propose to leave the three permanent officials who are to administer important depart-

ments unentangled by these Executive Committees. Only the elected ministers (entirely or largely Ceylonese) are to be thus enmeshed. If the imposition of such committees were at all necessary, it certainly would be so in the case of these officials, for they will owe no allegiance to the State Council, and through the Committees it might have been possible to infuse some sense of responsibility into the administration of the departments entrusted to their care.

These departments are certainly important. The Chief Secretary, for instance, is to administer:

"External Affairs.

Maldivé Islands.

Defence, including Volunteer Corps.

Drafting of Legislation.

Public Service Administration: discipline, appointments and transfers."

The Treasurer is to be in charge of:

"Finance generally

(a) Executive duties, statutory and otherwise; Custody, collection and disbursement of all revenue, including that derived from customs, excise and salt; preparation of Annual Budget and Estimates and of Supplementary Estimates; investment of State funds; management of the public debt; loans to local authorities, etc.

(b) Financial supervision of all Departments, including contracts, stores, financial regulations of public services, strength of establishments, leave regulations, salaries, pensions and allowances.

(c) Advice on financial policy, including taxation, loans, exchange, currency, etc."

The Attorney-General is to have control of:

"Administration of justice generally.

Advising the Government in all legal questions.

Preparation of all legal instruments and contracts.

Conduct of elections."

Although the Colonial Auditor, as contemplated by the Commissioners, would be responsible to the State Council, his Department would be placed under the Chief Secretary.

These functions, in other words, constitute the "reserved subjects" in the Ceylon edition of dyarchy. To that list, however, must be added defence in all its aspects, of which the Donoughmore Commissioners write cryptically. They do not, they say, contemplate in that matter "any change in the well understood relations between the Governor as Commander-

in-Chief and the Officer Commanding the Troops. They continue.

"On the question of direction by the Governor (in this and in matters affecting external relations) we think it necessary to state that while we are definitely of opinion that those affairs for which the Imperial Government is responsible to the Parliament of the United Kingdom, and to the people of the whole Empire, should remain under Imperial direction, we are not fearful that there will be any desire on the part of the representatives of the people of Ceylon so to order the policy of the Island as in any way to militate against the general interest of the Commonwealth of Nations to which they belong, or against the special interests of the people of Great Britain, who have commercial, financial, or other connection with the Island. What we heard and saw in Ceylon, the treatment meted out to ourselves there, the respect we observed to be shown on all occasions to His Excellency and to his high Office, the candid recognition to us of benefits derived from the long association of the Island to the United Kingdom, all forbid this fear."

The Ceylonese, nevertheless, are to have no hand in formulating or administering policies relating to the defence of their country—or its external relations.

IX.

It is to be doubted if the Ceylon edition of dyarchy will prove a greater success than its

prototype has done in India, especially if the Donoughmore Commission recommendations to interpose the Executive Committees between the Ministers and the legislature goes through. The refusal to make the executive responsible to the legislature will pave the way for endless friction and lead to deadlocks—unless the Ceylonese who are called into office prove to be interested merely in drawing their Rs. 27,000 a year recommended by the Commission, and the members of the State Council are also invertebrate.

The powers of a dictatorial character given to the Governor will tend, for a time to discourage the Ceylonese to take bold action. The vested interests—both British and Ceylonese—are naturally jubilant. They do not, however, reckon with the spirit of our times.

Sooner or later the Ceylonese will awaken to the retrogressive steps that, in the name of progress, have been recommended by the Donoughmore Commission. The limitations placed upon Ceylonese initiative in respect of the management of their internal (let alone external) affairs will sooner or later hurt their pride, even if it does not actually impede their moral and material development. It will then be realized that the Earl of Donoughmore and his colleagues built their constitutional fabric upon shifting sands.

INDIA THROUGH THE AGES.

By PROF. JADU NATH SARKAR, C.I.E.

BUDDHISM AND WHAT IT DID FOR INDIA.

The initial force of Aryan civilisation was spent by the time it reached the western frontier of Bengal; or, it would be more correct to say that the new elements that had entered into Aryan society caused a great transformation of its original character. In Mithila or North Bihar the Brahman ascendancy in thought was lost and the Kshatriyas

began to think and act for themselves and resist the Brahmanic supremacy. Some scholars have called it the Kshatriya revolt against the Brahmans, but it should rather be styled an inevitable new stage in the evolution of India.

A high philosophy, quite distinct from the Vedic religion, was developed first in the hermitages and then at the courts of Kshatriya kings like Janaka, and it led, in the course of

time, to the rise of a great Kshatriya preacher. It was Gautam Buddha, the lion of the Sakya clan, who rose in open protest against the power and ritual of the Brahmans and thus introduced a new force into Indian life and thought.

Let us consider the gifts of Buddhism to India. They were six in number:—

(i) First, Buddhism gave us a popular religion, without any complex and unintelligible ritual that could be performed only by a priestly class. It deliberately set itself to appeal to the masses, and wonderfully succeeded in winning their hearts by its simplicity, its emotional element, its easy ethical code, its use of the vernacular language in its scriptures, its popular method of teaching by means of parables, its worship in congregation. It introduced a personal element into religion, in the form of a known human Saviour, in the place of the impersonal forces of Nature to whom the Vedic Aryans used to pray and the passionless abstract deity adored in the Upanishads.

(ii) Image-worship was most probably introduced into India by the Buddhists. We can conjecture that the earliest statues of Buddha were set up as purely commemorative of a great master and preacher, but that they soon came to be worshipped as representations of the godhead. For sheltering these sacred images houses had to be built, and thus temples arose, while the Vedic Aryans had been contented with offering sacrifices on altars in the open air, as was the case with the Aryans of ancient Persia.

(iii) The monastic system, or the organization of religious devotees in disciplined communities or orders, was another innovation due to Buddhism. It is true that solitary recluses and old men retiring to forests in order to end their days in lonely contemplation, had been known before, but not the banding together of religious devotees into a fraternity of monks, obeying a common head and living together under a common code of disciplinary rules.

(iv) Buddhism created a vast and varied literature in the spoken tongue, which was meant for the common people and not reserved for a learned priesthood.

(v) The most charming contribution of Buddhism to Indian life was in the domain of sculpture and architecture. Here was a new

element which the Vedic Aryans had not thought of, and which, though introduced by the Buddhists, continued with growing volume in the later Hindu period. The Buddhists set the example of dedicating cave temples, which the Hindus and Jaiuas followed in after ages.

(vi) Buddhism established an intimate contact between India and foreign countries. This religion was India's greatest gift to the outer world. It was a universal movement, a force irrespective of country and caste, which the whole ancient East was free to accept. Indian monks and scholars carried Buddhism to foreign countries from the third century before Christ onwards, and thereafter the converts of these countries looked up to India as a holy land, the cradle of their faith, a pilgrimage to which was the crowning act of a pious householder's life.

TWO STREAMS OF HUMAN MOVEMENT.

Thus, there were two streams of human movement, one of native Buddhist teachers going out of India and another of foreign Buddhist pilgrims and students flocking to India, which broke our isolation in that age. The Hindus followed the example thus set, and from the third century after Christ we have records of Hindu missionaries and colonists settling in Further India and several of the Pacific Islands.

The result was that, in what is called the Buddhistic age, the fusion of foreign non-Aryan immigrant tribes and families with the Indian population became an easy occurrence of every day. History records many examples of it. In the first century of the Christian era, some families that bear Persian names are found settled in Western India and patronising Brahmans and Buddhist monks alike. The Karle and Nasik cave inscriptions tell us that Harapharna (i.e., Holophernes), son of Seta-pharna, a Sova-Saka, gave away a cave-hall surrounded by nine cells to the Mahasanghika branch of Buddhist monks; and that Ushava-data (i.e., Rishiava-datta) a Saka, the son-in-law of the Kshatriya Nahapana, gave away three lakhs of cows and sixteen villages to the Brahmans, paid for the marriage of eight Brahman maidens, fed a lakh of Brahmans for one year, dedicated a cave-monastery for the use of the Buddhist begging friars, and made a gift of the village of Karanjika for the

support of the ascetics living in the caves at Valuraka, without distinction of sect. ("Epigr. Indica," VII, 58, 72; VIII 78, 86). In later times, when Buddhism decayed, these foreign settlers were quietly and completely absorbed in the mass of the Hindu population, their foreign origin having been forgotten during their long previous stay in India.

Thus Buddhism, without at first intending it, contributed very largely to the synthesis which has produced the modern Hindu faith and society.

In this expansion of India outside and consolidation within Asoka had made the first beginnings in the 3rd century before Christ; but the movement became vast and sweeping only in the first century after Christ, under the Scythians and the Bactrian Greeks and Indo-Parthians whom the Scythians absorbed and replaced in political domination.

Mahayan Buddhism advanced conquering the minds of men to the west, north-west and north-east of India, while the Kushan emperors penetrated with their arms from Central Asia south-eastwards into the Gangetic Valley. Thus, these two forces, physical and spiritual, had the same effect of bringing foreign settlers into India, putting the Indian stamp on them, and finally converting their descendants into unmistakable Hindus a few centuries afterwards. The Sulaiman range ceased to exist as a barrier on our west, and the Punjab and Afghanistan, Khurasan and Scistan became as one country.

The ports of our west coast,—Sopara, Cambay, Broach and Chaul,—facilitated the same immigration by sea, and Konkan and Gujrat and even Malwa became the homes of foreign tribes that accepted the culture and religion of the land of their adoption. Witness the satraps of Ujjain. Chashtana, the founder of this line, was the son of Psamatika, a name which we find in the dynastic lists of ancient Egypt and Babylonia alike. But his descendants soon became Hindus and patrons of the Hindu religion.

SOCIAL CUSTOMS AND MANNERS OF NEWCOMERS.

The newcomers into India retained their un-Hindu foreign names and customs for some time, because Buddhism did not insist on uniformity in these points, but embraced all within its tolerant bosom. After a few genera-

tions, however, when the Hindu revival began the descendants of these foreigners were hammered or coaxed into uniformity with the Hindus around them in name, social practices and manners; and a homogeneous population and culture in India was the result. Thus, the Andhra King Sri Pulhmayi, the son of Vashisti, is praised for having brought society back to the rigid purity of Hindu law by "stopping mesalliances between the four castes" through the extermination of the casteless Kshaharata dynasty of satraps. ("Epigr. Indica," VIII, 60). And yet this king gave a village to the Saramanas or Buddhist priests of the Bhatayaniya fraternity, living in the Queen's cave (*Ibid.*, p. 67).

So, too, the earlier rulers of the Kushan empire in India bear purely Turki names like Kujula Kadphisa, Vajeski, Kaniski, and Huviski; but immediately after Huviski we have the clear Hindu name of Vasudeva.

The Mongolian Ahom dynasty that conquered Assam in the thirteen century at first used non-Indian names like Sudangpa (1307), Supimpha (1403), Suhangmung (1497), Sukhampha (1552), and then from the beginning of the 17th century their descendants become Hindu Rajahs with names like Pratap Sinha (1603), Jayadhwaj (1648), Udayaditya (1669), Rudra Sinha (1696), etc.

At first the Scythians (Sakas) in India used to keep up their connection with their far-off homeland west of the Bolan Pass. Thus, the Mathura lion-capital of the first century A.D. bears an inscription in honour of all the inhabitants of the Saka-land: "Sarvasa sakarastanasa puyae" ("Epigr. Indica," IX, 146).

Now, this "Saka-sthan" in Sanskrit, became "sekestene" in Greek, "sejistan" in mediaeval Persian and "scistan" in modern Persian. It is the south-eastern corner of Persia.

But a few generations later we find the Sakas completely naturalised in India and absorbed into the Hindu population. So, too, the Hun invaders, of the fifth century A.D., after many fights with the Gupta empire, lost the chance of political domination in India, and settled down as peaceful common people, contributing tribes to various Hindu castes and professions. Thus, one recognised Rajput clan bears the name of Hun. Their nomadic brethren, the Gujars, after many wanderings since migration to India, have settled in the Delhi district and the country west of it, and

given their name to the province of Gujrat or "Gurjara-rashtra," to the district of Gujran-wala, and to the Rajput clan of Bar-Gujars.

REORGANISATION OF HINDU SOCIETY.

After the upheaval caused by the mass incursions of the Scythians and other nomadic races from the first to the sixth century of the Christian era, Hindu society was reorganised and graded anew. The caste grouping then adopted became stereotyped in every province. History has preserved no record of how this happened, nor the names of the mighty social leaders and Brahman scholars who imposed their will on such a huge population throughout such an immense extent of country, and poured the fluid elements of society into a mould where they have acquired rigidity for all time to come. But we get a few glimpses from the identical tradition preserved in places as far apart as Gujrat, Assam, Lower Bengal, and Orissa. In each of these provinces there is a universally accepted belief that an ancient king wanted to perform a Vedic sacrifice, but found the local Brahmans ignorant and impure in their lives (like the English clergy of the earlier years of King Alfred) that he had to induce five pure Brahmans to come from Kanauj and settle in his kingdom, and to these five immigrants the best local Brahman families of later times trace their descent.

At that forgotten reorganisation of society, the passion everywhere was to revert to the pristine purity of blood,—at least of social practice and religious rites,—that had existed before the Hun flood submerged North India, and the seat of this pure type was Kanauj in Madhyadesa or the Ganga-Jamuna doab.

This huge reconstruction of Hindu society stretches, with its ebb and flow, from the sixth to the tenth century after Christ. During this period the Scythian and other foreign settlers were completely Hinduised, the Rajputs rose to kingship as the ruling caste, with their numberless principalities covering the whole country from Attock and Und on the Indus to Palama in South Bihar. They made themselves the ardent champions of the new Hinduism. It was on this Rajput wall that the Muslim invaders from the north-west impinged at the close of the tenth century.

This moral transformation of savage foreigners is the greatest glory of India, and a proof

of the death-defying vitality of Hinduism, considered not as a dogmatic creed (which it never was), but as a social force and civilising agency. The spirit of India has triumphed over time and change and kept the composite Indian people's mind as active and keen as in the best days of pure Aryan ascendancy. The blending of races here has not led to that intellectual and moral deterioration which is found among the present-day mixed population of what was once Spanish America.

As a distinguished orientalist has truly observed, "The most important fact in Hindu history is overlooked (by our orthodox writers). I mean the attractive power of Hindu civilisation, which has enabled it to assimilate and absorb into itself every foreign invader except the Moslem and the European. Those Indians have a poor idea of their country's greatness, who do not realise how it has tamed and civilised the nomads of Central Asia, so that wild Turkman tribes have been transformed into some of the most famous of the Rajput royal races." (A. M. T. Jackson in "Indian Antiquary," 1910, p. 77).

THE DECAY OF BUDDHISM.

The history of Buddhism in India is a story of strange transformations running through twenty centuries. The astonishing result of it is that this religion, which has converted nearly a quarter of the human race, has totally disappeared from the land of its birth. But all the stages of this growth, transformation, decay and death can be historically traced.

In the origin, Buddhism was not avowedly a new creed, but an appeal for holier living in the bosom of the existing Hindu religion and society. Buddha was not a prophet, but a saint, who urged his hearers to give up their vices and follies and to practise that purity of conduct and sincerity of belief which is the essence of every true religion. He himself, so far as we can judge from the scanty volume of what is accepted as his true sayings, taught neither new dogmas, nor new rituals, nor even a new philosophy.

The basic doctrine of Buddhism, as all scholars now admit, sprang from the pre-existing Hindu philosophy of the Sankhya and the later Upanishads,—the belief, namely, that human life is a misery and the cessation of re-birth is the means of extinguishing that

misery. Such cessation comes from moral self-control and the repression of all desires. The eightfold path enjoined by Buddha for this purpose is only a code of general ethics, and not the special creed of a revealed and distinctive faith.

As Kern points out, "It does not necessarily follow that the Buddha was supposed to have invented the whole of morality. On the contrary, the Master himself repeatedly extols the morals and virtues of the ancient Rishis. . . . Buddhism has wisely adopted many articles of morality and pious customs flowing from the source of the Brahmanist code The sect originally had no moral code at all, except the prohibitions and duties prescribed to the members of the Order."

Thus, so far as the original philosophy of Buddhism goes, there is hardly any break of continuity between Buddha and the Hindu sages who had preceded him. In the "Jātakas" Buddha says again and again that true piety consists not in the performance of rites or the repetition of set prayers, but in holy living and holy dying.

In the proclamations of the great royal preacher Asoka, we see the same insistence on general morality as the real aim of the Buddhist "Dharma". In the second Pillar Edict Asoka says, "Dharma is good; but what is Dharma? It consists in doing good to the many, kindness, charity, truthfulness, parity".

Dharmah sadhu—gim astu dharma iti aparubho bahukalyanam, daya, danam, satyam, shaucham.

The definition of Dharma is even more explicit in the fourteenth Rock Edict:—

"Dharma has great fruits. It consists in much kindness to slaves and servants, reverence to elders, control of the passions, almsgiving to Sramanas and Brahmanas, and to others similar benefit of Dharma."

So much for the creed of the new Preacher. Nor did Buddha lay down a special ritual for his followers. That was of later growth. The only new thing he introduced was the institu-

tion of the orders of monks and nuns. But even the rules of monastic discipline seem to have been left by him few, simple and undefined. They had to be codified and stiffened after his death. This is clearly proved by the traditions relating to the first Council held immediately after his death and especially of the second Council, that of Vaisali, the culling together of which would not have been necessary if the rules of monastic life had been fully elaborated and laid down in writing, so as to obviate all doubt and controversy about their nature.

With the disappearance of the towering personality of its founder, began the long line of changes in Buddhism. First, an attempt,—a very natural attempt—was made to set up a scripture and a code of recorded rules in the place of the living teacher who had disappeared and his sayings which had till then been orally preserved. Immediately after the Nirvan of Buddha, five-hundred monks assembled at Rajgir, under the presidency of the aged Mahakasyapa, for this purpose.

"Kasyapa the Great, whom the Master had designated as his successor, made the proposal that the brethren should assemble to rehearse the Lord's precepts. The proposal was adopted."

But it was hopeless to reach uniformity by means of a council of bishops, without an ever-present infallible Pope or dictator of the faith. A hundred years after the first Council, difference of opinion as to the orthodox doctrines and practices made the summoning of a second Council necessary. The scandalous lives and doctrines of the monks of Vaisali, roused the indignation of the reformer Vasas, and he was supported by the venerable priests Sarvaka and Revata. But it was to no effect. The Vaisali Council, instead of restoring uniformity to the Church, broke up in disorder; two different councils seem to have been held here by the two parties, neither recognising the authority of the other, and the Church was rent by an open schism.

SOME IMPRESSIONS OF SOVIET RUSSIA—II.

By PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU.

I. THE JOURNEY TO MOSCOW.

We had been invited by the Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries to visit Moscow during the tenth anniversary celebration early in November, 1927. A very large number of invitations had been issued to men and women in all countries—not only to communists but to many professors, scientists, and distinguished individuals. I believe between seven and eight hundred persons responded to these invitations. Our own visit was decided upon at the last moment as we had little time to spare and the journey to Moscow was a long one.

We went from Berlin and crossed the whole of Poland. It was an uneventful and dreary journey. Poland looked a desolate and dismal country. Except for Warsaw the stations were small wayside buildings with very few houses in the neighbourhood. Our German conductor in the train had the supreme contempt for Poland and all things Polish. For him civilisation ended at the German frontier and the Poles were a barbarous people. It may be however that the cheerless aspect of the country was due to the season; it was the beginning of winter. But even winter could not have made much difference to an industrial country, and from what we could see from the train there were few evidences of industrialism.

We reached the Russian frontier at Niegeroloje on the night of November 7th, 28 hours after leaving Berlin. Just before our arrival we were visited in our compartment by a Russian officer in charge of the customs. He asked us if we were going to the celebrations as guests, and assuring himself of this, he told us not to worry about our luggage as he would take charge of it. We were excused the customs examination.

The frontier station was all beflagged and decorated. There were red flags everywhere and the Soviet emblem—the hammer and the sickle. There were also pictures and busts of Lenin and other leaders. It was the anniver-

sary day, just 20 years after the Bolsheviks seized power and all Russia was celebrating it.

We had already taken our dinner but the station staff produced large quantities of food, and, after the Indian fashion, would have no refusal. We had to comply with their wishes. We had some difficulty in communicating with each other as the only European languages we could express ourselves in were English and French. The station staff knew no English whatever and exceedingly little French. Several knew German well. Ultimately a person was produced who could speak a little French and he became our interpreter. We had quite a little function; a speech of welcome was made to which I had to respond briefly. About a score of villagers were present—men, women and children—and they took great interest in the proceedings. Partly this may have been due to the saries of my wife and sister. We were then taken round the room and the pictures and posters were explained to us and we had our first experience of Lenin worship. Every mention of Lenin brought a rapt expression on the faces of those present. Our whole stay at this little wayside station resembled nothing so much, as my father remarked at the time, as a visit of a Congress deputation to a small town or village during the non-co-operation days.

From Niegeroloje we travelled in the Russian train. Our berths had been reserved by our hosts and we had a very comfortable journey. There is only one class in Russia but they have some special sleeping cars and we had been provided with these. We travelled the whole night and the greater part of the next day, arriving at Moscow the next afternoon. All the stations *en route* were decorated with flags and pictures in honour of the anniversary. The men and women and children we saw at the stations wore great coats reaching to their ankles and big Russian boots up to the knees.

At Moscow we found representatives of the Cultural Society to greet us as well as a number of Indian young men whom we did not know. Mr. S. J. Saklatvala, who had preceded us by

a few days, was also there. We were taken to the Grand Hotel de Moscow, the Place de la Revolution, a large building with many evidences of former grandeur and luxury. But evidently these signs of grandeur did not fit in with the present regime and were mostly covered up.

Our first feeling was one of great regret that we had not come a day or two earlier. The real anniversary celebration had taken place the day before and we had missed it. This consisted of a march past the Lenin Mausoleum of over a million troops and workers and children drawn from every part of Russia. Kalinin, the Peasant President of the Russian Union, and still a peasant in his appearance in spite of his high office, had taken the march past. From early morning till night had fallen the march past continued to the strains of the Internationale the workers' anthem; first the troops of all kinds and then representatives from factories and colleges and schools, and towns and villages. Workers and peasants; men and women and children forty deep went by, with banners flying, head high and full of enthusiasm. Effigies there were of Chamberlain and Briand and Baldwin, some of them very clever. One of these showed Chamberlain wedged in a sickle with the hammer falling on his head! Finally long after night had fallen, the Cossack cavalry made a magnificent charge at break-neck speed right across the great Red Square. Such were the accounts that we heard and the more we heard them the more we regretted having missed this magnificent spectacle.

II. THE PEASANTRY.

THE CENTRAL PEASANTS' HOME.

Among the sights we saw in Moscow one of the most impressive was the Central Peasants' Home. It was an enormous building containing museums, demonstration rooms, lecture rooms and residential accommodation for about 350 persons. Practically everything that might interest or instruct the peasant was there. There was a fine display of agricultural produce, all ticketed and compared and explained. Several halls were full of the latest agricultural implements and machinery and models of up-to-date and sanitary houses and farms for the

peasantry. Another part of the building was devoted to health propaganda. Pictures and posters and models explained how disease was to be avoided and homes kept clean and healthy.

A large hall was devoted solely to electricity and was full of working models showing its use for lighting and agricultural purposes. Water pumps of various sizes worked by electric power were much in evidence. A big chart showed the rapid development of electric power stations all over Russia. The whole display was admirably designed to impress the peasant with the advantages of electricity from his own viewpoint.

Many peasants came to the Home and explanatory tours round the various show rooms were organised. Lectures took place daily on educational subjects of interest to the agriculturists and free legal and technical advice was given. Peasants were encouraged to stay in the Home for a maximum period of two months to go through a small course of agricultural training. The building had a restaurant attached where cheap meals were provided. We saw it crowded with rustics fresh from the country.

It was a remarkably fine institution and one felt that even one such centre must improve the lot of the peasantry. We were told however that such peasant's homes were springing up all over the Union, though most of them were much smaller than the Central Home. There was another in Moscow city for the Moscow district, and there were about 350 of them in Russia proper, excluding Ukraine and Asiatic Russia, where also there were many such homes. These hundreds of homes must transform the outlook of the peasantry to a remarkable extent within a short time.

Russia, as is well-known, is pre-eminently a land of peasants, and yet the burden of the revolution fell almost entirely in its earlier stages, on the industrial workers. The city proletariats of Leningrad and Moscow were the spearheads of the revolution and the peasantry was for some time poorly represented in the Soviets. Immediate advantage however was taken by the peasantry of the Soviet decree to nationalise land, and even without the intervention of the central authority they ejected the landlords and divided the land amongst themselves. Having done so the more prosperous of them were content and had no desire for further change or more revolution. Many of them knew little about communism and cared

less, and gradually they developed hostility to the Soviet power which did not view with favour the hoarding of corn and the profiteering in which the richer peasantry was indulging. The blockade of Russia by the western European nations and the possession of some of the richest food producing areas in the south by hostile powers created a terrible crisis in the large cities and the Red army had to face starvation. Immediate and energetic steps were taken by the Soviet Government and the hoarded stores of food were commandeered from the richer peasantry.

"New Economic Policy."

This eased the situation but the inherent conflict between the advanced class-conscious city worker and the conservative peasantry attached to the soil, continued and ultimately the latter made its weight felt. At the instance of Lenin the whole policy of the State was suddenly changed and what is called the "New Economic Policy" was introduced. Whether Lenin was forced by circumstances to follow this line or, as some now assert, it was the natural and intended outcome of his policy, it is difficult to say. The period of militant communism could not last long but the manner of its ending certainly seemed to indicate that the pressure on the government was great.

Lenin adapted himself to the circumstances even at the cost of some of the principles of communism. He gave in to the peasantry and to the petty traders, but his giant brain evolved a new and subtle scheme to introduce the industrial outlook amongst the peasantry. "What is communism?" asked Lenin once and he himself gave the strange reply that it was "The Soviet Republic plus electrification." He laid down that the whole of Russia must be electrified. It was a stupendous project, for Russia is a vast country. But already it has made good progress and Russians point with great satisfaction and pride on large maps which show the many great power stations which have sprung up all over the country.

The power of the peasantry is undoubtedly growing in Russia. The seats of authority may be filled by workers and intellectuals but little can be done against the dead weight of the disapproval of the peasantry. The controversy between the rival groups in the communist party—Stalin vs. Trotsky—is largely concerned

with the attitude to be taken up on agrarian questions. The Stalin group which is predominant to-day is apparently more amenable to compromise with the peasants than the other group.

Some people assert that a new agrarian aristocracy is gradually being built up. There may be some such tendency but it is difficult to believe that it can go far. The whole apparatus of the State is against it, public opinion would not tolerate it and the poorest classes have too much power to permit a group to monopolise wealth and economic power. By its system of taxation the State is always trying to level incomes up as far as possible. About 25 per cent. of the peasant farms are exempt from the payment of the agricultural tax and it has been proposed to exempt an additional 10 per cent. They are exempt as their income is supposed to be barely sufficient to permit the peasants working them to live decently. On the comparatively richer classes the burden of taxation is consequently all the heavier.

Land in theory belongs to the State. In practice the village Soviet divides it amongst the inhabitants, usually giving as much of it to a person as can be tilled by his family. The extent of the holding depends on the density of the population and various schemes of colonisation are afoot to equalise to some extent at least this density. An individual or family holding land will probably continue to hold it but if the family increases or decreases a corresponding change may be made in the size of the holding at the next re-distribution by the village Soviet.

RAPID PROGRESS

Some figures of the agricultural output in recent years may prove interesting. It must be remembered that Russia went through six or seven years of foreign and civil war, blockade and intervention, hunger and cold, general dilapidation and a radical transformation of time-honoured social traditions. The whole machinery of the State was upset and recast. There was a continuous fall in output till 1921-22 when the tide turned. During this period of war and decline the peasantry lost about 50 per cent. of able-bodied man-power and there was a great destruction of live stock and implements. Cattle raising went down to 40 per cent. and the area under cultivation

dropped from 109 millions dessiatines in 1914 to 75 millions in 1923. These figures are taken from the report presented by Rykoff, the Chairman of the Council of Peoples' Commissars, to the tenth anniversary session of the Central Executive Committee of the U. S. S. R. in October, 1927. Rykoff also gave the following figures of the aggregate value of agricultural output:—

"In 1913, 11,790 Million roubles. In 1921, 6,900 million roubles. In 1926-27, 12,776 million roubles. Estimate for 1927-28, 13,186 million roubles (a rouble is roughly equivalent to 2 English shillings)."

Thus in spite of the great fall in 1921 the pre-war level had already been reached and exceeded last year. The pre-war level of the area under cultivation and of cattle raising was also reached in 1927. The Central Government is investing large amounts of capital in agricultural improvements. In 1926-27 the figure was 418 million roubles, in 1927-28 it was proposed to invest 520 million roubles.

These figures, and they are supported by independent testimony, indicate rapid progress. The progress is remarkable when the manifold difficulties and the lack of aid from outside are considered.

III. CRIMINAL LAW.

CONSTITUTION OF TRIBUNALS

Nothing is perhaps more confusing to the student of Russia than the conflicting reports that come of the treatment of prisoners and of the criminal law. We are told of the Red Terror and ghastly and horrible details are provided for our consumption; we are also told that the Russian prison is an ideal residence where any one can live in comfort and ease and with a minimum of restraint. Our own visit to the chief prison in Moscow created a most favourable impression in our minds. Probably there is a measure of truth in both the statements. But before we examine the practice it is desirable to study the theory of the criminal law in Russia. It may be that there is a great divergence between theory and practice, but the former will at least tell us what ideals the Russians have placed before themselves.

The new Criminal Code came into force on the 1st January, 1927 in the R.S.F.S.R., that is, in Russia proper. I do not know if it applies

to the other republics of the Union. Before 1927 the tribunals had a few decrees to guide them but were generally supposed to decide on grounds of commonsense and equity. These tribunals were composed of workmen and peasants.

Under the new Code both the Judge and the jury have to be chosen from men who enjoy political rights under the constitution of the U.S.S.R. Thus they must be workers, either manual or intellectual. Capitalists, persons living on rent and nep men (those who under the new economic policy practise a modified form of capitalism) and the like, are thus excluded. The tribunal is presided over by a Judge elected for one year by the local Soviet of workers and peasants. He is helped by two jury men chosen apparently also by the local Soviet, that is by all the voters in the area. These jury men are constantly changed as each person serves once a year only for six days at most. Thus great numbers of workers take part in the working of the tribunals. It was estimated that in 1926-27 over 500,000 workers and peasants helped the judges in this way throughout Russia.

Lenin specially desired that as many people as possible, and specially the poorest inhabitants of the country, should assist in the administration of justice. He declared that the Soviet power must call these poor people to help in the tribunals so that they may participate in the government of the country and thus should identify themselves with the State. In this way they would quickly learn the science of political power.

"MEASURES OF SOCIAL DEFENCE."

The idea of "punishment" is not approved of in the Soviet Code and the word itself has been replaced by a phrase "measures of social defence." There is a strict prohibition against the infliction of physical suffering or the doing of anything which lessens human dignity. Article 9 of the Code says:

"The measures of social defence do not have for their object the infliction of physical suffering or the lowering of human dignity, nor are they meant to avenge or to punish."

Crime, according to the Soviet Criminal Law, is always the outcome of the antagonisms existing in a society divided into classes; it is always the result of a faulty social organisation and a bad environment.

These ideas about punishment and crime were first put forward and discussed in some detail by an Italian, Enrico Ferri. But no State, with the exception of Soviet Russia, has so far incorporated them in its Criminal Code.

The convicts can thus more or less be called *detenus*, and the Soviet penitentiary system is based on the collective work of these *detenus*. Another method is compulsory work without the complete deprivation of liberty. The latter is the usual form for all except those who have committed serious offences.

The measures of social defence need not necessarily be applied to every act mentioned in the Code as being against social order. If in reality there is no danger or the delinquent cannot be considered dangerous to society the tribunal need not apply these measures to him. It may be also that the act committed though originally dangerous may have ceased to be so. Thus during the blockade of 1928, when there was great scarcity of food, the faking of false bread cards was a serious offence. In 1927 however there was no such scarcity and the offence had little meaning. Probably a tribunal would not punish any one now for having committed this offence even formerly.

The death penalty was abolished by the Soviet soon after they came to power, but only a few days later they had to reinstate it for acts of treason. It has also been applied in cases of corruption and embezzlement of public funds. Article 21 of the Code now states that:

"The penalty of death is a temporary measure of repression for the most serious crimes which threaten the very basis of the Soviet power and proletarian State; it is only applied in exceptional cases of defence, pending its total abolition."

A *proviso* lays down that pregnant women, and no one who had not attained the age of 18 at the time he committed the crime, can suffer the death penalty.

MEASURES AGAINST CRIMINALS.

The measures taken by the State against criminals are divided into three classes:

- (1) Repressive,
- (2) Medical treatment,
- (3) Pedagogic treatment.

The last named is for children and the young. The law forbids absolutely all judicial measures of correction for children up to the age of 14.

From 14 to 16 such measures can only be taken on the report of a special commission, consisting of a doctor and an educationist, and if it is found that medical or pedagogic treatment will have no effect.

The various repressive measures taken by the State are:

1. The death penalty.
2. The criminal is declared an enemy of the workers, is deprived of his citizenship of the U.S.S.R., and is banished. Persons thus banished by the judgment of a court cannot enter the territories of the U.S.S.R. at their own will; should they do so they risk the penalty of death.
3. The deprivation of liberty with or without solitary confinement for a period not exceeding ten years. Formerly the maximum period was five years but in 1922 this was increased to ten. In reality few convicts or *detenus* have to remain in jail ten years. By a system of remissions for work done the period of ten years can be reduced by two or three years.
4. Compulsory labour without total deprivation of liberty. The person condemned is not kept in detention all the time. He can go on leave. For the peasants compulsory leave is given during the harvesting season and other periods when agricultural work has to be done.
5. Loss of civic rights.
6. Banishment for a period from the U.S.S.R.
7. Deportation from the R.S.F.S.R. (Russia proper) or from any other republic in the Union, with or without the obligation to live in a particular place.
8. For officials dismissal with or without a prohibition to occupy a particular post.
9. Prohibition to practise a particular profession.
10. Confiscation, total or partial, of goods.
11. Public blame.
12. Fine.

The Code lays down that in place of fine there can be no imprisonment and no fine in place of imprisonment.

It is also laid down that counter-revolutionary crimes or treason include any acts against another workers' State even though it may not belong to the U.S.S.R. Russians of course pride themselves on not being national in the narrow sense. They believe in the inter-national solidarity of workers and their slogan is not

"Russians Unite" but "Workers of the world unite."

IV. A PRISON.

HUMANE TREATMENT OF PRISONERS.

During our stay in Moscow we had occasion to visit a prison on the outskirts of the city. We were told that it was meant for the more serious offenders only. The building was an old one—it used to be a Czarist prison—and was not prepossessing. On entering it we found ourselves in a lobby with many corridors radiating from it with cells on either side. There were three stories. We were asked by the Governor of the prison to choose the cells we wished to see so that we might not think that we had been shown selected cells. The insistence on our choosing the cells ourselves was rather curious and seemed to indicate that the whole prison was more or less of a show place, specially meant for the edification of visitors.

We went inside some cells. They were narrow and uncomfortable with two or three cots in each. There appeared to be little ventilation but this was apparently avoided as much as possible owing to the great cold. The cells were not particularly clean or tidy. They had a number of books and in two cells we saw radio sets which we were told had been fitted up by the prisoners concerned.

There were over 450 prisoners, most of them sentenced for the graver offences to long terms of imprisonment—the longest being ten years, which was usually reduced by two or three years for good work and good conduct. The whole prison staff consisted of about 51 or 53 persons including the Governor and the surgeon and his assistants. This number worked in three shifts of 8 hours a day each. Thus at one time there were not more than 17 or 18 members of the staff on duty. This seemed a small number specially as there were no convict warders. We were told that to appoint prisoners to watch other prisoners was considered very objectionable. We also noticed that the warders had no arms, not even sticks. Only two men at the principal entrance had bayonets.

The Governor of the prison informed us that the idea underlying the prison system was not to punish or to make an example of the offender but to separate him from society and improve

him by making him work in a disciplined manner. Indeed the very word "prison" was not favoured as it savoured too much of old methods of vengeance and punishment. Instead, a long name, which I forget, but which signified a place for improvement by means of work, or some such thing, was given. The idea was that the human element in the prisoners must not be crushed. No numbers were given to them and as far as we could see no special dress was prescribed. We saw 25 to 30 prisoners walking about in the prison yard during an interval in their working hours and there appeared to be nothing in their dresses to distinguish them. In this yard some games could be played including basket ball.

We asked if fetters and handcuffs were used. The Governor laughed and said that they kept these articles in their museums, and if we wanted to see them used we ought to go to bourgeois countries! Even when prisoners were taken outside the jail hand-cuffs or fetters were not used.

WORKING CONDITIONS IN PRISONS.

All the prisoners had to work 8 hours a day. A few did special work for which they might have been previously trained, but most of them worked in a textile factory attached to the jail. A great part of the jail was converted into a spinning and weaving factory and the machines were working away at full pressure. Inside this factory there was hardly any evidence of the jail, except the presence of one unarmed warder at the entrance to each hall, who kept the door locked.

We were told that as far as possible trade union rules applied to the jail workers—hours of work, etc.—and apparently the trade unions occasionally inspected them for the purpose. The workers were given wages which were between 30 per cent. and 50 per cent. of the trade union rates of wages outside. Two-thirds of these wages were kept in a reserve fund for the prisoner and he was not allowed to touch them. On being discharged this money as well as any other that may lie to his credit was given to him, so that he may have something to start life afresh. One-third of his earnings could be spent by the prisoner in buying anything available in the jail store or even from outside when feasible. We saw this store. It was in charge of a prisoner and contained

cigarettes, articles of food and the toilet etc. Books could be purchased. No cash was given to the prisoners but they could sign vouchers in making purchases and the jail office adjusted the accounts. Friends or relatives outside could send money or goods to prisoners.

Prisoners were permitted to smoke at any time and could speak to each other. There was a barber's shop inside the jail fitted up like any cheap barber's shop in a working class quarter of a city. It was run by a prisoner who earned money by his work there. The prisoners visiting him paid him out of their own earnings. We watched a prisoner being shaved and at the end Eau-de-Cologne spray was given!

POLITICAL PRISONERS.

We asked if there were any political prisoners. We were taken to two. One of them told us that he had been sentenced to ten years for spying in Russia on behalf of Czecho-Slovakia. He was a well-educated man and a good musician. Hence he had been made the director of music in the jail. When we entered his cell he was actually writing the musical score of a piece. He had a wireless set in his cell which he had fitted up himself out of his earnings.

The second political prisoner we were taken to was a Russian who had been sentenced for a very grave offence. He had been an aviator in the Red Army and during the civil wars when numerous attempts were made by old Russian Generals, with the assistance of the allied governments, to break the Soviet power, he deserted the Red Army and flew over with his aeroplane to the enemy. He was later captured and sentenced to death, the sentence being subsequently commuted to 10 years. He had already served 3 or 4 years and he was hoping to get off in another 3 or 4 years. He had been put in charge of the electric fittings of the jail. He also had a radio set in his cell and a number of books.

As we were very much pressed for time we were unable to see as much of the jail as we wanted to. We had an impression that we had been shown the brighter side of jail life. Nonetheless two facts stood out. One was that we had actually seen desirable and radical improvements over the old system prevailing even now in most countries; and the second and even more important fact was the mentality of the prison

officials and presumably the higher officials of the government also in regard to jails. Actual conditions may or may not be good but the general principles laid down for jails are certainly far in advance of anything we had known elsewhere in practice. Anyone with a knowledge of prisons in India and of the barbarous way in which handcuffs, fetters and other punishments are used will appreciate the difference. The Governor of the Prison in Moscow who took us round was all the time laying stress on the human side of jail life, and how it was their endeavour to keep this in the front and not to make the prisoner feel in any way dehumanised or outcasted. I wish we in India would remember this wholesome principle and practise it in our daily lives even outside jail.

JAILS FOR LESSER OFFENDERS.

The prison we saw was a central jail for serious offenders, those who had committed murder, high treason etc. The usual sentence was the maximum, which apart from the death sentence, is ten years. In other jails, where the lesser offenders are sent we were told that conditions were even more agreeable and considerable freedom was allowed to prisoners. They are even permitted to go home for a few days on parole. In the case of peasants this leave is usually given during harvest time so that they can utilize it to the best advantage.

Miss Freda Uxley has contributed an interesting article to the March number of "The Socialist Review" describing a visit to a Bolshevik prison in Georgia. It was in Tiflis. She tells us how humanely the prisoners were treated and how they were all being educated. The Russians are trying to put into practice what psychologists have discussed for years past and their prison system, instead of brutalising offenders, tends to change them into good citizens. Crime is regarded as the result of bad environment and lack of education and understanding. Criminals are therefore treated as "victims of economic circumstances or as sick and ignorant people who have to be taken into an institution to be trained to live in society."

If this account is correct, and if what we saw ourselves truly represents the state of prisons in the Russian Union, it can be said without a shadow of a doubt that to be in a Russian

prison is far preferable to being a worker in an Indian factory, whose lot is 10 to 11 hours' work a day and then to live in a crowded and dark and airless tenement, hardly fit for an animal. The mere fact that there are some persons like the ones we saw is in itself something for the Soviet Government to be proud of.

TREATMENT OF POLITICAL OPPONENTS.

In considering this question however we should bear in mind two facts. The Soviet Government has a special and a ruthless way of treating its political opponents and all those whom it may suspect of counter-revolutionary activities. The humane principles of the general criminal law are not supposed to apply to them as they are considered to be the only enemies of society. These people have been treated badly and in some cases very cruelly in the past and hence many of the stories of the Red Terror and Bolshevik tyranny. Extreme cases of such treatment may not occur now, except when a war scare frightens Moscow, but even now the hand of the Soviet Government lies heavily on all its political opponents. Thus we have the general law of the land applied humanely to the great majority of the popula-

tion—say 95 per cent.; and 5 per cent. or so being suspected and watched and treated badly. The ordinary worker and peasant is probably very much better off; the relics of Tsarism and some individuals who are too independent for the government are much worse off.

Another consideration to be borne in mind is the paucity of funds at the disposal of the Bolsheviks. They want to spend everything they have on industrial development, on education and agriculture. They have no desire to spend it on erecting large prisons. They say they hope to abolish most of the prisons by their better organisation of society. Why then waste money on prisons? For the present they carry on with the old Tsarist prisons. In Moscow and in the larger cities these prisons may be in tolerable condition, but probably in the provinces they are not at all presentable. And the Soviet Government will not spend money on improving them. Hence probably the accounts of bad conditions in some of these jails.

But the ideal of a better social order and a humane criminal law which inspires the Soviet functionary in a prison or outside is something far more important than bricks and mortar and a better jail building. If that ideal endures, Russia will make good despite all difficulties.

THE INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION—II.

Contributed by MR. SHAHID SUHRAWARDY, M.A.

WHAT THE ORGANISATION HAS DONE.

Let us now see what the Organisation for Intellectual Co-operation has done, in a practical way, during some eighteen months. Only the most important matters will be mentioned; and we shall give, not a list of these matters, but a list of the stages through which the work passes, this arrangement being, in our view, clearer and more instructive.

1.—DOCUMENTATION.

The International Institute now has a small press-cutting department, which extracts from the newspapers and periodicals of all countries information as to the progress of international intercourse in science, literature, art, and education. The cuttings are classified and shown daily to the appropriate Chiefs of Sections, for it is essential that the latter should

have this information in order to know the ground over which they have to move, the effects of their own work, and the movements and schemes in the air or in being on every side.

The material is then thoroughly weeded out and filed. The files are developing into a most interesting collection of facts and suggestions, strictly confined to problems of organisation in intellectual life.

2.—PUBLICATIONS.

The Institute has withstood the temptation natural to organisations of its kind—to undertake publication (desirable though it is) in connection with all the branches of its work. In any case, the funds provided for printing are too small to allow of ambitious projects.

At the same time, the information systematically collected with reference to a number of questions affecting international intellectual relations could not very well be left languishing in the files, but had to be put before the public. That is the origin of the quarterly *International Bulletin of University Relations*, the quarterly *International Bulletin of Scientific Relations*, *Mouseton* (Quarterly Bulletin of the International Museums Office), and the small monthly *Bulletin of the Information and Reference Section*.

The three first-named publications are intended to collect news of every kind relating to international intercourse in their respective fields. As such they are unique in their kind. That does not mean that they are perfect; they will be in a few years' time, when all the springs from which their information should be drawn have been discovered and canalised. Even as they now are, they give a good idea of the variety and importance of the intercourse that goes on in the field of science, art, and higher education. They tell all institutions and persons interested what others are doing in the same field as themselves. They form a valuable collection, not merely of information, but of suggestions.

Although the International Institute is not and cannot ever be a centre of scientific or literary output, it is obliged to investigate exhaustively certain technical questions that enter into international relations. It has special facilities for collecting statistics, which can readily be converted into valuable implements of work. Thus as an exceptional

measure it has prepared publications such as the *International Handbook of Museums* and the *Handbook to Collections of Photographs of Works of Art* (already published), without adding appreciably to the work of its sections.

The Institute publishes an *Annual List of Notable Books published in different Countries*. The primary object of this brief selection is to keep the public informed of the principal works published in other countries on every subject, and to assist booksellers in advising their customers. This small piece of machinery for international publicity is already being greatly appreciated.

3.—INVESTIGATIONS.

On the third floor, so to speak, of the Institute's activities we find the department of investigations. It might be enormous, but in point of fact it is extremely small. A glance at the list of investigations already in progress will show that many others are also desirable. The work of intellectual co-operation is a slow business, not to be finished in ten years, nor yet in fifty. It would be wise, without awaiting developments, to make plans in advance and seize the first opportunity of carrying them out. That, however, is not the Institute's method; for it would need immense resources. The investigations undertaken relate merely to a few points in regard to which the Institute has already in the regular way received proposals capable of being put into effect in the more or less near future.

Thus the University Relations Section is studying a proposal by Mme. Curie regarding post-graduate scholarships and the assembling of post-graduate scholars in co-operative research centres according to their special subjects.

The Scientific Section has investigated the question of the papers and inks used in printing scientific works; and a scheme for the establishment of an international meteorological bureau.

The Artistic Relations Section is studying methods of identifying and authenticating works of art.

Enquiries are made annually of the universities in all countries, and are now beginning to afford an accurate idea of the intercourse that goes on among universities (exchanges of professors, movements of foreign students, instruction given concerning other countries,

etc.). Most of the universities readily furnish the desired information. Many have appointed special correspondents to keep them in regular touch with the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation.

A beginning has been made on an international list of foundations, associations for mutual aid in universities, fellowships, etc.*

The Legal Service is collecting particulars of the systems of depositing publications as required by law in different countries; of the laws and regulations dealing with exchanges of teaching staff, exchanges of students, and equivalent recognition of studies and degrees; information bearing on the problem of the rights of employee-inventors, etc.

The Literary Relations Section is making a statistical investigation on the subject of translation—that important form of intellectual co-operation. It is drawing up a list of firms publishing translations, and collecting particulars, as accurate as can be obtained, of the number and nature of the translations made in each country.

The Information Section is collecting facts bearing on the obstacles to the circulation of books; it has sent out a questionnaire on this subject to a very large number of publishers, and has obtained most valuable indications.

The Institute has been asked to study a scheme for the publication of an annual list of scientific expeditions; various plans for the unification of nomenclatures; a draft international convention on facilities for holders of travelling fellowships abroad. The International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation has placed on its agenda the question of an international agreement concerning instruction in modern languages, literatures and cultures, etc. So far, however, all these matters have had to be shelved, so that the Organisation's whole forces could be devoted to the immediate practical steps dealt with in the paragraphs that follow.

4.—SUPPORT GIVEN TO INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATIONS AND INSTITUTIONS.

The Institute gives valuable support to a number of important international institutions and associations. It has been found possible to house several of these bodies at the Institute—an arrangement which allows of an appreciable

saving on lighting, heating, typing and general expenses.

In the period of financial difficulties through which many institutions are now passing, this material assistance may in some cases make the difference between life and death.

Help is of course given only to bodies whose nature and programme are entirely compatible with those of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation, and whose importance is sufficient to justify the privilege. Moreover, through the mere existence of co-ordination between these bodies and the Institutes, co-operation develops; and thus, on certain particular points, we have already put into practice the scheme of inter-relations by which it is hoped that all international intellectual institutions will gradually be brought into close contact—that is, that the Committee and the Institute should form a general centre, and an intermediary in relations with Governments, for all the members of a vast system of specialised international federations.

In this manner the Institute is now giving house-room to the International Academy of Comparative Law, the International Committee on Historical Sciences, the International Confederation of Intellectual Workers, the International Federation of National Associations of Secondary School Teachers, the International Federation of National Associations of Elementary School Teachers, the Liaison Committee of the Major International Associations, the International Federation of Journalists' Trade Unions, the International Committee on the School Cinema and Social Education, the International Union for Synthesis, and the World Stage Society.

The Institute has also lent its premises and its assistance for important and, so to say, constitutive international meetings which have given or restored life to new and old organisations. Mention may be made of the Congress of the International Union of Press Associations, the Congress of the International Association of Dramatic and Musical Critics, the Congress of the International Union of Surveyors, the Authors' Broadcasting Committee, etc.

The steps taken by these associations to arrange with the Institute for their meetings, the trend of their discussions, the conclusions they reached, all go to show that they felt that the fact of meeting under the auspices of the

Institute represented a kind of certificate of internationalism, and gave them some sort of official recognition.

There is no need to give a list of the international congresses, held in various countries in 1926 and 1927, to which the Institute has sent representatives. It would not, indeed, be a very long list, simply because the Institute is not yet rich enough to give this token of the moral presence of the League of Nations to all the congresses that merit it.

Whenever it has been found possible to send a representative, the organisers of the congress have given him a cordial welcome, and his rôle of observer has placed him in a position which will, it may be anticipated, grow very rapidly in importance. Indeed, it is part of the business of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation to act unostentatiously as intermediary between congresses, and to introduce a greater degree of regularity into the composition of their programmes and their methods of discussion.

It has also been noticed that certain congresses tend to refer their recommendations and resolutions—in other words, the practical conclusion of their work—to the appropriate organisation of the League of Nations. They seem to have realised this procedure as a remedy for an oft-deplored misfortune—the fact that the resolutions of congresses are left in the air when the congresses break up.

5.—CO-ORDINATION.

With the work of co-ordination, of which some instances are to be found in the proceedings during 1926 and the early months of 1927, we touch upon quite a different aspect of the activities of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation. In this field it is no longer a matter of encouraging and supporting existing international bodies, but of bringing national bodies together and establishing international co-operation on a permanent basis.

Logically, co-ordination is an essential preliminary to co-operation. In this connexion we have observed that international co-ordination is dependent upon a certain degree of local co-ordination in each country, and that movements in the direction of international co-ordination frequently have the happy result of establishing closer relations between national institutions or

associations which had hitherto worked on separate lines.

From this point of view, there is nothing of greater importance than the speedy establishment of national Committees on Intellectual Co-operation.

These Committees (which now exist in thirty-two countries) are composed, in principle, of representatives of the main currents of intellectual life in each country; and they thus secure for the International Intellectual Co-operation Organisation the friendly assistance of the intellectual circles they represent.

A copious correspondence goes on between the Institute and these committees. The Institute asks them what views are taken in their countries regarding schemes in contemplation; the committees give the information desired. They also question the Institute as to the activities of the organisation for intellectual co-operation, and offer their own suggestions.

The Director and his assistants have begun a round of visits to these committees, generally coinciding with their annual meetings.

At Warsaw in 1926 there was a meeting (organised by the Institute) of representatives of the National Committees in Central and Eastern Europe. It produced a series of carefully-considered proposals reflecting the special needs of the countries in question, primarily in regard to scientific and university work. It also resulted in the establishment of co-operation between the representatives of countries that found themselves in opposing camps during the war.

Periodical meetings of representatives of these national committees would be of undoubted value, and the Institute hopes to surmount the difficulties (purely financial) that stand in the way.

It is also negotiating with the responsible authorities in every country to obtain adequate resources for the national committees. The example of one national committee—that of the United States—which is now well-provided with funds illustrates the part that can be played by these bodies, which derived real moral authority in their countries from their official status of corresponding committees of the League of Nations.

It is not difficult to imagine the importance these many organs of co-ordination will have acquired by the time they have been at work a few years.

There is another work of co-ordination—the co-ordination of powerful moral forces to spread the principles of the League by educative action—that has been entirely successful. With this object the Institute has brought about the establishment of the Liaison Committee of the Major International Associations.

This Committee consists of representatives of the following associations, which have countless members in every country of the world:—the World Alliance of Young Women's Christian Associations; the World Alliance of Young Men's Christian Associations, the International Scout Bureau; the International Bureau of Federations of Secondary School Teachers; the International Confederation of Students; the World Federation of Student Christian Societies; the International University Federation for the League of Nations; the International Conference on Practical Christianity; the International Council of Women; the International Girl Guide Council; the Junior Red Cross (represented as a technical adviser); the Carnegie Foundation for International Peace; the International Federation of Public School Teachers' Associations; the International Federation of University Women; the World Federation of Teachers' Associations; the International Congress on Moral Education; the International Education Bureau; the International Young Catholic Congress Movement; the Catholic Union for International Studies; the International Union of Jewish Youth.

This Committee meets periodically at the Institute and discusses, in the presence of a few expert officials, the problems of the intellectual preparation of peace. Its conclusions are then considered by a Sub-Committee of Experts appointed by the League of Nations, and composed of scholastic administrators and teachers.

The Institute has also gathered together the scattered forces working in different countries for the transformation of the system of teaching and social education by the use of the cinematograph. Merely by lending its premises and technical staff to the International Cinematograph Congress held at Paris in September and October, 1926, the Institute has made a real contribution to the co-ordination of the various movements interested in a general way in the development of the cinematograph. If, in the public mind and in the minds of a great proportion of its directing personalities, cinematographic production is now linked with the

general problem of the development of artistic education and taste among the masses and that a regular list of the problems that arise in this connexion was drawn up in September and October, 1926, is very largely due to the International Institute.

But the question of the cinema as a means of instruction and social education comes still closer to the programme of intellectual co-operation, and for that reason the Institute has formed an International Committee on the Cinematograph in Teaching and Social Education, composed of representatives of a large number of interested associations, and having a secretariat combined with the Institute's small cinematograph enquiry service. This is the germ of an International School Cinematograph Office, which there is reason to believe will shortly be formed.

The Committee on Intellectual Co-operation has instructed the Institute to make preparations for the co-ordination of national centres of advanced international studies.

Negotiations are proceeding actively with this object in various countries, notably France, Switzerland, Germany, the United States, Great Britain, and Italy. The idea is to induce the institutes and schools engaged, in each country, in training future agents of international relations, to establish regular contact among themselves, to exchange teachers and pupils, and to bring their programmes into line as far as possible.

Following a similar plan, the Institute has brought about a regular co-ordination between the national university offices which, in a number of countries, are responsible for the extension of university work. Eleven countries were represented at the meeting held at the Institute in 1926.

The distinguished directors of these offices, who had hitherto been almost if not quite unacquainted with one another, readily came to an agreement on certain principles of method, and worked out a scheme of co-operation. They have asked the Institute to hold a meeting of this kind every year in future. It is beyond doubt that by this means national propaganda through the universities is already heading towards an understanding that will make useless competition impossible.

At the last (1927) meeting the national offices of the following countries were represented:—Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Hungary,

Italy, the Netherlands, Poland, Switzerland, and the United States. The British Empire, Greece, Roumania, and Spain were also invited, but were unable to send representatives.

Again, the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation has instructed the Institute to make preparations for a first Congress of Popular Art. With this object the Artistic Relations Section has for several months been negotiating with such Governments, associations, and private persons as may be interested in the projected congress.

The first outcome of this work has been to bring specialists in popular art in each country into contact with the Institute and with one another. Committees are being formed on every side. Here we have the foundation of what we may hope will be a lasting structure. That is one of the points at which the intellectual interests of the masses touch the international enterprise of co-operation.

The Congress is to be held at Prague, and the Czechoslovak Government has undertaken to defray a large part of the expenses.

The Intellectual Co-operation Organisation is in regular communication with the international students' associations. It follows their work with close attention, and has held several joint meetings of their representatives. These meetings are in future to be held at regular intervals. The Interfederal Committee of International Students' Associations has recently been founded, with its headquarters at the Institute. Co-ordination has thus been secured between the principal societies among which the vast majority of students in all countries have so far been divided.

6.—TECHNICAL ORGANISATIONS.

At this stage, the Organisation no longer confines its work to unostentatious efforts to persuade associations and institutions in different countries to work together. It is now attempting to create, or cause to be created, international organisations of a technical character, and to improve those that already exist.

At its very beginning, the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation considered the question of improving scientific bibliography. It started with three branches—the physical sciences, the social sciences, and the sciences concerned with Greek and Roman antiquities.

A fourth field has now been entered, that of the biological sciences. The Institute has laid the work of arranging meetings of specialists in these branches and putting their recommendations into effect.

It is not too much to say that agreement in principle has now been reached on all these points, though certain practical details have still to be settled. Those who are abreast of these questions know the difficulties of an attempt at organisation in this line. Scientists have to be made to agree as to their needs, editors or proprietors of existing bibliographical reviews have to be made to agree, the societies that support those reviews have to be made to agree; the contribution of each country to the collective work of bibliography has to be decided, and individual negotiations have to be carried through with regard to the conditions under which that contribution shall be given.

Mention should also be made of the support which the Institute is affording to the International Committee on Historical Sciences in giving effect to its scheme for an *International Yearbook of Historical Bibliography*.

On this work the future of these sciences depends. The best specialists in each branch are lending a hand. It is already clear that the carrying-out of the agreements will be under the permanent supervision of a delegation of these specialists, working under the auspices of the Institute. It would seem that a formula of practical organisation has here been found which could be applied successively to every science in which the bibliographical information available leaves anything to be desired.

On the International Committee's recommendation, the Institute has also been pursuing an important scheme for an international library organisation.

As the outcome of meetings of experts, a proposal has been made for the formation, at the Institute, of a special service responsible for keeping up to date a handbook of the world's libraries, directing research-workers to the libraries best able to meet their needs, and working for co-ordination among libraries and the establishment of public information services in every country. About 500 libraries in all parts of the world have responded to the Institute's appeal. It is now certain that within a short time the libraries of every country will be available to give practical help to research-workers in every other country, by sending

bibliographical particulars, copies, or photographs.

In another field, that of museums, work is also well advanced. The International Museums Office is in existence, and has been functioning at the Palais-Royal since the beginning of 1927. It is beginning to secure effective communication among some hundreds of museums. In addition to its News Bulletin and other publications already mentioned, it is publishing a series of monographs on the chief problems of museum organisation. It has held a triple exhibition of the national print collections at Madrid, Paris, and Rome.

Particular attention has been paid to the general aspects of the problem of directories (biographical-cum-bibliographical directories and directories of institutions). A special committee of experts met at the Institute and, after exhaustive enquiries, drew up a scheme for publishing a series of yearbooks for separate branches (yearbook of scientists, yearbook of authors, yearbook of artists) on the same lines as the scientific *bibliographie*—division of labour among the various countries, the Institute acting as collector and initiator.

Beyond these specialised yearbooks there is to be a more general and condensed publication, an 'International Who's Who' (biographical and bibliographical list of the chief notabilities of the world), for which the Institute has received a large grant from a private source.

Another international organisation dealing with the important question of translation is under consideration, but as the matter is not yet far advanced it need not be gone into here.

This also applies to other like projects referring, for example, to the circulation of scientific works produced in little-known languages, the reorganisation of mixed scientific publications, uniformity in the format of scientific publications, etc.

7.—INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS.

As we have observed, international agreements, in the strict sense, are a rare fruit that takes long to ripen.

The Intellectual Co-operation Organisation has two to its credit.

In 1924 the Assembly, at the instance of the International Committee, approved the text of a new international convention revising the

Brussels Conventions of 1886 on the international exchange of official publications. The new text is a considerable improvement on the old. Accessions from States are beginning to come in; the Institute is asking for them.

In 1926 an agreement, negotiated by the Secretariat of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation and by the Institute, was concluded between the national print collections of Spain, France, and Italy, to the effect that they would assist one another in circulating and selling their publications.

It is not out of place, however, to mention agreements in preparation, if they are already well advanced.

For the past year the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, jointly with the International Statistical Institute, has been preparing an international framework for intellectual statistics. One country, Italy, has already altered the organisation of its statistical offices with this in view. After the congress of the International Statistical Institute at Cairo in December, 1927, it will be possible to lay before the Governments a draft of model regulations.

A draft international agreement concerning the dates for access to public records has been favourably received by several Governments after a preliminary enquiry.

The Legal Service of the Institute has made preliminary investigations with a view to drafting a model Act for the protection of scientific property. This difficult problem is still far from settlement, but is now at least clearly defined.

Lastly, from the studies of the same Service in regard to the status of international associations there is beginning to emerge the outline of an agreement which would give such associations a definite existence in international law.

CONCLUSION.

The pages that precede illustrate at once the practical nature of the various undertakings of the Organisation for Intellectual Co-operation, and the general importance that attaches to them.

It will perhaps be realised that more could hardly have been done with so little time and money, particularly before the authority and competence of the Organisation were universally recognised. And it is easy to imagine what the Organisation will be able to do in a little while,

when its foundations are firmly fixed in every country and its material resources are more adequate.

High hopes may fairly be entertained—but not for the erection of a vast international structure. What we must desire and hope that the Committee and the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation will do in the future

is this: that they will multiply and canalise the relations between intellectual institutions and interests in all countries; that they will use to the best advantage the efforts of nations and societies in all parts of the intellectual field; that they will develop both old and new forms of international co-operation in science, literature, art, and education.

RESTRICTION AND THE NATIVE PLANTER.

By MR. G. COOPER, A.L.B.

The Stevenson Scheme of rubber restriction has received so much publicity in the trade and general press—admittedly some of it of doubtful value and accuracy—that there is no necessity here to give even a rough outline of its provisions. At its inception some representations were made on behalf of native and Chinese planters, but they received but scant attention. The position of the British capitalist who had put his money into rubber was a desperate one, and no other consideration was likely to carry much weight in discussions of recommendations put forward entirely in the interests of those capitalists.

Now that the scheme has had some time in which to display its practicability, there is more scope, possibly, for the discussion of its desirability from an economic standpoint. There is also some excuse for demanding publicity for the ethical principles involved.

But for the development of electric power and motor transport the plantation rubber industry would very probably never have existed. Without their rapid development there would never have been that curse to any young industry—a "boom." And without the dual fact that the majority of rubber was used by one nation, and the majority of rubber was produced in territory controlled by another, there would never have been any question of restriction of output. Those are the bold facts, and they may as well be faced.

While each industry has problems peculiar to itself, there are certain economic factors which

govern all. In addition, there are influences which display themselves over certain localities or certain latitudes. In no other field is this tendency so marked and so easy of demonstration as in that of tropical agriculture: and in that field it is most easily followed in those spheres of industry developed through contact with European markets. The reader's attention is therefore directed towards those latter, as giving, by historical comparative study, some key to the problems that beset the rubber planter.

The first in historical order was sugar. After making the fortunes of the pioneer planters—without very much risk or exertion on their part, be it said,—the industry fell on bad times, and the Government was called upon to save it. The results of economic pressure were never admitted, and Government policy was invariably blamed.⁽¹⁾ Finally, a state of equilibrium was reached, where quality of production obtained an economic return—and no more—equivalent to the cost of supervision required to obtain that quality. That may, roughly, be considered the position in the industry to-day.

(1) Notes such as the following are common in the literature of the industry:—

"The drought that has been looming over the Windward and Leeward Islands, and over Trinidad, British Guiana has at last broken, but only in the latter Colony, and then only just in time to save the sugar crops. There will thus be, this year, a serious falling off in the total output. It will be well if we do not find this attributed to those mysterious influences 'The Bounties.'" *Westminster Review*, July, 1881.

Cocoa and Copra struggle for pride of primogeniture. The balance of opinion would be, I think, that cocon wins by a neck. Anyhow, in respectability of parentage it is undoubtedly superior. The company promoter and the "bucketshop" proprietor have drawn less from it than from any other tropical product. Certainly, it was dragged in at the heels of many "dud" rubber propositions in 1909-1910, but it can safely be said that its introduction was in no case responsible for any part of the spoil obtained from a gullible public.⁽²⁾

In the West Indies it flourished as an alternative for sugar, and undoubtedly reached a high standard of quality. The costs of supervision in that area, however, continued high, and so long as no alternative supply was available it remained a luxury commodity. Twenty-eight years ago, however, production on a commercial scale was started on the Gold Coast, and the same process of economic equilibrium came into play. There we have the spectacle of the native agriculturist owning and occupying his estate marketing his own product⁽³⁾, even, in some cases, chartering his own tonnage. For practical purposes it may be taken that the whole of the Gold Coast output is produced without the aid of European supervision. There are of course the Agricultural Department's inspectors—who are trained by European officers—but their power is mainly advisory, and their number so small in comparison to the output as to make their services, valuable though they are individually, no doubt, hardly felt appreciably in determining the quality of the whole Colony's product. The resultant position in the commodity market is that the European owned plantation must justify by a higher quality the costs of European

supervision, and fails in a competitive market unless it can do so.

The history of the cultivated cocoanut palm is not quite so clean financially. Many have cause to regret their weakness before the seductions of those kind of pamphlets that set forth the prodigious profits to be made merely by investing a few shillings in the shares of cocoanut plantation companies. The photography in many cases was excellent, but the promises—even had there ever been any intention of attempting to fulfil them—were such as no person who had any knowledge or experience of the tropics, and no person who was not born with the destiny to be food for the "bucket-shop" shark, would have given the slightest credence to. Locality, soil, climate were alike matters of indifference to the busy promoter. So long as he could claim to have land, or the option on land, anywhere within the tropics, that was good enough excuse to unload 100,000 two shilling shares on the unsuspecting public. Iron-stone hill country and mangrove swamp served his purpose equally well. Into the bargain, it is more than likely that even if his location and his intentions had been better, the public would have got nothing out of it. The only result would have been that he would have netted less himself.

For the fact must be faced that "solo" cocoanut planting is not in general an industry that can afford the overhead charges that European supervision entails. There is no margin in the selling price large enough to compensate the extra cost by a higher quality product. Large capital expenditure for machinery to handle the crop is not absolutely essential, and in fact the use of such machinery as has been available up to date has had a tendency to diminish rather than to increase the value of the finished product.⁽⁴⁾ The copra industry, therefore has a tendency to become, what it should have always remained—a native agricultural industry.⁽⁵⁾ By analogy, we may from this

(2) The number of "Rubber and Cocoa" estates that survive to this day must be small indeed. Smaller still must be the number who live up to their name: and non-existent is the estate where they are both successfully—from an economic standpoint—developed. Soil and climatic requirements of each being what they are "it can't be done."

(3) The marketing processes vary but generally are on four main lines:—

(i) Sale by contract to European branch house at rail or at port of shipment.

(ii) Sale by tender to Farmers' Shipping Association.

(iii) Sale on commission basis through European branch shipping agency.

(iv) Sale on Liverpool market by direct shipment. There are no official statistics available, but figures compiled by the author during six months' residence (covering the main crop season) give the following percentages—(i) 78.2, (ii) 4.13, (iii) 9.4, (iv) 8.25.

(4) Even in the matter of oil extraction at the point of production the disposal of by-products is a question that seriously affects the profit and loss account connected with its installation. The experiment mentioned below has yet to prove itself, by the efflux of time, efficient economically.

(5) "Owing to the lack of suitable machinery for the extraction of a clear and odorless oil from the copra, the production of cocoanut oil in Malaya has been confined to low grade oils for local consumption. Recently, however, a concern known as the Cocoanut Products Company, with a factory at Bagan

brief study deduce some definite formulæ for the development of the kindred tropical product—rubber. A simple method will be to follow the statements of a standard authority, and make our deductions as we proceed:—

"There are so many disturbing factors to be taken into consideration that it is difficult to make any general statement regarding the 'normal' yield and life of the Pararubber tree in cultivation. There can be few if any estates which have been continuously tapped on the same system and continuously cultivated on exactly the same lines for a long period of years." (*Resources of the Empire: Rubber*, p. 35).

When doctors disagree, who shall decide? Also, who shall pay the exorbitant fees that these self-appointed wrangling medicos (the European rubber "Experts") demand?

"However, it may be said that after reaching the tapping age at its fourth, fifth, sixth or sometimes even seventh year (the first representing exceptionally favourable and the last exceptionally unfavourable circumstances) the yield is small, but increases year by year. Actual yields per acre taken as an average over a large number of estates and including both young and old trees are as follows:—

"(Duncan Scale),

| | | |
|------------------|------------|-------------------|
| "Under | 5 yrs. | Nil. |
| "Between | 5 and 6 .. | 120 lb. per acre. |
| " .. | 6 and 7 .. | 180 .. " |
| " .. | 7 and 8 .. | 240 .. " |
| "8 yrs. and over | | 320 .. " |

"Another authority gives:—

| | | |
|------------|-----|--------|
| " 5th year | ... | 75 lb. |
| " 6th .. | ... | 110 .. |
| " 7th .. | ... | 175 .. |
| " 8th .. | ... | 200 .. |
| " 9th .. | ... | 250 .. |
| " 10th .. | ... | 300 .. |
| " 11th .. | ... | 375 .. |
| " 12th .. | ... | 400 .. |

"On a large number of estates the tendency has been shown for the yield to flat out or positively decline after the twelfth year, but how far this is due to soil wash, over-tapping (with consequent exhaustion and deficient bark) or other reasons have never been positively determined. Some authorities are of opinion that under favourable conditions a gradual increase of yield may be counted on till the twenty-fifth or even the thirtieth year."

As the costs of European supervision are an arithmetical progression according to length of service, on a scale considerably more rapid than these figures of yield can show, there must always be a difficult gap to bridge in making normal output produce nominal profits.

"Ribbed Smoked Sheet.—No heavy machinery is required for making sheets. In fact there is no need to employ power driven machinery at all....."

"First Latex Crêpe.—The preparation of crêpe rubber differs from that of sheet in requiring heavy and expensive machinery. Though there was..... a Rubber Boom, its course was extraordinarily free from the financial scandal usually attending on such a phenomenon. Of fraudulent companies there were none, and of 'hopeless propositions' from the start very few indeed. Seldom during a period of capital influx into an industry can a cleaner record have been achieved."

And yet the capitalised value (nominal, not market) of the rubber plantations floated on the London and Singapore markets averages £80 per acre, and it is on this value that dividends are expected (to obtain which restriction was adopted). London office expenses, also, are commensurate with this inflated capital valuation. What proportional value that overpaid and overstuffed organisation is to the industry itself it is difficult to calculate, but it must be admitted that most of the actual work done on behalf of the estates could be handled by organisations already in existence before rubber planting became an industry.

So much, then, for the financial groundwork of the European owned portion of the industry. None too sound in itself, it has through the restriction scheme thrown some of the consequences of its own weaknesses on to the native planter. This can be best exemplified by a short calculation based on published costs and market prices.

Ajami, Province Wellesley, Penang, and under the management of a well-known Chinese Merchant, Mr. Lim Cheng Teik, has begun the extraction of a high-grade oil, said to be equal to that produced by refiners in the United Kingdom and on the continent."

"Times Trade Supplement" January 23d, 1924.

A. EUROPEAN OWNED ESTATE.

Costs 1s. 1d. restricted output 60%.

3000,000 lbs. ... @ 1/6 Profit £62,500

Normal output ... @ 1/1 .. Nil.

B. NATIVE OWNED ESTATE.

Costs (excluding owner) 6d. restricted output 60%.

3000 lbs. ... @ 1/6 Profit £150

Normal output ... @ 1/1 .. £146

Against this visible extra profit of £4 there are certain invisible charges that must be taken into account. Every article of consumption that the native buys into which rubber enters as part of the raw material—and the Rubber Growers' Association have themselves given, at great expense, publicity to the amazing number of such articles—is charged with the percentage represented by the amount of rubber he has not produced. The transport charges on every article he consumes are increased *pro rata* (and a little over. Costs being higher, profits are expected to rise sufficiently to bear the same ratio to costs as before) according to the extra cost of motor transport. Such articles as are dependent on transmitted power for manufacture must cover in their price the extra cost of transmission. The extra cost to the

manufacturer and transporter represents in this case 35.5% of the raw material charge. The amount returned in the price of the finished article will of course vary, but it is obviously going to eat up that gross 2.6% (which is all that restriction has netted for the native planter) at the very first gulf, and continue to eat into his profits as long as restriction lasts. In fact, under the Stevenson scheme, every native planter is compelled to subsidise his European competitor. Nothing but the certainty that the scheme will eventually "loop the loop" in an economic sense, and finish by destroying the interests it set out to protect, would justify the apathy of the native planter. That, and the dead weight of official interests behind the scheme, are possibly sufficient to justify their acquiescence in the *status quo*. After all, no one is prepared to make great exertions (and great indeed they would need to be) to being about the eventually inevitable. It is not business.

Yet, when it is realised that nothing but the fact that European interests are at present divided in the other tropical products reviewed presents their being made the subject of similar exploitation at the natives expense, perhaps greater interest will be aroused and effective protest be forthcoming against a process that is indefensible either in equity or on grounds of economic expediency.

TWO KINDS OF LIARS.

By AN OXFORD GRADUATE.

Mr. Rudyard Kipling has roused many Indians to fury by candidly asserting that "East is East and West is West and ne'er the twain shall meet." I am an Indian and therefore constitutionally debarred from that appreciation of Mr. Kipling, to which, under happier circumstances of birth, I could perhaps have laid claim. Still, in spite of my *Damnosa hereditas*, I have always held that, in this case at least,

Mr. Kipling has blundered into sense. For unless both East and West are infected by some ideological epidemic, contrary to the nature of both as we know them, I don't see how they are going to meet,—at least for centuries. For the differences, even in small things, are stupendous. Consider, for instance, the phenomenon of the Hat in either hemisphere thick as leaves in Vallumbrosa, and yet so

different that one cannot but be fascinated by the spectacle of one and the same art resting upon such fundamentally different principles.

The oriental liar is seen, on a little examination, to be a very rudimentary type indeed, compared with the same species of occidental. The contrast is almost as striking as that between the anthropoid ape and the human into which he is magically transformed by Darwinian evolution. I don't know much about the anthropoid ape but he looks, to me, rather a fool, and I don't know where the Darwinian process will ultimately land the human, but I think that education is making him a smaller fool and a bigger knave than his hoary ancestor had the wits to be. If this is correct, then I am on firm ground in comparing the oriental liar to an anthropoid ape. For he is a fool, a thundering fool. His stock-in-trade, compared to that of his western brother-artist, is pitifully inadequate, and his methods quite unscientific. If he wants leave from his office he kills his grandmother at least a hundred times too often, or riffs the most timid variations on his threadbare theme. I doubt whether he is capable of such a revolutionary step as 'killing' his mother-in-law. The fellow hasn't sense enough for that. He hasn't enough of the one great requisite of the liar—imagination. He had it abundantly once upon a time, if report speaks true; but he has fallen from his high estate now. His 'unchanging East' has cast its spell upon him to undo him quite, I am afraid. Yet, he retains a rather pathetic faith in himself or rather, he retains, I should say, his old-world faith in the special providence that watches over thieves, children, and his fraternity—a superstition of which his brother in the West has long since disburdened himself. He really expects you to believe his most transparent, his quite impossible lie, and his expectation is founded on the boundless—call it criminal, if you will—toleration of the East. In the East, you must know, it is just not good form to show a man that you do not believe him, even if the reasons for doing so are as plain as a pike-staff. Think, then, how the barberian from the West, shocks the poor liar of the East, when he lays violent hands upon the mask of truth which is not meant to be handled by any other than the wearer! The oriental liar is above all things a gentleman in his own estimation and it is very rude to tear off a mask from somebody's face, especially when it is just meant to 'save face'.

He is not used to being treated like that. He has always been treated as a gentleman, and even in this iron age of vulgarity, maintains with angelic, ineffectual insistency, his claim so to be treated.

In this connection, I can't help recalling my own little experience of the uncertainties of the strait and narrow road that leads to the heaven of liars. As an under-graduate at Oxford, I could not help admiring the way in which my English friends 'cut' their tutors. I often marvelled at the ingenuity which they must have had to coin excuses for absenting themselves, and a fresh one at that, each time. Stirred to emulation, I also 'cut' my tutor and spent hours of agony keeling up my poor Oriental imagination to the subtle pitch at which it could produce a lie worthy of an Occidental, and calculated to 'pierce the guarded wit' of an Oxford don. At that time, one read in the papers of the deadly effect of 'war-bread', and as a stranger in a strange land, I thought I had every right to be similarly effected by my college commons, on the very day on which I was due at my tutor's. I cut him and told him next time how dreadfully 'war-bread' had disagreed with me and prevented my frantic, my passionate desire to see him at the appointed hour last week. In my truly Oriental simplicity, I expected him to believe me, as a matter of course. Not a bit of it, he had strained at too many gnats to swallow my camel—for, now that I come to think it over, it was a bit of a 'camel'. He took his pipe out of his mouth deliberately, jerked out "war-bread", in as deliberate a manner, and with his left hand—I had always thought him a little beast—scratched his bearded face, for all the world like a monkey. There was no mistaking the wicked twinkle in his penetrating blue eyes, and all I could do was to console myself with the reflection that, for an Oriental, I had lied quite cleverly.

When we turn to the occidental liar, we find ourselves at once faced with a very different proposition. He has adopted himself admirably to the complexity of his environment. He has quite dispensed with the first part of the piously illogical British General's injunction to his soldiers to trust in God and keep their powder dry. He is ashamed of being ranked with his Eastern brother-liar, and all of us who have poor relations will sympathise with him. He has become cautious. He can't afford to give

himself away recklessly, as the other does, for society in the West will have nothing to do with a liar *qua* liar. It told him that long ago. He retorted with truly Shakespearean full-bloodedness, "What! shall there be no more cakes and ale, because you have become a dyspeptic professor spouting ethics?" But, spite of the Shakespearean spirit, he found, like Mr. Tulliver, that "the world was one too many" for him. So he changed with a changing world. The educated democracies of the West compelled him, so to say, to study them; to please them; to tell them the kind of lies that they can't detect, and the kind of lies that they won't detect, and want to believe, and are necessary for the satisfaction of their mental appetite. So he studied the psychology of democracy, and embodied his researches in many new, or practically-new branches of lying, which are now an accredited part of the life of all civilised peoples. That is why he is a 'real-for-sure' success, as Americans say, and anybody who wants to be a real-for-sure success, must learn from him in his rôle of salesman, advertising agent, journalist, lawyer or what-not.

He has distinctly succeeded where his Oriental brother has failed ignominiously. But he has bought success at the cost of the artist's joy in his work, for he is now no longer bound only by a code as elastic as that of the knight-errants of old, and free as they 'to keep their hand in' by practising on all-comers, in season

and out of season. He is bound, instead, by a scientifically efficient strait-jacket of respectability and decorum. Yes, decorum—for he never tells a real lie. He has found a safe and powerful substitute for it, and so can pride himself on being ethically vastly superior to his rival in the East. This scientific equivalent of the lie is Emphasis, and he can manufacture it in all forms and shapes. He can make it sink below zero, in his mental thermometer, or raise it to boiling-point. He may, from another point of view, be said to have introduced into the flat pictures of the Eastern liar, the idea of perspective, and of light and shade. He has more or less blocked out the chances of failure, but with it also the thrills of uncertainty, of breathless, hair-raising suspense enjoyed by him when he was still an artist. He now knows, more or less, the chances of success that will attend a venture, he is no longer a gambler to whom success comes swiftly, over-whelmingly, on the fierce breakers of suspense.

However that may be, the fact remains that he persists in a world which is fast eliminating the Oriental type of liar. Not only that, he is in demand, greatly in demand. So in this as in other matters, the East must sit at the feet of the West, but as I can only think of 'Guru West' as a booted 'Guru', I should be unfair to my countrymen if I did not warn them to keep at a safe distance that part of the anatomy for which boots have a notorious preference.

ARCHAEOLOGY IN HYDERABAD STATE.

By MRS. E. ROSENTHAL, F.R.G.S.

The foundation of the Archaeological Department of Hyderabad State in 1913 was a landmark of no mean import in the history of archaeological research, for the Dominions of H. E. H. the Nizam are as rich in ancient buildings as any part of India. The late Sir Alexander Pinhey, then Resident of Hyderabad, was one of the principal supporters of the newly-founded institution, which was placed under the Judicial Secretary, Mr. Hydari,

now Nawab Hydar Nawaz Jung. Since Mr. Hydari's elevation to the Finance Membership in 1921, various personages have held the secretaryship of the Department, but Mr. Hydari continues to render signal service to archaeologists by his expert advice, and inspiring enthusiasm. Although the Department suffered in its infancy from the effects of the World War, the list of its achievements is remarkable. The monuments of Hyderabad State are amazing

in their profusion, and in their diversity, for ever since the twelfth century the Deccan has served as a half-way house between Northern and Southern India. In consequence, the architecture bears the hall-mark of the various peoples, both Hindu and Muhammadan, who have prospered there. This heritage of composite structures lends to archaeological research in Hyderabad State that variety which is the salt of both life and art.

The most epoch-making enterprise is the conservation of the Ajanta Frescoes, the apotheosis of cave-painting, not in India alone, but possibly in the whole of Asia. The treatment to which these masterpieces have been submitted is as successful as the restoration process by which, in the course of the last decade or so, Signor Luigi Cavenaghi has recreated Leonardo da Vinci's "Last Supper." Following the advice of Sir John Marshall, Director-General of Archaeology, H. E. H. the Nizam's Government obtained the assistance of European authorities, before tackling the three-fold problem of identification, preservation and reproduction of the frescoes. The correspondence of Sir Aurel Stein, Monsiém Foucher and Professor Cecconi, published in the *Annual Reports of the Hyderabad Department for 1918-1919, and 1919-1920*, makes most interesting reading.

As a result of the labours of Professor Cecconi and his assistant Count Orsini, a systematic conservation campaign was launched in the cold weather of 1920, for the purpose of fixing the peeling frescoes, removing the varnish applied by Mr. Griffiths during the eighties of last century, eradicating insects, and cleansing the walls from the effects of smoke from jogis' fires. Moreover, with most laudable "full-steam-ahead" policy, the Department is taking steps to preserve "for posterity a faithful record of the frescoes, the beauty of which, in spite of all care is likely to vanish one day," as Mr. Yazdani, Director of Archaeology, Hyderabad State, puts it in his preface to the "Guide to Ajanta Frescoes," produced in 1927. This volume, published for the modest sum of two rupees, contains excellent monotone and colour-plate illustrations of the reproduction work now in progress.

At the present time, the Caves of Ajanta are an artistic hive, where students copy zealously and lovingly the great masterpieces of the past. The curator, Mr. Syed Ahmed, a gifted artist

who assisted Lady Herringham in the preparation of her monumental work, "Ajanta Frescoes", is one of the greatest exponents of the beauties of Ajanta. He has consecrated himself whole-heartedly to the reproduction of the frescoes, and the recent exhibition of his work, held in Bombay under the aegis of Nawab Hydar Nawaz Jung, has drawn the attention of the general public to the worth of one of the most modest and talented of modern Indian painters.

The activities of the Department are not confined to the preservation of monuments. Indeed,—so! Their scope is comprehensive, and includes arrangements for the creature comfort of visitors. Formerly, a journey to Ajanta was a fatiguing and lengthy pilgrimage, a tax on the physical and financial resources of the average man. Now-a-days, it is in the nature of a pleasure trip from start to finish, for there are good motor roads direct to the Caves from Jalgaon Station on the Great Indian Peninsular Railway, and Aurangabad Station on H. E. H. the Nizam's Guaranteed State Railway. A well-equipped travellers' bungalow at Fardapur, four miles from the Caves, is a popular and much patronized institution, and the Department proposes to erect another rest house at Ajanta, for the convenience of visitors arriving from the Aurangabad side. Permission to photograph the interior of the temples should be obtained well in advance from the Director of Archaeology, Hyderabad, Deccan, who upon application, will very kindly furnish travellers with any information they require, respecting archaeological excursions in the territory of H. E. H. the Nizam.

Contemporaneously with the work at Ajanta, the Department concentrated on the preservation of the Caves of Ellora and, in this enterprise also, Sir John Marshall evinced the keenest interest. In January, 1916, he visited Ellora and, while approving the repairs already executed, suggested the drainage of certain temples, the replacement of unsightly piers by piers, chiselled in accordance with the sculptural design of the old columns, the retention of masses of rock which threatened to swamp the Indra Sabha—that group of stupendous Jain Caves of unparalleled majesty and interest. The Director-General of Archaeology likewise saved the upper story of the gateway of the Kailasa, the world's premier wonder excavation, for the Hyderabad authorities followed his

advice with regard to the disposition of joists and supports.

It is as difficult to describe the Kailasa as it is to paint a word picture of the Taj Mahal. Both buildings must be seen to be believed, must be revered to be understood and lucky, indeed, are we of the twentieth century, that these shrines of beauty, and of marvel, are opened up to us. At Ajanta, one has a close-up view of the soul of Buddhism, magnificent, superb, standing in solitary grandeur. At Ellora, one stands on the threshold of Buddhism, Brahmanism, Jainism in juxtaposition. For this reason the message of Ellora proclaims, tri-lingually, with clarion tones, the glory of India's art heritage.

A titbit of archaeological research has consisted of the removal of silt from the unfinished Chhota Kailasa, the first, in order, though possibly the latest in date, of the Jain excavations. It is now possible to distinguish the vertical methods of quarrying, employed by the workmen of old. Had it been completed, the Chhota Kailasa would have been a miniature monolithic temple, a diminutive edition of its stupendous namesake. The excavated pit of the Chhota Kailasa measures 80 by 130 feet, as against the courtyard, 154 by 276 feet, of the great Kailasa.

At Ellora, as at Ajanta, the State Archaeological and Public Works Departments have worked in conjunction, with the result that within an hour of alighting at Aurangabad Station the traveller finds himself at the entrance of the Caves, thanks to an excellent motor road, opened in December, 1925, on the occasion of the Ellora visit of their Excellencies the Earl and Countess of Reading. There is a commodious travellers' bungalow at Ellora, and permission to photograph the interior of these temples, also, may be obtained from the Director of Archaeology, Hyderabad, Deccan. The Archaeological Department has published an excellent guide-book consisting of the description of Ellora by Dr. James Burgess. A revised edition of this work is now in course of preparation. The production by the Oxford University Press of picture post-cards of Ellora and Ajanta, on the model of their British Museum series, is a further venture that is meeting with remarkable success.

Had the Department confined its efforts to the conservation of the rock-cut temples in Hyderabad State, it would have justified its

existence as a dynamic institution. In addition to protecting Ajanta and Ellora however, it has turned the flash light of research on many buildings of supreme interest, hitherto unknown. In consequence of its energetic measures, the ancient Deccani capitals, situated within the confines of H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions, are reviving as though touched by a magic wand, for their maladies have been diagnosed by Mr. Yardani, who is to sick buildings what a Harley Street physician is to sick bodies.

Bidar was one of the first cities to benefit by the treatment, prescribed by the archaeological authorities. One of the most important structures at Bidar, the fifteenth-century seat of government of the Bahmani Shaha, is the College of Khawaja Mahmud Gawan, built about 1472 A.D. The principal feature of the exterior decoration consists of some exquisite coloured tiling, and if the Archaeological Department had not stepped in, in the nick of time, this edifice would have mouldered into dust. The removal of debris and rubble walls, the excavation of the high plinth, the levelling and turfing of the surrounding lands—all these improvements, coupled with the measures taken to render the edifice structurally sound, have insured to us, and to our successors, a monument which is a uniquely eloquent testimony to the Bahmani workmen's skill.

To appreciate the full value of the Department's achievements at Bidar, one should peruse "The Antiquities of Bidar," which is included in its list of miscellaneous publications. It is good to read in this pleasing pamphlet of the repairs to the Zenana Palace and the Takht Mahal. The magnificence of the latter building, the Throne Room of the Bahmani Shaha, inspired the poet Adhari to compose the following quatrain:

"How grand is this strongly built palace,
Through the excessive loftiness of which, the
sky is but as a step at its threshold.
'Tis an impropriety to compare it with
Heaven;
Verily, it is the palace of the Lord of the
Universe,

Ahmad Bahman Shah."

Steps, too, have been taken for the conservation of the great Sola Khamb Mosque at Bidar, the scene of many historic incidents. Ferishta's description of a snub administered there, in public, to one of the Bahmani princes, flashes

the dramatic scene on to the screen of our mental cinema:—"Prince Ala-ud-Din Shah was fond of learning, and sometimes he would ascend the pulpit in the grand mosque on Fridays and festivals, and read the *Khoṭba*, in which he mentioned himself by the following titles:—"The monarch just, merciful, patient and liberal to the servants of God, chief in worldly and religious affairs, son of the most distinguished among princes, Ahmad Shah Wali Rahmani." One day, an Arab merchant who had sold some horses to the king, the payment of which was delayed by the officers of the household, being present when he read the above titles, roused by the ill-usage he had experienced, exclaimed with a loud voice: "Thou art neither the just, the merciful, the patient, nor the liberal king, but the cruel and the false, who hast massacred the Prophet's descendants, yet darrest to assume such laudatory titles in the pulpit of the true believers." The king, struck with remorse, commanded the merchant to be paid on the spot, saying that those would not escape the wrath of God who had thus injured his reputation."

Down at Ashtur, two miles from Bidar proper, stand the tombs of the Bahmani Kings, sumptuous structures, that delight the eye of the colourist, by their sensuous beauty of enamel and painted décor. At the instigation of the Director of Archaeology, the gorgeous adornment has been restored, with real artistic acumen and discretion, and one realizes at a flash that luscious hues, sinuous designs, are the only appropriate setting for the tomb of Ahmad Shah Wali Bahmani, which bears the full-blooded inscription:

"Should my heart ache, my remedy is this;

A cup of wine, and then I sip of bliss".

Bidar is easily reached from Gulbarga on the C. I. P. Bombay-Madras line and, at Gulbarga itself, the Archaeological Department has wrought great reforms, which include the preservation of the mausoleum of Ala-ud-Din, the founder of the Bahmani dynasty, and the conservation of the great Chor Gumbad. This edifice, with its great dome 100 feet high, is a landmark for miles round. Tradition maintains that it was the quondam abode of robbers, who terrorized the inhabitants of Gulbarga by their raids and their rapes, and concealed their ill-gotten gains in the labyrinth of rooms and passages contained in their retreat. Structurally, the Chor Gumbad is one of the most interest-

ing buildings in Gulbarga and it is well worth the care which has been expended upon it. The grand old fort, also, has been thoroughly tidied up so that, now-a-days, there is a fitting approach to the stronghold, which boasts a mosque, that ranks amongst the grandest Muhammadan structures in Hyderabad State, one too, that has a roofed courtyard—a feature reminiscent of Egyptian and Turkish edifices.

Nagai, near Gulbarga, is an intriguing and little-known centre of archaeological interest, a treasure fount of antiquity, of which the depths are being probed by the Hyderabad Archaeological Department. The decipherment of the inscriptions is now in progress, and a monograph on these records will appear shortly. A stone document of peculiar import, dating from 1058, opens with a genealogical account of the Western Chalukyas. Another inscription, built into the wall of a Sivaite temple, was cut some thirty years later, in the reign of King Bhulokamalla, and records the gift made by a chief. Both of the above-mentioned inscriptions are in Kanarese. The Hindu temples in Nagai are extraordinarily well preserved, and the reason for the desertion of this grand old city is one of the many mysteries which the Department has set itself to solve.

Golconda, the glorious capital of the Qutb Shahs, the city over which such blasé travellers as the seventeenth-century Bernier, Tavernier, Thevenot enthused, is the paradise of archaeologists. For this reason, officials have laboured lovingly at the unravelling of its many problems, at the conservation of its many monuments, of which some, like the fort gateways, date from the era when Golconda was an outpost of the Hindu kingdom of Warangal. The stronghold is one of those signposts on the highway of time that beggar description. It stands at the cross-roads of Hindu and Muhammadan influence and to the Hyderabad archaeologists it is as the apple of his eye. Protected, undisturbed, the magnificent citadel gazes down dispassionately upon the tentacles of Hyderabad City, its rival, stretching in all directions.

Along the road leading from Hyderabad to Golconda are some of the finest monuments of the Qutb Shahi dynasty. They include shrines, mosques, baths, facades of old shops and dwelling-houses, many of which bear inscriptions. Mr. A. (now Sir Akbar) Hydarli drew the attention of the Superintendent of Archaeology to the

Toli Masjid, one of the most elaborate mosques on this Apian Way of the East. Repairs were commenced immediately, with the result that the building has entered upon a new lease of life, and stands forth as a most illuminating example of Muslim architecture, influenced by Hindu models. Elephant-tusk brackets, pillar-and-lintel niches, miniature mosques and minarets—each and every detail of the ornamentation recalls the elaborate decoration of some great temple of Southern India.

In Hyderabad City itself, the claims of the Char Minar to recognition have been approved by the Department, and a most interesting account of the building, and the purpose for which it was originally intended, appeared in the Annual Report for 1918-1919. The consensus of opinion favours the view that this great four-arched and four-towered gateway served, originally, as a pavilion or entrance hall leading to the royal palace. "Lofty gateways had, long before this, been in fashion in Northern India. The main entrance to the Atala Masjid at Jaunpur was a titanic effort of the artist in the size of portals in India, but Akbar dwarfed its dimensions by building the Baland Darwaza at Fathpur Sikri, which was finished in 1575. Muhammad Quli Quth Shah, the builder of the Char Minar, was a contemporary of Akbar and his desire for a lofty portal was quite in keeping with the taste of the period. The building is grand in conception, and for the just balance of its structural masses and the elegance of its decorative details, it is a unique monument of its kind in Southern India."

Adequate protection is now afforded to the Tombs of Golconda, the mausolea of the Quth Shahi Kings,—the beautiful gardens surrounding the monuments are carefully tended and constitute a peculiarly charming setting for these glorious structures. A year or two ago, Mr. Ghulam Dastagir rendered great service to historians by clearing up the mystery veiling the unfinished, disgruntled-looking tomb which had long been associated with the name of Abul Hasan, the last independent ruler, who was conquered in 1687 by Aurangzeb. Some poet-historian, whose artistry exceeded his accuracy, started the yarn that Abul Hasan intended the mausoleum to be his own resting-place, and

that the interruption of the work was due to the Great Mughal's capture of Golconda and the banishment of Abul Hasan to Daulatabad, where he died a prisoner. The story sounded plausible enough, so it caught on, and was not disproved until Mr. Dastagir's discovery of two graves beneath the debris with which the burial chamber was filled. From a beautifully carved inscription on one tombstone, it appears that a brother-in-law of Abul Hasan was interred in the unfinished edifice. As this said brother-in-law was a rival of Abul Hasan, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the Quth Shahi monarch hastened his despatch to the next world, and considered an incomplete structure quite good enough to house his remains!

A little over a hundred miles distant from Golconda lies Warangal, once one of the most important Hindu capitals of the Deccan. You can pick out bits of history from every crevice of the grand old fortress, which was amongst the wealthiest stronghold of ancient Telingana, and paid the penalty for its fame when Ala-ud-Din Khilji of Delhi invaded it in the fourteenth century.

Conservation measures undertaken at Warangal include the collection and classification of many fragments of Hindu sculptures which, instead of lying scattered in the fields, as of yore, now form the nucleus of a fine museum.

A sum of 11,687 rupees was expended recently on the magnificent Thousand-Pillared Temple at Hanamkonda, a couple of miles or so from Warangal Fort, and a watchman has been engaged to protect the enclosure from the inroads of beggars and tramps, who formerly regarded it as their happy hunting-ground. The main items of the restoration work of this glorious twelfth-century monument comprised the resetting of pillars which were dangerously out of plumb, the construction of a wall to support the back of the central hall, and the drainage and relaying of the floors.

A custodian has been appointed also for the great Palampet Temples, in the Warangal neighbourhood. Although more ornate than the Thousand-Pillared Temple, the Palampet sanctuaries resemble it in design and, probably, date from the same period as the "Pride of Hanamkonda," as the cathedral of the thousand columns has been called. In 1916, Mr. Yazdani visited the Palampet Temples, and obtained ink estampages of all the inscriptions there.

*Annual report of the Archaeological Department of H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions, 1918-19 (1328 F.).

Dr. Barnett, Keeper of Oriental Printed Books and MSS in the British Museum, offered to edit and translate these important records. His proposal was accepted with alacrity, with the result that the Inscriptions, together with translations and explanatory notes are now available in monograph form, price Rs. 2. A companion publication to the Palampet monograph is the Pakhal Inscription of the reign of the Kakatiya Ganapatideva. This record is carved on a square column, in the centre of the Pakhal Tank bund near Warangal, and was first noticed by Dr. E. Hultzsch in his Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1902-1903. In 1910-1917 Mr. Yandani procured inked impressions and photographs of the inscription, as the estampages previously secured were not sufficiently distinct for an authoritative reading to be obtained. With extraordinary skill and patience, Dr. Barnett succeeded in deciphering nearly the whole of the record, although the weathering of ages had abraded the surface of the letters in several places. Besides including a resume of the genealogy of the Kakatiya Kings, the inscription extols the conquests of King Ganapatideva. "No specific date is mentioned, but as the record refers itself to the reign of Ganapati, and speaks of him as having reigned long, it may be assigned to about 1245 A.D."

During the working season of 1910-20, Daulatabad, another historic capital of the Deccan, was carefully surveyed and restored. Sir John Marshall once again evinced his interest in the work of the Department, by examining the repairs, and expressed approval of the methods employed. A graceful act, denoting the human touch on the part of the Department, was the embellishment of the humble tomb of the unfortunate Abul Hasan Qutb Shah, who sighed out his last years as a prisoner of war of Aurangzeb. A platform and a balustrade have been placed round the grave, "in order to show proper respect to the last remains of this monarch, whose fortunate ancestors are buried in magnificent tombs at Golconda."

The most interesting mausoleum in Hyderabad State, the famous Bibi ka Maqbara, has

recently been overhauled. Although it suffers by comparison with its gorgeous prototype, the Taj Mahal, the Aurangabad monument is certainly worthy of a place in the second, if not in the first, rank of Indian architectural *chefs d'œuvre*. Since the Archaeological Department's special grant towards the maintenance of the gardens and fountains which surround it, its setting has been greatly enhanced. Both Tavernier and Thevenot must have seen the monument soon after its completion. The former writer described the Bibi ka Maqbara as "A mosque, with a stately monument and a fair inn. The mosque and the monument were reared at a great expense, being covered with white marble, which is brought from Lahore by waggon, being a journey of four months."

"Going one time from Surat to Golconda, I met five days journey from Aureng-abad more than three hundred waggons laden with this marble, the least whereof was drawn by twelve oxen." Thevenot who was dubious about the genuineness of the marble, made the following entry about Aurangabad and the Bibi ka Maqbara, in his travel book:—"This great town, the capital of the province, has no walls; the Governor, who is commonly a prince, has his residence there, and King Aurangzeb commanded there as long as he did at Khandesh in the reign of his father. His first wife, whom he loved dearly, died in this town; as a monument to her he erected a lovely mosque covered with a dome, and beautified with four minarets or steeples. It is built of white polished stone and many take it for marble, though it comes short of that both in hardness and in lustre." The building cost over six and a half lakhs of rupees and dates from the years 1650-1657. Portions of the tomb are of pure white marble, and thanks to the skilful repairs, the visitor can form a very good idea of the impression that it must have produced, in the days of its pristine glory.

When tackling the problem of conserving the grave of the Emperor Aurangzeb, who died in 1707, the Archaeological Department were confronted by peculiar difficulties. True, Aurangzeb had stated categorically that his tomb was to be of the simplest, that it was to be a lasting example of the austerity of the Mughal Puritan,—yet to allow the monument to relapse into a neglected and dirty condition, was obviously incompatible with the respect due to his

*Pakhal Inscription of the Reign of The Kakatiya Ganapatideva Hyderabad Archaeological Series No. 4, 1919.

†Ann. Report of the Archaeological Department of H. R. H. the Nizam's Dominions, 1910-1920 (1920F).

memory. After consultation with the Director General of Archaeology, Mr. Yazdani recommended that the original grave and marble doorway should be carefully restored, and that a marble screen, in keeping with the design of the latter, should replace the shabby wooden enclosure set up in modern times. H. E. H. the Nizam issued a special *firman* sanctioning the expenditure of 20,000 rupees on this work, and in consequence, the monument is now one of the most dignified structures in Rauze Khulabadi, "The Heavenly Abode"—the latter designation was bestowed upon this celebrated burial place, after Aurangzeb's mortal remains were interred there. In the same town, which is a half-way house between Aurangabad and Ellora, the famous seventeenth-century Ahmad-nagar minister, Malik Ambar, lies buried. His mausoleum is a fine specimen of Muslim-Deccani architecture. The shape of the dome and the turrets round the base are reminiscent of the tombs of the early Delhi sultans. The conservation of this important monument is another valuable service, rendered to the present generation of archaeologists, and to their successors.

The Caves of Aurangabad, about three miles from Aurangabad Station, have been cleared of silt, and protective measures have been taken to insure these excavations against further decay. The finest of these rock-cut sanctuaries dates from 650 A.D., or thereabouts, and is one of the most perfectly developed specimens of a late Buddhist cave in the whole of India. It contains groups of life-sized figures, so realistically carved as to give the impression of human-beings, in the dim interior light.

One of the activities which has linked up the work of the Hyderabad Archaeological Department with Egyptian and European research centres, consists of the excavations, carried out in various parts of the Dominions, for the purpose of examining megalithic remains. In the early fifties of the last century, Meadows Taylor contributed several reports on these remains to the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. In 1915, operations carried out at Maula Ali revealed cairns, and cromlechs—the former containing stone or clay coffins, similar to those discovered in the ancient tombs of Chaldea,—the latter consisting of stone circles, partly or fully visible. The graves contained also a large amount of pottery, identical in design with cups, saucers, dishes,

etc., dug out in Southern India, and bearing a resemblance to vessels discovered in Chaldea and Assyria. In 1916, one of the most active members of the Hyderabad Archaeological Society, Dr. E. H. Hunt F.R.C.S., delivered a lecture on "Hyderabad Cairns: Their Problems", which was published subsequently in book form. The most important finds among copper articles consisted of a bell, an amulet and head bands for bulls. It is significant that bells were objects of superstitious regard among the Celto-Scythian peoples and, moreover, that one bell was buried within a cairn opened, at Maula Ali, in the first half of the last century.

The markings on the pottery discovered in the cists have been the subject of careful study, and 75% have proved identical with the alphabetic signs given by Evans in his comparative table, showing the relation between Cretan and Aegean, Libyan and Egypto-Libyan writings.

The foundation of an Archaeological Library and Museum is another useful side track in the activities of the Department. Mr. T. Sreenivas, Curator of the Museum, has devoted much time to the classification of the large quantities of ancient coins, which have accumulated from various parts of India. The Department has acquired the vast collection of the Central Treasury, which comprises a total of 15,550 coins of which 771 are gold, 4701 silver and the remainder copper, or other metals. The first category includes a very rare specimen from the Mint of the Adil Shahi dynasty of Bijapur. Up to 1924, only three gold coins of this kingdom were known to the authorities, so that the discovery of a fourth made no small noise in the world of numismatics. The coin is undated, but the inscriptions, as translated by Dr. Geo. P. Taylor, read as follows:—

"The world from these two Muhammada received beauty and dignity;

The first is Muhammad the Apostle, the second Muhammad Shah."

The coin was minted in the reign of Muhammad Shah (1627-1656), the "Merry Monarch" of Bijapur, who adorned his capital with the Gol Gumbaz, that stupendous mausoleum which boasts the largest dome in the world.

Minute examination of the coins has led to the discovery of two mints, which existed in the Deccan in Mughal times, and were situated respectively at Parenda in the Naldrug district, and at Kankurti in the *sircar* of Muzaffarnagar (Malikhed).

Since its inception, the Department has found very many channels for its activities. The experience gained by Mr. Yazdani during his visit on deputation to Europe and Islamic countries, is of inestimable value in tackling the various problems which present themselves in increasing numbers, as the scope of the work extends.

In addition to a vast selection of photographs and drawings of the principal monuments in Hyderabad State, the Department possesses over a thousand views of important Islamic structures in Spain, North Africa, Egypt, Arabia, Syria, Palestine and Iraq. The Departmental Library boasts something like two thousand volumes on subject of archaeological interest, and the preparation of survey maps of the many sites of importance within the State goes on apace. In a word, the Department is a live wire, and no more appropriate motto could be fixed over its portals, as a summary of its creed, than the noble inscription which surrounds the dome of the National Gallery, London:—

"The men whose work has stood the test of ages command that respect and veneration to which no modern can pretend."

It is thanks to Hyderabad archaeologists that the great master builders of the past, who adorned this region of the Deccan with their glorious edifices, receive, now-a-days, some meed of that homage which is their due.

An off-shoot of the Archaeological Department is the Hyderabad Archaeological Society, which has proved of great benefit in stimulating interest in archaeology amongst the general public. The journals, comprising the papers delivered before the Society, make most interesting reading. The President of the Society was, until lately, The Hon. Sir William Barton, Resident of Hyderabad.

It is worthy of note that in 1910, the Society's

gold medal in memory of Sir Alexander Pinhey, the first President, was awarded to the noted archaeologist, Mr. Henry Cousens who, as long ago as 1894-1895, prepared lists of the Antiquarian Remains in Hyderabad State, to facilitate a conservation campaign. The Hyderabad Government has always been distinguished for the interest evinced in the ancient monuments in H. E. H. the Nizam's territory, by a large proportion of its members. "Archaeological exploration in Hyderabad has a long history and is associated with the names of Sir Charles Mallet, Colonel Meadows Taylor, Captain Gill and Messrs. Seely, Wales and Fergusson in earlier times, and with those of James Burgess, John Griffith and Lady Herringham in later days. The records of the work of these distinguished pioneers are full of instruction and interest to the antiquary, and form the material from which the history of the monuments of the Deccan is to be written. In this connection, two books written under the auspices of His Highness' Government, are worthy of notice. One of them—*Historical and Descriptive Sketch of H. H. the Nizam's Dominions* is from the able pen of Nawab Sayed Husain Bilgrami, a work showing much research and industry. The other—the *Aurangabad Gazetteer* is a joint compilation of several writers, and sets the model for gazetteers of other districts in the Dominions."

The above extract from the Archaeological Department's Report for 1914-1915, shows that there was a rosy future in store for archaeological research, at the beginning of the Department's career. The years that have elapsed since that report was penned, have proved that the hopes of archaeologists have been fully realized, thanks to the personal interest taken in the welfare of the Archaeological Department, by H. E. H. the Nizam, and to the support accorded by Government.

RECOLLECTIONS OF C. R. DAS.

By MR. BIPIN CHANDRA PAL.

Mr. Prithwis Chandra Ray's life of C. R. Das, is certainly what the late Mr. W. T. Stead would have honoured with the title of the "Book of the Month" in his *Review of Reviews*. Chittaranjan Das had towards the close of his life roused so much public interest both in India and England, that any story of his life which may find for the stranger the key to his forceful character, must naturally receive large public attention. Chittaranjan's was certainly a strange and magnetic personality. Those who had come into close touch with him, be they his political friends or his political opponents, felt fascinated by his sweet reasonableness and general suavity in private, even as much as they were impressed by his undaunted courage and pugnacious personality in public. Those who never had any opportunity of knowing him personally, have read and heard of him as the greatest political fighter in modern India, who seemed to combine great courage with rare cunning, that never lost sight of political issues in the heat and enthusiasm for some far-off ideal.

One hesitates, however, to look very closely into this work of Mr. Ray, because he is not with us to-day to read the verdict of his contemporaries upon what he must have regarded as his "magnum opus." Indeed, Mr. Ray undertook to write this book, long before the public agitations caused by Chittaranjan Das's politics and particularly by his sudden and dramatic passing away at a very critical period of his public life, when he was evidently turning a new leaf as his Faridpore speech clearly indicated, had settled down. No man's biography ought to be written unless sufficient time has passed after his exit from the scene of his earthly struggles, to enable a calm and correct historical survey of his work and achievements. The time indeed has not as yet come for history to pass in review the life and work of Chittaranjan Das. Chittaranjan seems

still to be involved in our current political struggles and controversies. The Party, which he was specially instrumental in bringing into existence, are still exploiting his name, and trying to keep up traditions, which their late leader would have materially altered through the initiation of a policy adumbrated in his last public utterance as President of the Bengal Provincial Conference at Faridpore.

At the same time, there is a fairly large section of the public, both Indian and British, here as well as in England, who know that for full twenty of the twenty-five years of the history of our times, with which C. R. Das's name is prominently connected, my relations with him were more intimate than it was with any other Indian publicist. And these people would naturally look for my estimate of Mr. Ray's book. Yet it is very difficult for me to place the work of a dead man on the life and times of another dead man, whose memories are still green in the minds of their people and of the public, on the cruel scale of rigid historical or literary criticism.

The years covered by the life of C. R. Das, that is from 1870 to 1925 represent a very important epoch of the history of Modern Bengal especially, and of Modern India in a general way. The political freedom movement which found in C. R. Das perhaps its most resourceful and driving leader from 1930 to the time of his death in 1925, had been preceded in Bengal by a great movement of religious and social revolt organised in the the Brahmo Samaj. Chittaranjan was still in his long clothes when Bengal and all India were passing through these new phases of their social and political evolution; movements in which his father and uncle took a prominent part.

I had known Chittaranjan's father and his uncle Durga Mohan Das, the father of the Hon. Mr. S. R. Das, very intimately from the time when, a young man of 18, I cut myself adrift from my people and threw my lot with the social outcasts of the Brahmo Samaj. I had seen C. R. Das when he was a lusty and somewhat wild boy just getting into his teens. I

*Life of C. R. Das. By P. C. Roy (Oxford University Press, Bombay) 1926.

had found him a co-worker in a new movement in the Brahm Samaj that, led by Dr. (now Sir) Brojendra Nath Seal, wanted to nationalise it by shunting it back to the lines of its originator, Raja Ram Mohan Roy. When in 1901, after my return from England and America, I was called to work with two friends who started "New India," with me as its editor, C. R. Das became my first contributor and a year later when "New India" was converted into a joint-stock concern he became one of its directors. When in the fall of 1906, the "Bande Mataram" was started (not by Arambindo Ghose as Mr. Ray erroneously puts it, but by Mr. Haridas Halder) and I was placed in editorial charge of it, C. R. Das continued as enthusiastically as before his collaboration with me in this new venture. He was then a poor man, an undischarged insolvent, yet he did not hesitate to make considerable pecuniary sacrifices for our common cause. When in 1907 I was sentenced to six months' imprisonment for refusing to give evidence against Mr. Arambindo Ghose, who has succeeded me in the editorial chair of the "Bande Mataram," when he was put upon his trial on a charge of sedition, C. R. Das took up the burdens of my family.

When, next year I left the country and went practically as a voluntary exile to England, C. R. Das once more undertook, with another friend, to take charge of my family in Calcutta. Throughout all these years C. R. Das and myself worked together as two brothers, one of whom earned money and provided for the financial requirements of the other, while the latter worked for the same cause by his brains and his time. In 1910 C. R. Das went to England during the long vacation of the High Court. He was then living under police surveillance.

In the Congress of 1918 and 1919, when C. R. Das took, for the first time, his place on what might be called the front opposition bench, we two fought side by side the narrow outlook and the timid counsels of the Moderates. In 1919, at Amritsar, we worked together to defeat, with the help of our Madras friends and Maharashtra allies led by Mr. Tilak, Mahatma Gandhi when he urged the Congress to offer "loyal co-operation" to the Government in working the new Reforms in response to the Royal appeal. When at the special Congress of 1920, Mr. Gandhi proposed his non-co-operation resolution, Bengal put a brave fight

against it, and C. R. Das seconded the motion proposed by me to amend the Mahatma's resolution. We were defeated by a combination of forces which need not be discussed here. Three months later, on the eve of the fateful Nagpur Congress of December, 1920, C. R. Das wanted to seize the Congress back from Mr. Gandhi's grip, and I was invited to meet Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and himself at Benares to work up a Nationalist manifesto around which, we believed, we could rally the old Nationalist forces and thus recapture the Congress. Lala Lajpat Rai came from Lahore and joined this conspiracy. But the Maharatta and Madras leaders, while as eager as C. R. Das and his co-conspirators to overthrow Mahatma Gandhi, could not muster sufficient courage to openly challenge his leadership. They saw the utter hopelessness of the cause for which C. R. Das pleaded. C. R. Das himself saw it upon his arrival at Nagpur, and he surrendered himself to the Mahatma and his clever Moslem allies.

This was the beginning of the breach between C. R. Das and myself in our public life. C. R. Das felt it keenly, and meeting me at Mr. B. Chakravarti's quarters at Nagpur, after the close of the Congress, he tried to console me and himself also with the remark that the non-co-operation resolution, as worded at Nagpur, offered very large opportunities to us "to interpret it in our own way," and thus carry on our own fight against Mr. Gandhi from within the Congress. But the circumstances that followed in rapid succession the Nagpur session of the Congress, proved too strong even for C. R. Das and he succumbed, so far as the public know, almost helplessly to the magic potency of the Gandhi cult and cry.

But C. R. Das only stooped to the Mahatma with a view to defeat and humiliate him, as subsequent events completely proved. Having secured the position of the Mahatma's first lieutenant, C. R. Das raised his standard of revolt at Gaya in December 1922, and founded the Swarajya Party as an antidote to the non-co-operation utility of the Mahatma. From this time onward, up to the very end of his life, C. R. Das dominated Indian Nationalist politics, and practically killed the leadership of Mr. Gandhi who openly confessed that he had been "defeated and humbled" by his own lieutenants.

This very brief outline of the public career and inner psychology of C. R. Das explains the

enigma of his complex character. He was a born rebel or, to put it mildly, a born Non-Conformist, but without that curiosity known in English life and history, as a "Non-Conformist Conscience." With lofty idealism he combined a keen sense of the limitations of actualities and therefore while never lowering his ideal, C. R. Das was always ready to work out reasonable and honourable compromises with opposing forces.

It is difficult to say that Mr. Prithwis Chandra Ray's book will help towards this correct and clear understanding of Mr. C. R. Das. The author had never been in intimate

touch with the currents that shaped the life and character of his hero of his "times." He was never an active member of the Brahmo Samaj. He was never in the mid-currents of Bengal Nationalism of the early years of this century. He never belonged to the non-co-operation cult, nor to the Swarajya Party except during the very close of C. R. Das's life. He had been all his life more or less an outside observer of contemporary thoughts and movements. It is no wonder, therefore, that he has not been able to bring out either the life or the times of C. R. Das in their true colours and correct proportions.

HOW AIR TRAFFIC IS REGULATED.

By MR. SARASRAM GUPTA.

Mankind quickly adapts itself to new and changing conditions of life, and though fifteen years ago the crossing of the Channel by air was a hazardous feat we scarcely lift an eye today as the International Air Expresses pass overhead on their way to and from the Continent!

Many questions have yet to be decided, but a general working system has been arrived at which will help to pave the way for still further progress in the future.

If you watch one of our British commercial aircraft leaving Croydon for Paris, Cologne or Amsterdam you will see that it bears certain painted letters in a conspicuous position. The first of these "G" is the British nationality mark; and the four which follow it are the Registration sign. Taken together the five letters make the "call sign" by which the aeroplane makes its signals and is known. Every month the International Commission must see the copies of the registration grants or cancellations of the machines belonging to the signatory Powers for control purposes. But in addition to this each machine plying for hire must carry with it its certificate for airworthiness, issued by the country to which it belongs; while the members of the crew must

also possess their certificates of competency and their licenses. If passengers are carried their names and addresses must be filled in for the log book; when goods are taken proper bills of lading have to be made out, and a journey log has to be kept by the pilot on each trip. The regulations as to wireless are now more stringent than in the past, and one of the conditions of Airworthiness is that approved instruments for navigation must be carried. The British tests for Airworthiness are very severe, which perhaps accounts—together with the very careful system of overhauling and ground inspection which exists on our aerodromes—for the remarkably few cases of accident which have occurred during the past three years on the British subsidised lines.

The rule of the air as agreed upon by the International Commission requires an aeroplane always to give way to balloons free or fixed, and to airships. When two motor driven aircraft are meeting in the air "end on" or nearly so, each one alters its course to the right, while an aeroplane overtaking a slower one must keep out of the way of the overtaken by altering its own course to the right, and must never attempt to pass by diving. In fog or thick weather, or during a severe snow storm the

danger of collision may arise, but night flying, given normal weather, presents no special difficulties to a skilled pilot, provided that the landing arrangements at the aerodromes are satisfactory and the lighting of the route is good. Certain rules must be observed by aircraft landing at night on controlled aerodromes: a green Very light must be shown, and the letter group forming its call sign made by International Morse code. Permission to land is given by repetition of the same sign from the ground, and the flashing of the green Very light, a red light indicating that the aircraft may not descend.

AVOIDING COLLISION.

From sunset to sunrise International aircraft must carry lights—red, white and green according to position, and seaplanes and flying boats at anchor or moored on water are required to comply with definite regulations in order to avoid collision with surface craft. Aircraft whether on land or sea are forbidden to 'take off' till there is no chance of collision with alighting machines, and there are very strict regulations governing air traffic in the vicinity of or on aerodromes. When two machines are approaching an aerodrome for the purpose of landing the machine at the greater height is responsible for avoiding the aeroplane at the lower level.

One very important section of the International Air Commission deals with the question of Customs between the various countries passed over, and the careful manner in which the Customs Regulations have been worked out reflects great credit on its members. Nothing would be more likely to cause friction between States than for the Air traffic over their territories to be a cloak for smuggling and

evasion of duties. The collecting and sending out of correct Meteorological information, and the preparation of accurate maps and ground markings also forms an extremely important part of the work of the Commission, and since its meetings are frequent all the States signatory to the Convention are kept well-informed of international progress which is helpful to the individual members.

No one would suggest that the last word has been said regarding the regulation of International air traffic. Fresh problems will arise, particularly when the increasing popularity of the low powered aeroplane will create the 'owner pilot' in vaster numbers. It is more than probable that later on some system will have to be organised whereby the air traffic can be divided according to its nature into different levels of the air. The slow machines then would naturally keep to the lower and the racing craft to the upper levels of the air, and possibly all air above—say 10,000 feet—would be internationalised, while below that but higher than the commercial and passenger hire machines the naval, military, mail and police machines would take their course.

The International Convention guaranteed the 'Sovereignty of the Air' to all the signatory Powers—but granting this there can obviously be no "three mile limit" such as exists by common agreement along the coasts of each sea Power, and if all countries were to reserve for themselves their "upper air," neutrality in case of war would be practically impossible. There will have to be therefore, much give and take in all international agreements of the future concerning aerial traffic, and it augurs well for the success of these that already such remarkable and amicable progress has been made by the first governing body to deal with questions of this new and unprecedented kind.

SIR JAGADIS BOSE IN VIENNA

By MR. G. E. R. GEDYE.

Late Central European Correspondent of the London "Times."

Thanks to the great kindness of the executioner, I have this evening been able to witness two remarkable cases of electrocution in which death was all but instantaneous, one case of deliberate poisoning with cyanide of potassium in which death occurred within ten minutes, one case of poisoning and subsequent neutralisation of the poison by an antidote just in time to save the victim's life, and one case of revival of the dead.

The executioner and rescuer was Sir Jagadis Chunder Bose, the great Indian botanist, and his victims a couple of tomato plants and a cosmos plant. The dead creature revived was a frog whose heart had stopped beating some hours previously; I saw the application of a few drops of a new vegetable drug discovered by Sir Jagadis caused the dead heart to begin to pulsate with the regularity of clockwork and to work a lever which recorded a graph of the heart's pulsations; when I left half-an-hour later, the heart was still beating as regularly as ever in the animal's life-time.

It was with some difficulty that I prevailed upon Sir Jagadis to let me—the only layman present—attend this private demonstration of his latest discoveries which he had been asked by half-a-dozen of the leading medical and scientific men of Vienna to give before he left the city. Lady Bose and her daughter, wearing the beautiful dress of their native India, received us in one of the rooms in the Vienna Sanatorium where they and Sir Jagadis are staying. To a layman, there was nothing remarkable about the couple of scientific instruments on the table, but the Viennese professors, all men of international reputation, were filled with amazement at their precision and workmanship from the start. One of them, a specialist in the designing of such instruments in Vienna, told the great botanist that not for any sum of money could he get these instruments reproduced here. "No," smiled Sir Jagadis "that is quite true, yet in my workshops in Calcutta, I can get three machines made a

mouth—as fast as I can invent them. But for that work we need the fine fingers and very steady hand of India."

"What would you like most to see?" Sir Jagadis asked me. It was no use making a selection among the string of miracles which he offered to perform, so I left the choice to him, asking instead if he could put into one sentence the gist of his new discoveries.

"Certainly" he replied. "What I have discovered is this that the old dividing line drawn between the animal and the vegetable kingdom is largely meaningless, that the plant is but a stationary animal, and the animal but a moving plant. We have imagined" he went on, "that because we cannot see a plant flinch when it is injured, that therefore it does not and cannot flinch. But if my arm was rigid, with no elbow joint, and with the muscles attached to the bones as the fibres of the plant are to the stem, my arm could not flinch visibly either, though I should feel pain just the same. Now I am going to show that a plant can feel, and by magnification I am going to let you see it flinch, and that through an electric shock too weak for you yourself to notice."

Sir Jagadis took a small spring of the cosmos plant and placed it in one of his instruments of extraordinary sensibility and accuracy. The neck of the plant was held in a vice, while at one point a feather-light rod of extraordinary sensibility was placed against the stem. An arrangement of minute mirrors, sensitive springs and a tiny but powerful microscopic projector enabled the slightest movement of the sensitive plant to be shown in the movement of a shadow thrown on the wall. Nor Sir Jagadis passed a feeble current of electricity through the plant and simultaneously through one of the Vienna scientists, a world-famous ear-specialist, who was in the same circuit. The human being felt nothing, but we all saw the shadow flicker and dance as the plant twitched at the shock. With other instruments of precision Sir Jagadis has tested the increasing pain

felt by a plant when its "skin" is scratched, pierced with a pin, or slit with a knife. "To learn these things" he told me "you must become more or less a plant or a tree yourself" and indeed, he quite unconsciously employs of plants such terms as "wounding," "pain," "stomach and heart."

"The plant" explained Sir Jagadis "is able to register menosis of external happenings which are below the range of human perception. Moreover, every portion of a tree is in living connection with the rest, so that a peristaltic wave of contraction sweeps onwards from the point of stimulation."

"Now" he said "I am going to electrocute this plant. If I succeed in doing so, that plant will be dead—as dead, and as insensative to further electrical shocks as an electrocuted animal or human being. Let us see." He passed five or six powerful shocks into the unhappy plant. The "shadow of its nerves" upon the wall jumped and writhed in the death agony, which lasted, perhaps, for three seconds—then lay still. The current was applied again. The victim was not quite dead—it gave one shuddering twitch, but that was all. Repeated applications of current now failed to produce the slightest response in the electrocuted body. Now this was a miracle—not merely in the eyes of the layman, but in those of the foremost scientists of this great scientific city, and they said so, pressing round the Indian botanist to shake his hand in their unbounded enthusiasm.

The plant-man now took on the more humane role of rescuer of the dying. "I have established quite definitely" he told us "that the plant has a heart." If that is so, the sap must be pumped up into the "veins" by peristaltic action, not drawn up slowly by capillary attraction. Furthermore, a fainting plant should respond to a cardiac stimulant. Now, if you were dealing with a patient—he turned to a great heart-specialist—"whose heart-beats were failing, would you expect the cardiac stimulant camphor to increase the rate of pulsation?"

"I certainly should."

"Very well, then. Here is my patient—a fading, fainting tomato plant." He fixed it in the recording apparatus. Feebly the recording shadow pulsed—life was at a low ebb. Sir Jagadis' Indian assistant let, perhaps, a dozen drops of a weak solution of camphor fall upon

the base of the stem. In a few seconds came the response. In distinct, pulsating beats, as regular as clock work, the recording shadow began to move to the left, as the "veins" expanded under the pumping action propelling the sap. The heart had been got going again. In five minutes it needed no recording appliance to show what had taken place. The drooping plant had raised its head, its leaves were lifted from the almost vertical to the horizontal and above it as we watched. But hardly was the work of mercy complete, when the great scientist destroyed—for our benefit—the life which he had saved. A few drops of cyanide of potassium applied to the minute sponge on which the stem rested, and the action of the heart had stopped. The leaves drooped as we watched them against a white background—the tomato plant was as dead as the electrocuted cosmos plant.

The "recording apparatus"—one of the many inventions of Sir Jagadis—is called the "Optical Peristaltograph." With its aid we now saw the pumping action as the application of a cardiac stimulant made the cellular pumps, or "hearts," act with great vigour on another plant, just as it increases the blood-pressure in man. Again the deadly cyanide of potassium was applied, but this time in a weaker solution. The poison acted, the heart-beats stopped, and on the wall we saw the contraction of the nerves as the plant began to die.

Sir Jagadis watched his "patient" as a physician employing a deadly drug in an emergency watches his. "Stop, stop" he cried to the assistant. "Quick now—the antidote." Twenty drops of the life-saving fluid, and the nerves ceased to contract. For a minute there was stillness. Then, slowly, stiffly at first, as the life comes back to a half-drowned man under artificial respiration, then regularly, perfectly rythmically, the heart-beats recommenced. The patient was saved!

The work of the great scientist is not merely of an empirical nature. By working on the plant, new theories of medicine have been evolved, new medicinal plants discovered, the extracts from which have extraordinary potency in reviving a failing heart. One of these Sir Jagadis has christened "Amra." He showed us a frog, apparently dead, its heart had ceased to beat for more than two hours. The body of the frog was opened, and its heart attached to part of a new elaborate apparatus, one of Sir

Jagadis' latest inventions called the Resonant Cardiograph. A few drops of Amra were allowed to fall upon the heart and greatest miracle of the evening was in progress. The heart of the dead animal returned to life, rose and fell rhythmically before our eyes, raising and lowering quarter of an inch at each beat a lever which, on a smoked slide, recorded a precise graph of the heart's action. Another miraculous heart stimulant which he has discovered through his twenty years of making himself one with the plant world is the cobra venom. He refuses to employ the term "discovered," for, as he told us, the life-giving properties of this most deadly of poisons were known to the inhabitants of India two thousand years ago, when they used to make a slit in the forehead and apply a minimal solution of the poison. Though in its natural form it kills a man in ten minutes, the crystallised cobra venom which he showed us, in a solution of one in one hundred thousand is a powerful and extremely valuable heart stimulant.

It is no wonder that Sir J. C. Bose's visit to Vienna should have aroused such exceptional interest in scientific circles. He has had the unusual experience for a scientific innovator of seeing revolutionary theories triumph over unfounded speculations and secure general acceptance in his own lifetime. At his lectures and

demonstrations before the University of Vienna, to which many scientists and students were unable to gain admission, His Magnificence the Rector declared that his discoveries had opened new gates of knowledge, and the Academy of Science has conferred on him the distinction of honorary membership. The King of the Belgians, Mr. Stanley Baldwin and other prominent persons have already honoured him with autograph letters expressing their great appreciation of his work, not the least admirable feature of which is the way in which he has thrown open his institute at Calcutta. Naturally, at lectures before a larger audience, it is impossible to make the delicate demonstrations which I have just witnessed; the evidence of slides is about all that can be offered. The actual experiments must be reserved for a few of the greatest scientists of the world to see at close quarters in the privacy of an ordinary sitting room.

I have to thank Sir Jagadis for allowing me to be the first layman to whom this privilege has been extended. That fact must be my excuse for emerging from his wonder-chamber of scientific miracles into the everyday world without putting to him the one question which I had definitely made up my mind to ask—have plants, possessors of hearts, stomachs, veins and nerves, also achieved the ownership of souls?

MISS MAYO "HAS NOT PLAYED THE GAME."

By MR. K. L. RALLIA RAM.

Miss Katherine Mayo's book entitled 'Mother India' has already received condemnation at the hands of all leading Indians representing all shades of thought and opinion as well as a large number of Britishers and Americans who can claim a knowledge of the conditions prevalent in India. But in view of the publicity which is being given to the book and the importance which might be attached to some of her pronouncements one can hardly allow some of her statements to go unchallenged after one has read them. At the same time one

cannot help recording one's protest against her hasty conclusions, her wide generalisations, her cruel and unkind insinuations, and lastly her calumny and slander on the womanhood of India. It is a book the reading of which makes one's blood boil with indignation, and exercises a most depressing effect on the mind. In fact one is surprised at her audacity in writing a book of this type on such an incomplete, partial and one-sided information which she seems to have secured for herself during her stay in India. One thing, above all, is signi-

hient about the whole affair. She decidedly betrays a pre-disposition and pre-conception of mind and mentality in her work from the beginning to the end. She did not come with an open mind as she should have done inspite of what she might say to the contrary. This is too obvious from many observations she makes to need any comment. In other words she has not played the game. Moreover, she has muddled up statements and quotations and has allowed her enthusiasm to get the better of her sense of proportion and equilibrium. To give her credit, one has to admit that some of her opinions savour of sense and soundness but she spoils the effect by her sarcasm and highly coloured whole description couched in exaggerated and piquant expressions.

A FEW EXAMPLES.

Let me illustrate my point by giving a few examples from her book—

On page 132 of the book (English Edition) while writing about the Victoria School, Lahore, she gives the following quotation:

"The tuition fees? Merely nominal; we Indians will not pay for the education of our daughters. In days but just gone by, the richest refused to pay even for lesson books. Books, teaching, and all, had at first to be given free or we should have got no pupils. This school is maintained by Government grant and by private subscriptions from England."

When I read the above, I was greatly surprised. In the first place I know the revered lady who has been at the helm of the school for more than three decades, and she would be the last to make such a statement which looked preposterous on the very face of it. So I at once wrote to Miss Bose drawing her attention to it with a view to verify it. She gave me a very prompt reply which I reproduce here with her permission omitting the unnecessary part.

"STATEMENT QUITE WRONG."

"I have not seen Miss Katherine Mayo's book—a friend sent my sister some extracts from the book—statements supposed to have been made by me. Several of them are inaccurate. The statements quoted by you (from the book) is quite wrong. The Victoria School is a Government school, people are not asked to give

subscriptions but many Indians contribute to the Prize Fund. The parents pay fees (very low fees are charged), but fees are paid willingly."

Later I met Miss Bose who told me that Miss Mayo had greatly confounded and confused statements and that she did not keep or take any notes to her knowledge. She asked her several questions no doubt, which she naturally attributed to the curiosity and eagerness characteristic of tourists and travellers. Neither did she tell her of her intention of writing a book on India. In fact from the way Miss Mayo questioned her, she did doubt at times, and once she remembers having asked her "I hope you do not mean to write a book on India?" To this no answer was given.

Similarly she has made mess of several statements and opinions elicited by her during the course of conversations with people she met. She is equally unfair in the use of references and quotations from other books. She often relies on extracts from Abbe Dubois' "Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies;" "The Remonstrance of Francisco Palsacert;" "Travels of Bernier" and other remote writers of antiquity, some of whom produced their works before the British crown assumed the government of India. The documents referred to have almost been placed on the archives of oblivion, and no sensible man has read them with any seriousness or attached any importance to their observations.

For example, on page 304, she inserts an extract from Abbe Dubois' book describing a most shocking and most horrible practice amongst the Hindus which is entirely baseless and false, and then adds her own comment which runs as follows: "And Orthodox India, in these fundamentals, has changed not a whit since the Abbe's time."

RELiance ON TEA-TABLE TALKS.

In the first place Abbe's statement is open to grave challenge, and secondly she assumes that India in some respects is the same as two centuries back. She seems to have also relied on the yarns and other anecdotes which she must have heard at dinner parties and teas at the house of her British and American friends for her material for her book. For instance on page 282 she quotes the talk with her informant, who "is an American of long Indian experience

who was visiting one of the more important of the princes—a man of great charm, cultivation and force whose work for the State was of the first order." The American friend of long experience told her that he had heard the following from the Diwan of the State in 1920, at the time when Reforms were inaugurated in India.

"His Highness does not believe," said the Diwan, "that Britain is going to leave. But still, under this new regime in England, they may be so ill-advised. So, his Highness is getting his troops in shape, accumulating munitions and coining silver. And if the English do go, three months afterward not a rupee or a virgin will be left in all Bengal."

Now, I do not for a moment question the veracity of her informant of "long Indian experience." He surely must have heard it from his friend, the Diwan Sahib, but to put that kind of fib which the Great Diwan must have said in light humour and make it a basis for one's findings is to impair the usefulness of a book. The incidents referred to by me in this short article might not involve any big issues, but they indicate the manner in which she has gathered information and material for her book. She affords glaring instances in more than one place of the way in which she weaves things for her conclusions which require close examination, scrutiny and proper verification before they can be accepted as wholly true.

HORRID HEADINGS.

She has been also very unfortunate in the choice of her headings and titles, and some of them sound quite horrid. They largely represent her motives and the frame of mind under which she wrote her book. After giving her reasons for undertaking the task which she does under the heading "Argument," she starts her first chapter practically with 'Slave Mentality' which testifies to her preconceived notions and prejudiced mind. Further she writes on the womanhood of India under the heading 'Woman Spinster,' and dwells on the education of girls. She also describes the Queen Mary's College, which she rightly calls a little charming place, but on page 131 while speaking of the enrolment in the school she gives the following quotation implying that she got it from someone connected with the school. It runs as follows. "The question of

enrolment rests as yet with an English Commissioner, and the Commissioner lets the young climbers in. With the result that the princes, displeased, are sending fewer of their children than of yore. "Shall our daughters be subjected to the presence of daughters of babus—of upstart Bengali politicians?" they exclaim, leaving no doubt as to the reply."

It is for the authorities of the Queen Mary's College to say whether they have daughters of babus or upstart Bengali politicians in their college or the daughters of gentlemen of high social standing. How many princesses have they had? Their reply would be very illuminating.

INCOHERENT PRONOUNCEMENTS.

Similarly she makes most irresponsible and incoherent pronouncements under various damaging and sarcastic headings which she gives to her subjects.

It would indeed require a whole volume to rebut and refute her tirades on India, and it is a matter of great satisfaction to know that persons like Mr. C. F. Andrews, Lala Lajpat Rai and Miss Van Doran have taken upon themselves the task of vindicating India's reputation.

With all the stuff she has put in one cannot but admire her zeal and enterprising spirit. Some of her observations are quite suggestive and sound, and she would have rendered a service to India if she had really tried to see every side of the picture and had gathered her facts and material from all sources available in India.

However, 'Out of evil cometh good', is an axiom which has stood the test of ages in its favour, and has been found to be truer than most people are inclined to believe.

It behoves all leaders of thought to reconstruct their motherland on a very progressive and sounder basis. There is no country which requires greater co-operation, better understanding, more dispassionate judgment and lasting goodwill and reconciliation amongst her people of different castes and creeds than India.

It is true that at present our horizon of mentality is surcharged with thick clouds of suspicion, rancour, enmity, selfishness and narrow communal outlook, but "the Darker the firmament the brighter are the stars."

SIR SIVASWAMY AIYER ON CONSTITUTIONAL PROBLEMS.*

By MR. FEROZE CHAND (*of The People*).

We have recently had several draft constitutions for India—detailed or in outline. South India particularly seems to be prolific in producing such drafts. Mr. Rangaswamy Iyengar, Mr. C. Vijayaraghavachariar, Mr. S. Srinivas Iyengar, Mrs. Besant have all been busy with constitution-making. But we have not had so far any book discussing at length the different aspects of the various problems involved in constitution-making. Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer's book, therefore, meets a genuine need. And it does so in an admirable way, for it is an erudite and yet lucid treatise. Sir Sivaswamy has vast theoretical knowledge of constitutional instruments and constitutional history—particularly within the British Empire. With this erudition, he combines a veteran and experienced lawyer's intellect. He can, besides, claim practical experience of the existing constitutional machinery in India, for he is a retired member of the Madras Executive Council. With all these qualifications he was bound to produce a brilliant book, and that he has done in his *Indian Constitutional Problems*. Provincial Autonomy, Reform of the Central Legislature and Executive, Defence, Supreme Court, Indian States—these are the principal themes in Sir Sivaswamy's volume, and they are all handled with admirable insight into the realities of the situation.

The constitution Sir Sivaswamy proposes is after the Dominion Government models. Like most other people busy with constitution making, he wants Parliamentary or Responsible Government. In his plan you have a bicameral Central Legislature with reserved and transferred halves. This dyarchy is to be a temporary measure—a transitional stage. In the provinces you will have unicameral legislatures with completely responsible executives. So the provincial reserved subjects are to be transferred

to a responsible ministry. This ex-Executive Councillor sees no menace of 'law and order' falling into dangerous hands. He thinks safeguards giving certain powers of interference to the Central Legislature—and these exist, even now—will suffice. He also enunciates clearly what he desires to convey. There is a lot of loose thinking about 'Provincial Autonomy' and 'Federal Government' in our political discussions these days. I am afraid even the Nehru Report is not altogether free from it—its references to Federation in the chapter on Indian States show vagueness and loose thought. I regard it as a very great merit in Sir Sivaswamy's book that it has altogether avoided a lax use of these terms. Sir Sivaswamy tells us in very definite words what he means by Provincial Autonomy and he sticks to his definition throughout. It is sincerely to be hoped that other writers will emulate Sir Sivaswamy's excellent example in this matter, when writing on Indian constitutional subjects. Sir Sivaswamy is in favour of a good deal of decentralization, but he is opposed to Federation. The cause of anti-federationists is no longer a forlorn cause. Mr. C. Vijayaraghavachariar is no longer the solitary opponent of federation. With the proper evaluation of the centrifugal forces at work the idea has grown strong that India wants a unitary government and not a federal one. The Nehru Constitution adopted at Lucknow has affixed the seal of approval to the unitary idea. With these views about the relations of the provinces to the Central Government, it is little wonder Sir Sivaswamy has preferred the Canadian model to the Australian one.

Other chapters of great value in the book under comment are those pertaining to (1) Defence, and (2) the Indian States. Sir Sivaswamy has for many years been known to be a close student of our military policy. His chapter on defence in the present book is an admirable critique of the present Army policy in India. Of greater value still are the three chapters on Indian States which tear to shreds

**Indian Constitutional Problems*. By Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer, K.C.S.I., C.I.E. (D. B. Taraporevala sons & Co., 190, Hornby Road, Bombay) 1938.

the egregious claims recently advanced in interested circles that the Indian States had entered into treaties with the British Crown and that they would not therefore treat with "habus" when India becomes self-governing. Of greater value still is Sir Sivaswamy's discussion of the vague ideas of 'federating' the Indian States with British India. It is a pity it is not possible either to quote *in extenso* or to summarise this section of Sir Sivaswamy's book in the space that can be found for this review. But the 23 points about such federation enumerated on pp. 227-29 of the book, are the most masterly treatment of the subject so far put in print, and deserve very careful consideration.

Amongst the (comparatively) minor problems dealt with in the chapters on Indian States, is the one raised by the claims urged by some of them for a share of the Customs duty on the ground that import duties are taxes on consumption and that British India is not entitled to tax the States consumers. This claim is examined by Sir Sivaswamy with great ability in the light of international law—theory and practice—which merits serious attention. Sir Sivaswamy's own idea about the States is that if they so want they can send a few representatives to the Central Legislature who will represent their point of view regarding problems affecting them, but who will not normally participate in the work of the house. For the rest the States are to be one of the subjects for the Governor-General in Council. If necessary, for a few years to come, Sir Sivaswamy would agree to this portfolio being entrusted to the Governor-General instead of the Governor-General-in-Council.

However, when one closes the book one cannot resist the feeling that it is much too conservative for even a liberal politician. Sir Sivaswamy constantly has in mind what is called the Next Step in Constitutional Advance. In other words, he does to some extent believe in getting self-government on the hire-purchase system—as his poorer brethren get their Singer sewing machines. Perhaps in his plan there would be only two or three big instalments instead of several small ones. Whatever the official programme of the Liberal Party may have been at the time Sir Sivaswamy delivered his lectures to Madras students—out of which the present work has come into existence—to-day Sir Tej Bahadur and other advanced

Liberals stand for full and immediate self-government with Dominion Status.

To say nothing of advanced Nationalists who can only pity Sir Sivaswamy when he finds all talk of independence as a "gesture of annoyance," others also can but smile when he says that India "cannot otherwise enjoy the security and freedom for development which she would have under the British flag;" or that "the sentiment of gratitude is one of the most deep-rooted in the Indian mind and England may safely place her trust in the motives of gratitude and enlightened self-interest for the loyal maintenance, by India, of her partnership in the Empire." These are not exactly the sentiments that are entertained by the vast bulk of Nationalists.

It will be futile to turn to Sir Sivaswamy for the latest ideas in constitution-making. When he is aware of them he invariably looks askance at them. From proportional representation to functional representation all are taboo. A truly conservative outlook! Nor must the reader forget that the author of the book is a landlord. His opposition to adult franchise must not therefore be given much weight. Sir Sivaswamy's class interests very largely account for his entirely irrelevant comments on Mr. Gandhi, non-co-operation and passive resistance. He betrays the real motive of his uncalled-for denunciation when he expresses the fear that "Mr. Gandhi's teachings bode no good to the maintenance of the moral authority of the existing system of government or, to the interests of social order." But when treating the problem of land revenue Sir Sivaswamy shows rather disingenuous class advocacy. Thus opposing the demand for permanent settlement he writes:—"The demand for permanent settlement which has often been made from the public platform may be advocated in the legislature in response to the clamour of the electorate. It is hardly necessary to point out that any move in this direction is not merely opposed to the whole trend of modern economic thought, which has been in the direction of the nationalization of land, but is bound to be disastrous to provincial finance."

The words italicised by us are one of the rare passages in the book in which the author seems to approve of the trend of modern thought. And even here he has done so unwittingly, for he would cut off his right hand rather than solve the land problem by nationalization. He

supposed 'modern thought' came handy as an argument against those who advocate 'permanent settlement,' but forgot to take stock of the implications of what he was saying. Let us hope this blasphemous sentence will be deleted in the next edition. Whatever, however, the limitations of the book under review,

or the occasional lapses of its author, and notwithstanding his highly conservative outlook, Sir Sivaswamy's *Indian Constitutional Problems* is, on the whole, the soundest and the best exposition of the problems that our constitution-makers will have to face and it is entitled to very careful consideration.

TWO POEMS.

ORANIE !

'Neath the scented lilac tree
Where voices roll in from the sea,
I am waiting, come to me,
Oranie ! ORANIE !

Tell me mine are false alarms
Run into my waiting arms,
Thrill and 'maze me with your charms
Oranie ! ORANIE !

When the sunset fires burn gold
And anew love's tale is told,
Say you love me, as of old,
Oranie ! ORANIE !

Turn those glowing eyes upon me,
Let these eager lips caress thee,
Kiss me, kiss me, stay with me !
Oranie ! ORANIE !

THE JOYOUS PILGRIM.

From some distant sun-kissed dell
Love waves to me, and calls,
O ! Love has such a wondrous voice
Its sound my heart enthalls !
The music of a thousand birds
Scatters in her laughter,
And echoes, like sweet silvery bells,
Come faintly ringing after,
The beauty of a wealth of dreams
Dances in her eyes,
Love-thoughts clothed in joy that point
The road to Paradise.
Laugh on Dear Love, I come to kneel
A pilgrim at thy shrine,
I bring thee naught of gold, but here's
A heart and it is thine !

Leland J. Berry.

BOOKS OF THE QUARTER.

CRITICAL ESSAY-REVIEWS.

JUSTICE AND ADMINISTRATIVE
LAW IN BRITAIN.*By MR. SVED MEHDI IMAN, *Bar-at-Law*.

Mr. W. A. Robson—the gifted author of *Justice and Administrative Law*, is a lawyer, who is also a Lecturer on Economics in the University of London. His book differs from others upon similar subjects only in this respect that it constructs a theory in the opening chapter which it systematically annihilates by his subsequent conclusions. His book has this in common with other books in that it propounds an old theory with pretensions of claims to novelty. Nevertheless the question with which the author is concerned is one that is agitating the public mind in England at this moment; and that question is the relationship that exists between the judiciary and the administration in England. It is well-known that the separation of the functions of the executive and the judiciary in England has been due to a great constitutional struggle dating from the era of the Magna Charta until the closing of the last century. The history of England is largely filled with the development of the separation of the two branches of the administration. It is, therefore, with some degree of surprise to us that the author tells us that at the present day the separation between the two functions is merely illusory.

The main thesis appears to be this. The separation between the judicial and the administrative functions in England is a mere matter of convenience and in fact the judiciary with the advance of modern conditions is increasingly assuming the functions of the executive as the executive is assuming the functions of the judiciary. That is the first proposition laid down by the author. The second proposition is that the new conditions into which England has been brought has resulted in the growth of a large body of administrative

law, that is, a law connected with the executive functions of the executive officer. The third proposition is that in England the judicial temper has been so interwoven with the exercise of administrative law that there is no danger in the executive committing acts of oppression against the interests of the people. This chapter is practically an admission by the author of the undoubted existence of the separation between the two functions. The third chapter consists in the enumeration of various tribunals in England, called by the author administrative tribunals, whose functions are semi-judicial; that is to say connected with both the administration and the judiciary. As instance of administrative tribunals may be given the Railway Courts in England, the judicial functions of the Minister of Health, Education, Trade and Transport. Apparently the object of this chapter is to show that the separation is merely illusory inasmuch as the Parliament has the power of conferring both the judicial and administrative functions upon the same officer. The fourth chapter is concerned with domestic tribunals which is defined as voluntary association to exercise the conventional jurisdiction analogous to those of inferior courts of justice. And it is said that the fundamental characteristic of such a voluntary society is that its powers are not interfered with by the courts of law except in exceptional cases. As an example of a domestic tribunal may be given the body of people composing the Inns of Court or an Association of Doctors.

The fifth chapter is possibly the most interesting in the entire book and lays down some fundamental principles which are the basis of the structure of the legal profession, viz., the judicial mind, that is to say the attitude which the representative of the majesty of the Law must bear in the meeting out of justice not only between the subjects among themselves but between the subject and the State. What are the essential qualities of judicial temper? The author lays down with clearness of conception and lucidity of language the four essential elements constituting the judicial temper viz., consistency, equality, certainty, impartiality guided by the rule of reason. The

**Justice and Administrative Law*. By W. A. Robson. (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., St. Martin's Street, London),

author points out that the judge must be consistent. This consistency is not a mere pedantic consistency in avoiding contradictions. But it is a consistency implying a certain principle of guidance, of certain uniformity of antecedents and consequents, the certain attendance to the laws of cause and effect. These laws of consistency are the ground upon which the courts of law accept as binding precedents decisions of their own courts. An omission to abide by a standard of authority may be dangerous, because a departure from such precedents implies the breaking away from certain principles. On the other hand to give such binding force to decision that no court may set them aside would be a similar piece of pedantry that no reason could support. The second principle is that in the eye of law every subject, rich or poor, high or low, is an essential component of the social fabric and inherits by his birth in a certain community the rights and privileges which attach to every member within it. Justice is the sovereign that holds the scale of balance and every party before it must come prepared to assert their claim upon those noble and generous principles which the conscience of humanity has accepted as forming the rules regulating human society. In the law there is no privileged autocracy, no false sense of dignity or pride. Neither birth nor attainments should have any place before a subject establishing his legal title. The third quality is certainty—not the certainty known to metaphysics but the certainty which practical acquaintance with the daily affairs of life illustrates. The certainty must be such as appeals to the sense of the fair minded persons regarding the rights of parties. The certainty does not imply infallibility. It implies only a just and proper estimate of the evidence that is placed before the tribunal. The last test is impartiality. In one sense this may be said to be the most important of all the qualifications of a judge. In this it contains the implication that the judge in deciding the balance of rights without regard to any reasons of policy that the State may commend. Whilst it may be easy to administer justice between a subject and a subject the test of the great judge is when he is able to banish from his mind the prejudices in favour of the administration to which such a judge owes his appointment.

The last chapter deals with the growth of the so-called administrative law, its advantages and

disadvantages and concludes with suggestions for removing such defects in the administrative law. In this chapter it is suggested that there is the new growth of the administration which is daily assuming many of the functions of the judiciary, that in England at any rate these administrative tribunals on the whole have advantages of rapidity of work and that their growth should be encouraged. The last chapter puts forward a suggestion that the dangers underlying the growth of administrative law may be avoided by the executive officer assigning to his subordinate his judicial function and this subordinate officer may be guided by the rules of law and the interest of the administration. That is the way in which the author proposes to eliminate the peril of the administration arrogating the functions of the judiciary.

II.

With due deference to the views of the author, we must emphatically assert that the proposition that in England the distinction between the separation of the functions of the judiciary and the executive is one merely of convenience, is unsupported in fact. As has been pointed out above the growth of the constitution of England is impressed with the character of a determined contest between the forces of officialdom and the protest of an enlightened public. In primitive society a forbearing chieftain is able both by the exertion of physical force and by an appeal to superstition to dominate the individual. In civilised society the individual possesses a personality which with the awakening of social forces is likely to become formidable in expression if it is kept under a decree of unrespected suppression. In England the sense of freedom has always been highest. The independence displayed by the judges in England is the direct result of the separation of the functions. That separation is not illusory. It is laid in the very heart of the English people. It speaks in their speech. It is breathed in their air. It is the spirit which is ranging throughout the length and breadth of the British Empire. To suggest that the separation is a matter of form is to forget the teaching of history.

The second proposition that there is a growth of administrative law owing to the requirement of modern conditions depends entirely upon the perspective. There is no doubt that the realm of law is exceeding the boundaries which circumscribed it during the last century.

There is no doubt that the increase of commercial activities, the growth of international law and the expansion of the entire horizon of human consciousness is leading in a new era and is, therefore, bringing about new conditions which require the application of law in a normal form. Our view of the present position is not that the executive in England is trespassing upon the domain of the judiciary but on the contrary the function of the judiciary has been so enlarged that it is including in its compass the function of the administration. The ministers of health, education and trade do certainly perform many of the functions of the judicial officer but this does not imply so far as England is concerned that the executive officer cannot issue orders at his arbitrary will without appeal. It implies just the reverse. It implies that the English administration has been so infused with the judicial spirit that even the executive officer is compelled to be guided by judicial principles. Furthermore, it is to be noted that it is under the authority of Parliament itself that the executive officer is vested with the rights of the judiciary. The executive officer is amenable not only to criticism in Parliament but is liable to a personal action in the courts of law in the absence of an act of indemnity.

One cannot help thinking that the author in coming to the view that administrative law is not only desirable but is actually assuming the duties of a judiciary has been largely carried away by socialistic politics which have as their object the entire control of both the administrative and the judicial process by the force of the State. No doubt a socialist would view the present tendency of the growth of law as the acquiring by the State of the functions of the judiciary.

There is one more point that we may commend *viz.*, the constructive proposal suggested by the author to avoid the dangers of executive rule. This proposal is apparently that the minister should perform his executive duties in his usual manner; he should assign his judicial functions to a subordinate who should as far as possible assume the judicial rôle. This suggestion would be a happy one except that it is difficult to see how the minister would carry out his policy in relation to the administration without suggesting that policy should be introduced by the said subordinate when the subordinate is carrying out such

duties as the subordinate must do. It is inevitable that if the subordinate is appointed at the instance of the executive official the subordinate will cease to be an impartial officer.

The real solution, it seems to me, is as difficult and no less difficult than the solution of a problem as to how the executive can be prevented from interfering with the administration of justice. There is one way and one way only by which the purity of justice may remain untainted and that way is for the supreme controlling authority—the Parliament or the Sovereign, to separate the duties of the executive from the judicial officer. It is better that the judiciary should extend their authority rather than that the executive officer be permitted to touch the delicate question of the adjustment of rights between individual and individual. Nothing is so precious to Englishmen than liberty. That liberty can be maintained only so long as the Sovereign body itself decides vital issues not with a view to securing political ends but with a view to distributing with even-handed justice to every member of the public irrespective of birth, rank or prosperity. That is the cherished tradition of England resting upon the firm foundations of its own history.

THE SISTERS OF THE SPINNING WHEEL.*

By MR. C. F. ANDREWS.

I have suddenly come upon a book with this delightful title and I wish to share some of its contents with the readers of this *Review*. The book is a collection of Punjabi poems, chiefly taken from the *Granth Sahib*, by Puran Singh, one of the most daring of India's children abroad, who started from his village home at Abbottabad, in the far north-west of the Punjab, to become a monk in Japan and to wear the yellow robe, shaving his hair and beard, while passing from one experience to another.

The home life of the Punjab village and the songs of his childhood could never let him rest. He had to return to them again and again. In this book of translations, which Ernest Rhys and his wife have edited, he has poured out

**Sisters of the Spinning Wheel*, By Puran Singh (Messrs. Dent & Sons, Ltd., London).

his whole heart, and the lovely title of the book *The Sisters of the Spinning Wheel* brought me back in memory to the Punjab of more than 20 years ago, when I first went out among the Punjab villages where spinning was not a lost art and where the sisters of the spinning wheel could still be seen plying their beautiful art. Here is a short stanza from the songs sung at the spinning wheel by the daughters of the Punjab, as Puran Singh, the Hindu monk, has translated it for English readers:

'In a singing procession, the crowd of the sisters of the spinning wheel passed on to the ball of the spinning wheel; the saint followed behind unseen. Each girl sat before her own scarlet wheel, her little heart-cup brimming over with maiden joy and pride of youth. Each girl, a princess, whirrs her spinning wheel and hums to it some simple, tragic song of love.'

In a note Puran Singh adds that the name of the Spinning hall is Trinjan. There, the girls of the city sit together, each with her own wheel, to spin the cotton yarn. Once, this hall used to be the very heart and centre of a home industry, since out of the cloth made by the spinnings of these girls, the parents used to make the marriage dowry for their daughters. He adds the following sad words: "The charms of the domestic life of the old Punjab are soon disappearing. Vulgar life of imitation-civilisation is replacing an old fragrant life. The secret of *mehndi* and *Kousambha* is replaced by alcoholic lavender to our great misfortune."

From his poem-translations, I turn to the story, which he gives, of his own childhood, how he was born at the foot of the great mountains, at Abbotabad, and how his family had been happy, not in outward riches, but in a wealth of feeling that came in abundance from the ancestors of the family, especially on his mother's side. His father used to go out inspecting crops and land records. His mother was all in all to him. I must give in full the beautiful portrait of his mother. It stands out, like that of a Madonna painted by the brush of some great Italian master of the fifteenth century.

'Our mother' he writes, 'did everything for us. She cooked for us, washed our clothes, took us to the hill streams, and gave us a daily plunge in the crystal, biting cold water. She took us to the village Sikh temple every morn-

ing, and made us listen to the hymns of the Guru; and generally in the afternoon we all sat listening to the recital of the lines of the great Teacher by the village priest.

'At night, all alone, we sat together round the fire, as my mother and sisters sat before their spinning wheels, preparing thread for getting some cloth woven by the village weaver for the family.'

In a parenthesis, let me add, that I have seen exactly such a scene, in a different environment, in Assam at the houses of my dear friends, Spts. T. R. Phookan and K. P. Chaliha; and I learn there, that the marriage dowry had to be made in hand-spun and hand-woven cloth, just as Puran Singh has written about the N.-W. Punjab, at the other extreme of India.

'Most of the time,' he goes on, 'my mother was alone. She was by our side, but God alone was by her. She was equally unafraid of thieves and evil spirits; her courage was extraordinary. The whole village respected her. As you know, that part of the country is full of Pathans, and they admired my mother for her heroic spirit.

'My father used to come to us, at long intervals, as a sudden delight of Heaven, which we children expressed by running aimlessly about, shouting: 'Oh, father has come! Father has come!' We went and embraced him; then began clinging round the neck of a gentle, fine grey mare he had, and we gave him in every way a royal welcome home.'

'My mother was known for her generosity and courage. She would serve her relations for months, and on occasions nurse the sick and wounded with her own hands day and night single-handed and untiring. If she thought a certain thing was good and must be done she did it, in spite of the whole world's opposition.'

Let me turn back once more from these reminiscences of childhood to the songs of the sisters of the spinning wheel. The last poem I shall quote imagines the saint watching with wistful eyes the pure unsullied love of the bride for her husband at the wedding festival, and then sadly wondering whether his own love for God is as pure and unsullied as hers.

He closes thus:—

"The saint saw all this village life from day to day, and said:

"Boest not, O saints. For God is Great!"

On all His creatures, He bestows these moments of the loftiest love of man to man.

How sublime the surrender of the bride to the bridegroom in love!

Would I could die, like her, to this house of my childhood, and wake in that house of love:

Would I could bid, like her, that silent deep farewell!

But, my soul! Is this all what men call death?"

The last perfect words of this song remind me of another song from *Gitanjali* equally perfect:

'O thou last fulfilment of life, death, my death, come and whisper to me.

Day after day have I kept watch for thee; for thee I have borne the joys and pangs of life.

One final glance from thine eyes and my life will be ever thine own.

The flowers have been woven and the garland is ready for the bridegroom.

After the wedding the bride shall leave her house and meet her lord alone in the solitude of night.'

THE ETHICS OF THE LEGAL PROFESSION IN INDIA*

Closely connected with the subject of Advocacy as an Art is that of the Ethics of Advocacy or, as it is more commonly called, Legal Ethics. The subject naturally forms a chapter of Mr. Justice Walsh's book—*The Advocate*. The treatment of this rather difficult subject is good, so far as it goes, but it is not wholly satisfactory, due no doubt to the author's rather limited experience of the realities of life in this country and also—if we may say so—to an inadequate appreciation, on his part, of the many knotty and crucial problems which enter into a consideration of Legal Ethics. Before, however, adverting to Mr. Justice Walsh's treatment of the subject we may present to the reader a few general observations which might assist him in appreciating our point of view.

Legal Ethics is that entire body of principles of conduct which should guide the lawyer in the practice of his profession. While this is in a measure a characterization, if not a

definition, it does not explain the origin, the force, nor the content of this body of principles. Its origin is somewhat hazy, it is in fact a slow growth, its sanction, in the main, is merely the public opinion in the profession; its formulation is still in a large measure uncertain, though rapid progress has been made in recent years towards an accepted formulation of its main principles. Only in a few particulars does legal Ethics seem to have the direct sanction of law: it is rather the expression by a few self-appointed philosophical minds of the traditions accepted by the general sentiment of the profession, and tending more and more to precise form. The origin and growth of these efforts have consisted in gathering together from scattered sources isolated rules of conduct, some prescribed or enforced by law, some merely observed by the average exemplary member of the profession, and cementing them together with a few suggestions originating in the application of certain generally recognized moral principles, or principles of propriety, or of expediency to the specific problems presented by a lawyer's activities. Such are the two best-known books on the subject, those of Sharswood in America, and Samuel Warren in England—the one the result of lectures delivered at the Law School of the University of Pennsylvania, the other of lectures delivered in England under the auspices of the incorporated Law Society. Samuel Warren produced in his *Law Studies* (3rd and last edition of 1863), a work which is valuable and useful even after the lapse of more than half a century.

Others have built since upon the work and have coupled with it some collation of the principles which various decided cases, through the adoption and application of these principles by judicial authority, under their statutory power to maintain supervision over the conduct of lawyers, have enunciated as the law applicable to the conduct of lawyers, when that conduct has been the subject of dispute in courts over rights and remedies. In or about the year 1905, the American Bar Association, a voluntary association of American lawyers, containing at that time about four per cent. of the entire American Bar, appointed a committee, many of them of national distinction, to consider the subject of legal ethics and formulate some specific canons upon the subject. This committee continued its labours until 1908 when it

**The Advocate: His Aims and Aspirations*. By Mr. Justice Walsh. (Ram Narain Lal, Katra, Allahabad), 1907.

reported the result to the Association in the form of an introductory preamble, 32 specific canons and a proposed promissory oath.

The American Bar Association's Committee diligently collated prior efforts in the formulation of canons of legal ethics, and traced some of those to sources having the force of law. For instance in many of the German States a promissory oath embodying many of the same principles is exacted: in the Canton of Geneva in Switzerland a similar oath is exacted: canons of ethics are embodied in the charter of the Louisiana Bar Association; a somewhat similar Code was promulgated in 1693 by Christian V. of Denmark: anyone interested in the antiquity of some of these principles will find that they were embodied in the law and practice of Rome long before its downfall as an Empire, if he will examine the title "Advocates" in Bouvier's *Law Dictionary*. This committee, brought to light, and gave wider circulation to, old Doctor Samuel Johnson's lawyer's prayer, embodying in a prayer for guidance, his views of the principles of legal ethics; and the 50 maxims which David Hoffman, a prominent lawyer in the state of Maryland and great preceptor under the old system of reading law in offices, formulated for the guidance of his students and made them promise to read twice a year during their professional career. This committee by probing these many sources and collating and formulating the results has done a great and substantial ethical labour for the American people.

In this respect England has rather lagged behind, but we may confidently expect as the years go by to see the principles of legal ethics, as announced by philosophic writers, having no law-making power, gradually enunciated as the law of the state. So far as India is concerned the subject is still in an embryonic stage and it is to be hoped that Mr. Justice Walsh's book will, to some extent, contribute to the building up of its principles.

One of the principal differences which tends to operate to the disadvantage of the profession in this country is the constitution of the judiciary. "It is one of the merits of the English system" says Mr. Justice Walsh, "that the Bench has been nurtured with the supplies from the Bar," with the inevitable result, that "the English system every day justifies itself" and it "has been so successful". On the contrary, as he very mildly puts it, "the

constitution of the Indian judiciary is necessarily somewhat artificial." Why "necessarily" we confess we do not understand. Anyway, you cannot have here, in the result, that "strong and fearless judiciary" which in the well-chosen words of Mr. Justice Walsh, "is the last, and sometimes the only bulwark against tyranny and wrong in high places and the impulsive and inconsiderate action of the Executive." Is it then at all surprising that under such "artificial"—or "somewhat artificial", if you will so have it—conditions, there is not that same impetus to, and that same zeal in, and that same spontaneity for, the growth and expansion of legal *esprit-de-corps*, which is the basal foundation of Legal Ethics? Mr. Justice Walsh is but too keenly aware of these inherent limitations of our system—"an absence of that controlling influence which comes from public opinion." It is for this wide difference in "the system" which obtains in England and India that Mr. Justice Walsh's treatment of Legal Ethics is not wholly satisfactory. It would require a much more intimate knowledge of the conditions of the Bar in India than the author can claim to possess before one would be enabled to write effectively on the subject of Legal Ethics in India. At the same time, there is a great deal of valuable information to be gleaned on the subject. We cannot go into details here, nor is it worth while doing so, for ethical considerations, as applicable to the practice of the Law, constitute a special department of legal studies and legal literature. Our main object has been to draw the reader's attention to the, on the whole, striking merits of Mr. Justice Walsh's book, along with some of its prominent limitations. In a later article we may profitably take up the reader's time in discussing the subject of legal studies and especially of case-law on which Mr. Justice Walsh has written with a great fulness of knowledge and wide practical experience.

A DEFENCE OF URDU POETRY.*

By PANDIT MANOHARLAL ZUTSHI, M.A.

In the last quarter of the XIXth century Urdu poetry was perhaps at its lowest ebb.

**Hamari Shairi*. By Saad Masood Hameed Rizvi. Adib, M.A., Lecturer in Urdu, Lucknow University, *Anjuman-e-Taraghi Urdu*, Arrangahad (Deccan).

While the output of verse was enormous and the number of poetasters was as numerous as the sands on the seashore, real genuine poetry was hard to find. An overwrought technique had supplanted the direct inspiration of an earlier age, the ornament was allowed to out-strip the sense and sugary stanzas and superficial conceits had taken the place of the ineffable music and the unforgettable phrase. 'Poets' were as common as birds but their verse went lame in every foot. Not only this but even certain of the masters stooped to the unclean and debased their muse to harlotry, though it must be said in their defence that they were the creatures of their age and their poetry was subdued to what it worked in, as the dyer's hand receives its stain. It was at this time that Hali wrote his well-known *Muqaddama*, exposing the short-comings and weaknesses of Urdu poets. No wonder if the generation, the new star of European poetry had swum into whose ken, accepted Hali's teaching without examining its limitations and condemned Urdu poetry wholesale as poor, unworthy and unwholesome.

This mood continued for a considerable period and survives in some quarters even to this day, so much so that a writer who professes to know Urdu poetry and to have read the works of Urdu poets, in a thesis which had won for him the degree of Ph.D. of the University of London, makes the astounding statement that 'until the advent of English influence, all that went under the name of Urdu literature, which is entirely in verse, was all imitative, artificial and uninspiring.... hedged in by hard-and-fast rules, revelling in a narrow circle of thin and hackneyed ideas, and making a virtue of extravagance, meaningless subtleties, far-fetched conceits, and empty declamation.' But thanks to poets like Iqbal, Chakrabast and Hasrat Mohani, and to a new school of literary critics, who while appreciating the splendour of European literatures have refused to be dazzled by them and while recognising the limitations of Urdu poetry decline to be blind to its merits, Urdu poetry is coming into its own, and its great masters are once more receiving the homage which is their due. Syed Masood Hasan Rizvi belongs to this band of critics and I regard his book, *Hamari Shاعری* as a very good specimen of the productions of this school. As he states frankly more than once he is not concerned with the other side of the medal that has been shown amply by

Hali in his *Muqaddama*. He intends his book as complementary to the *Muqaddama*: to show, to the Urdu reading public the bright side of the picture and to make them realise that their own literature contains poetry of very high order which they should read and understand, and which it is sheer folly on their part to ignore and despise.

It is not necessary to agree with every opinion expressed in the book to appreciate its worth; even those who disagree with the author will have to acknowledge the extensiveness of his reading, the soundness of his judgment and the genuineness of his culture. He pleads for a right understanding of what is best in Urdu poetry and for a right appreciation of master artists like Mir, Alash and Ghalib, artists who 'had learnt in suffering what they taught in song,' and whose moods of pensive introspection and of unsatisfied longing haunt us like a passion. If lyric be an expression of deep and sincere feeling in harmonious words then Urdu Ghazal at its best is a fine specimen of the lyrical art. And then there is the *marisia*, a mine which remains almost unexplored by the ordinary Urdu reader, but which thanks to the genius of Anis contains literary gems of inestimable value. It is on behalf of all these that our author pleads to the men of his generation. It is true that ours is an age of blatant advertisement, over-gorged with the products of a material civilization and seeking constantly for new thrills and new shocks. We have sermons in stones and books in running brooks: the very bricks of our walls preach wisdom through their gaping placards. All the more need, why, at least its finer natures, should not remain insensible to the magic of great poetry in their own language, to the spell of the siren chants of Ghalib and to the golden vintage of Hafiz gleaming in the silver vessels of De'd. I hope that Syed Masood Hasan Rizvi's book will help considerably in this direction. Not one of its least recommendations is that it is written in a style which it is a pleasure to read, and which in its choice of words, its turn of phrases, its structure of sentences and its subtle and delightful humour reminds one again and again of that great prose artist, Mohammad Husain Azad. It is a book in which a great theme is worthily treated and I commend it to every lover of the Urdu tongue.

A NOVEL OF INDIAN LIFE *

By Mr. M. E. R. MARTIN.

This book is written by a poet, and the descriptions of an Indian night, the flowering trees and shrubs, the hot weather and the monsoons are poetry in prose. It is given to few Englishmen to know Bengal as Mr. Thompson does; and still fewer perhaps have the desire to know it! Nevertheless he is quite fair in his criticisms of both the English and the Indians. In the opening chapter the conversation which takes place in the train is typical. Truth is not always palatable to the Army man, and his point of view must be reckoned with and allowed for. His "job" is to preserve order amongst an alien population, and who can wonder that he sees "Red" when occasion does not always warrant his doing so? English people find it difficult to understand that Africa and India are in a different category from the Dominions, the latter inhabited for the greater part by people from Britain. The question of separation must be faced to its legitimate conclusion and accomplishment whether by force or by constitutional means. Force spells reprisals and bloodshed in which both guilty and innocent are involved, whereas separation by constitutional methods means co-operation, mutual forbearance, understanding, and social progress. The English in India often find themselves in a false position, for to some Indian minds, nothing the English do is ever right and interested motives are attributed to their every action. This is a fatal obstacle to any real co-operation and mutual trust. Bad government by one's own people is always easier to bear and to condone than bad government by an alien one. Probably Indians do not realise that discontent and vexation are also felt by English people at home when members of public bodies show crass ignorance and obstinacy and refuse to remedy crying evils. If ignorance in self-government is shown in England, no stones ought to be thrown at Indians who have not had the same opportunities of learning how to govern themselves as English people have. On the other hand, English officials in India having the real welfare of the people at heart, are often irritated by

customs which militate against decency and the health of the community. This is illustrated by Mr. Thompson in respect to monkeys becoming such a nuisance at Vishnugram. Yet that town, being "holy", no measures could be taken to diminish the pest. The inhabitants therefore had to continue to suffer from the monkeys and from the insanitary conditions caused by them. A comparison might be drawn between an incompetent Englishman at home and the ignorant Bengali! Relative values are indeed hard to learn!

II.

The interview between Neogy and the Raja is very cleverly described. Truly the westernised Indian may find himself in a position of extraordinary difficulty. Swarajists, in a hurry for self-government, do not realize all that may be involved in the transition, which involves two schools of ethics. Neither Fergusson nor Neogy acted in a strictly honourable manner. The description of the election is also full of warning to the student just returned to India and aspiring to take an active part in politics. At best politics is "a dirty business." It is to the educated Indian that we look for the regeneration of India; and to the recognition of those spiritual values which are the real remedies for sordid ambitions and communal animosities. In the conversation with the Sadhu, the truth is presented from different points of view. If we could each be frank how much easier it would be to co-operate. The acknowledgment of one's faults is half the battle; mere abuse never heals, but real, solid, *constructive* criticism is welcomed by the best minds, whether English or Indian. Neogy puts the situation in a nutshell in describing the position of an Indian official. Like the English official, he is between two fires. He may be called "a traitor" by Indians, and be sneered and laughed at by the English. It is well pointed out by the Sadhu that self-government does not consist merely in the great responsibility with "unlimited opportunities for graft." At the same time, he does not omit to acknowledge that matters of real import have progressed,—that instead of the massacre of goats and buffaloes at the Durgapuja in Kanthala, flowers and sugar-cane are now being offered, and that "life and thought" are gradually being changed through the

*An Indian Day. By Edward Thompson (Alfred A. Knopf, 1937).

influence and knowledge of the life of Jesus Christ.

III.

Other matters in the book stand out distinctly from the general plot, and prove how clear is Mr. Thompson's own point of view. His impressions are gathered up and focussed, avoiding the "glittering confusion" of amateur writers on things Indian. The description of the famine, one of the worst scourges Nature has provided for India, lives in one's memory. The English officials, though "paid" to do their work, (they cannot live on air, poor things!) carry out their jobs of saving life with real earnestness and zeal, without *expecting* gratitude in return, yet valuing appreciation of their efforts. The question of gratitude does not concern those who are being saved but those who are looking on and continue "cursing." How few Indians there are in proportion, who really allow themselves to speak enthusiastically of Government measures undertaken to relieve famine or pestilence! Because such measures are not, in the first instance, initiated and carried through by themselves, they feel themselves deterred from doing so. In deploring the one aspect the other must not be forgotten. The life led by the English at the station is not one calculated to impress the Indian mind with its intellectuality. It is only too true that the mem-sahibs do complicate the social side of life in India. It may be a debatable question whether British administration is not seen at its best when the men-folk are able to pursue their avocations apart from feminine interference and gossip. The present writer's own experience of a large and popular station in Burma certainly bears this out as regards intellectual activities, real interest in the country and education of its children on the part of the ladies! Mr. Thompson does not favour either country (England or India) more than the other, and satirises weaknesses and failings wherever they occur.

IV.

In conclusion, our readers will be interested in the following lines which were composed with reference to the trial of the Rev. Thos. Fysche Palmer in 1702, on an indictment for Seditious Practices:

"Sedition! what a handy word to use
When 'tis intended justice to abuse,
To crush out liberty and gag the press,
And all but mean-souled creatures
to oppress."

INDIA BEAUTIFUL.*

This superb publication—"made in Germany"—comprises three hundred and four photogravure plates of the wonderful monuments of India's past greatness; beautiful temples, splendid mosques, gorgeous tombs, charming waterfalls, marvellous fortifications and pictures of various types of people. In an introduction in English, translated from German, Dr. Harlmann explains that his idea in preparing this monumental photographic survey not only to capture the beauty of India but also to illustrate her soul, and there can be no two opinions that he has succeeded in his self-imposed task remarkably well as none has done so far. *Picturesque India* is truly a magnificent work of Art—which it is a source of genuine pleasure to look into, and it would make an ideal gift book. The supremely beautiful journey which this book enables us to take through India starts in the extreme south of the great peninsula. On Adam's Bridge we are able to visit such important sites of Dravidian culture and architecture as Madura, Trichinopoly, Tanjore, Cumbaconum, and other sacred spots with their gigantic temples. Starting again from the south, we travel along the south-western coast from Trivandrum through Malabar to Tellicherry, passing dense virgin forests, and over the wide table-land of the Deccan from Mysore to Bangalore and Hyderabad, where, together with Hinduism, marked Mohammedan influence is noticeable. In Golconda and Bijapur we admire the great monuments erected by former Mohammedan rulers. Our next destination is Bombay, India's main and most modern port. We then visit the rock-cut monasteries and temples of Karli and Elephanta, which represent some of the most magnificent of India's countless monu-

**Picturesque India: A Photographic Survey of the Land of Antiquity. Photographs and Introduction by Dr. Martin Harlmann, (D. R.) Tarnaporevala Sons & Co., 100, Hornby Road, Bombay), 1928.*

ments. Our journey now leads us to the north-east; to the temple cities of Orissa; and we visit Puri where tens of thousands of pilgrims congregate every year at Bhuaneshwar, the City of the Thousand Temples. After passing through Bengal and visiting Calcutta, the old capital, we proceed up the Brahmaputra to Gauhati in Assam.

Then we follow the towering frontier mountains to Darjeeling at the foot of Mount Everest, and on the threshold of that mysterious land, Tibet. In the valley of the Ganges we reach Patna, erstwhile the royal residence of a mighty kingdom and now the capital of Behar and Orissa and then pass on to Buddha-Gaya, the greatest sanctuary of Buddhism, and to Benares the most sacred city. The book takes us up the Ganges to Allahabad, Lucknow, and to romantic Bundelkand with its crumbling sacred monuments and emblems of royal power. Our next halt is at those classic centres of Mohammedan supremacy, Agra and Delhi. Rajputana is the home of ancient royal courts, and resplendent with bright colours and romance. On Mount Abu, and on the peninsula of Kathiawar are the sacred spots of the Jains. We now turn our steps towards

Ahmedabad, once the seat of mighty Mohammedan monarchs, and then we pass on to Hyderabad, formerly the capital of Sind, now outstripped by that very enterprising centre of commerce, Karachi. In the extreme north-west we reach the territory of what was once the Gandhara Empire, the Panjab with the old cities of Lahore and Amritsar, and finally the end of our journey is in sight: Kashmir in the western part of the region of the Himalayas which, with its superb mountain scenery, its colourful vegetation, and entrancing edifices, provides the last wonderful series of impressions which the author of this work has given us, and has thus unfolded a complete picture of India and her many peoples. Such are some only of the striking features of this magnificent work which we have much pleasure in commending to all lovers of India. While infinite credit is justly due to the author-artist for having so skilfully planned his journey as to take in his photographic survey all that is noblest, best, and most fascinating in this great and historic land, acknowledgment is equally due of the enterprise of the Indian publishing firm in making this work accessible to the public.

BIRD'S-EYE-VIEW CRITICAL NOTICES.

I.—RECENT LITERATURE OF TRAVEL.

Unknown Italy: Piedmont and the Piedmontese. By (the late) R. A. Reynolds-Ball. (A & C. Black, Ltd., Soho Square, London, W.C. 1), 1928.

The Italy of the Hallans. By E. R. P. Vincent. (Methuen & Co., Ltd., Essex Street, Strand, London, W.C. 2), 1928.

The premature death of Mr. R. A. Reynolds-Ball is a great loss to the literature of travel. His last work—*Unknown Italy*—which is devoted to Piedmont and the Piedmontese—fully sustains his reputation as an accurate observer and a sympathetic delineator of foreign lands. Piedmont is traversed daily by the hundreds who enter Italy on the Mont Cenis Railway, but, since the traveller's knowledge of it is thus confined to the outlook from the window of an express

train, the epithet "unknown" is not misapplied. The province has been unaccountably neglected by English writers, largely because it has no art collections of importance except the Royal Gallery of Turin. It should be, however, remembered, that Italy is not merely an art gallery or a museum, and Piedmont appeals irresistibly to all who take an interest in the rural life of the country and can appreciate a province which has preserved unchanged for centuries its language, customs, traditions and superstitions, and the memory of its romantic history. Mr. Reynolds-Ball had an intimate knowledge of the countryside and its people, and he writes from the experience and observation of several years' residence in the heart of Piedmont. With the publication of his *Unknown Italy*, Mr. Reynolds-Ball leaves the reader with scarcely any excuse to show an ignorance of this

fascinating north-western province of Italy. He has explored it and described its people and scenes from end to end, so that the reader may know it as thoroughly as most of us know Rome, or Venice, or Florence, or Naples—the show-cities of Italy. Some of his most entertaining chapters deal with the life and customs of those happy little villages that are visible from the windows of the train as it pursues its way from Modena to Turin—a part of the country of which the average traveller in Italy knows very little. In short, Mr. Reynolds-Bell's *Unknown Italy* is an almost exhaustive study of the people of Piedmont, their social life, language, customs, manners, folklore, and humour. Though encyclopaedic in scope and highly informative, it is exceedingly interesting.

Mr. Vincent's *Italy of the Italians* is planned and written on wholly different lines from *Unknown Italy*. Italy exercises a perennial fascination over cultured minds, and Mr. Vincent's bright and brilliant sketches of Italian scenes and sights, and of the lights and shadows of Italian life, while suggestive of much that will remind her old lovers of happy experiences, should encourage the hopes of a large number of new travellers. In a series of episodes the author makes a gay, though non-theless thoughtful, contribution to an appreciation of the *Italy of the Italians*, and his book merits consideration.

Afghanistan of the Afghans. By Sirdar Ikbal Ali Shah. (The Diamond Press, Ltd., 128, Long Acre, London, W. C. 2) 1928.

Trough the Heart of Afghanistan. By Emil Trinkler. (Faber and Gwyer, 24, Russell Square, London, W. C. 1) 1928.

The visit of His Majesty the Ameer of Afghanistan to Europe—the first occasion on which an Afghan monarch has left Asia—has brought prominently before the public the little known but interesting and important kingdom over which he rules, and the literature relating to it is increasing in an appreciable measure. The first of the two books under notice is the result of fifteen years' labour on the part of Sirdar Ikbal Ali Shah, an Afghan himself, and one of the first, if not the first, to be educated in Europe. He is a well-known contributor to the English Press, and his account of the traditions, manners, and customs of the Afghans, as well as his opinions as to the future of Afghanistan, are a valuable contribution to modern history. The book—which is fully illustrated—is an accurate and interesting exposition of the sociological conditions and problems of Afghanistan.

Dr. Emil Trinkler's *Through the Heart of Afghanistan* is the account of a recent visit to that country via Russian-Turkistan. The author is a German geologist and a traveller of European reputation. When he was in Kabul he was requested by the King to prospect for coal and iron. He had in consequence exceptional opportunities for seeing the country, and as he happens to be an excellent descriptive writer, he has produced an unusually interesting book. The author knows Afghanistan well and his descriptions of the wild mountainous country are extremely well done. Besides being a man of science, he has a poetic nature and his writing bears many signs of being sensitive to the wide plains and plateaus and the towering peaks of Afghanistan. The author went to a newly founded Afghan trading company in 1923, travelling across Russia and home by way of India. The scientific results of his expedition are omitted but there are hopes that these will be translated at a later date. In the meantime his descriptive work is, indeed, very welcome. The fact that Afghanistan has been, until quite lately, practically forbidden ground, adds particular value to this book, which is a notable addition to the literature in English relating to that country.

Persian Pictures. By (the late) Gertrude Bell (Ernest Benn Ltd., Bouverie Street, E. C. 4, London) 1928.

Armenia and the Near East. By Dr. F. Nansen. (George & Unwin, Ltd., Museum Street, London) 1928.

We welcome the new edition of the late Miss Gertrude Bell's *Persian Pictures*, under the editorship of Sir Denison Ross. First issued in 1904, when the author was 26, it at once took its rank with classics like Kinglake's *Rothien*, Borrow's *Bible in Spain* and Young's *Travels*. It fills the gap of two years in her letters and also sets out the reasons for the fascination which that romantic part of the world always had for her. It is a book full of charm and shrewd observation, and the present re-issue (with some interesting additional matter) ought to make it a favourite with the many students, friends and lovers of Persia and the Persians and their life and literature.

Everyone interested in Armenia should read the arresting book by Dr. Fridtjof Nansen, who has been studying the Armenian problem on behalf of the League of Nations, and has worked out a scheme of giving the Armenian refugees a home in Russian Armenia on desert land which, once irrigated, will become one of the gardens of the world. Profoundly

moving is this tragic record of the Armenians, whom the Young Turks deliberately set themselves to exterminate during the Great War, with the result that about a million of them were wiped out. The book is an eloquent appeal for justice to the remnant of this gifted race. While dealing with the main problem, the author has also given us an interesting account of his journey and his impressions of the country traversed by him and the people. The book is well illustrated and the translation from the Norwegian is excellent. Altogether a notable addition to travel literature.

Nepal. By (the late) Percival Landon, 2 vols. (Constable & Co., Ltd., 10, Orange Street, London, W. C.) 1928.

The Gurkhas. By W. B. Northey and C. J. Morris. (John Lane the Bodley Head, Ltd., London) 1928.

The late Mr. Percival Landon's *Nepal*—magnificently produced in two handsome but rather bulky volumes—is an authoritative work and is likely long to occupy the position of the standard treatise on that land, which remains to-day the one truly independent Indian kingdom, full of antiquities and relics of the past, dowered with wealth from mine and forest, peopled from both the Northern and the Southern civilisations of Asia, and as such a highly interesting country. It may safely be said that of all the closed lands of this world—closed by the deliberate will and policy of those who lived within them; closed whether from piety, superstition, jealousy or perhaps above all from mistrust of the European—Nepal is the only survivor. The little Valley of Katmandu and the arduous track leading up to it from the plains of India are probably not known to more than 200 Europeans, and to these the rest of this great State, some 500 miles in length and 100 miles in breadth, is as completely closed to Western observation and research as in 250 B. C., when the Emperor Asoka set up the five great stupas of Patan. It is not surprising, therefore, if there are not so far any authoritative works on that country.

For the first time a European was allowed to wander beyond the beaten tracks and to delve into its historical records; for the first time a Maharaja of Nepal gave full authority and every assistance in the preparation of a standard book on the country, whilst nevertheless enjoining upon the author that no opinion or statement was to be contained in the book that the author did not himself consider, as a result of his own researches, to be fully justified. It is clear

that without such assistance the writing of the book in which the author was engaged for several years would have been impossible. Unhappily Mr. Landon did not live to see its publication, but his memory will be kept alive by this last work of his, which is detailed, accurate, sound and impartial and presents an encyclopædic survey of Nepal, its geography, history, sociological condition and present-day problems. Embellished with numerous illustrations and maps, it will long remain the one indispensable work on Nepal and the Gurkhas.

Major Northey and Captain Morris's *The Gurkhas* may be commended as an excellent book dealing with the one race of Nepal which is the most important and the best known. This is a complete first-hand account of Nepal and its inhabitants by two British officers who have lived in that country for years. Major Northey served for twenty years with the Gurkhas and has been allowed to travel farther into Nepal than any other European, while Captain C. J. Morris is still serving with the Gurkhas and was the official photographer of the Mount Everest expedition of 1922. The book contains a full account of the history and geography of the country and of the manners and customs of all the diverse races of Nepal and it has been written to appeal to the general reader who knows little of the subject, as well as to the more informed. A feature of the book is the unique collection of over seventy illustrations reproduced from original photographs taken by Captain Morris and others. The book is thus an excellent sketch of the social life of the Gurkhas—their manners and customs—as also a capital account of their country, Nepal. Enriched with a large number of illustrations and a map, written by persons who (as military officers) are thoroughly familiar with their subject, the book is an instructive contribution to the study of Gurkha sociology. We have much pleasure in commending it to students of the subject.

A Holiday in Burma. By C. M. Leicester. (A. Wheaton & Co., Ltd., Exeter, England) 1928.

Nothing so Blue. By Elma Napier. (The Ceyne Press, Kensington, London) 1928.

Mr. C. M. Leicester's *Holiday in Burma* is a short, simple narrative of his impressions and observations in that country during a cold weather tour—the last chapter on a flying visit to Calcutta being of no significance. The Burmese sketches—which deal with Rangoon and the other show cities of the country, also the Shan states—are interesting, though it must

be confessed that there is nothing striking in them. He is struck in Rangoon with the obvious fact that though the capital of Burma "it presents the appearance of a city of some Indian province, peopled with all the varieties and castes of Indian natives." So writes this "English native." For the rest, the book will appeal to those who have no access to books like O'Connor's *The Silken East*.

Miss Nupier's *Nothing is Blue* is a reprint of sketches—originally contributed to periodicals and journals—dealing with Indo-China, Queensland and some other parts of the world. They were in our opinion well worth reprinting, for though light, they betray the hand of an expert in depicting the lights and shadows of every-day life in the lands traversed by the author. Readers of books of travel may safely turn to this book and they are not likely to be disappointed.

See India with Me. By Jane A. Tracy. (The Stratford Company, Boston, U.S.A.), 1928.

The Ordinary Man's India. By A. Claude Brown. (Cecil Palmer, 40, Chandos Street, London, W. C. 2), 1928.

Jane Tracy's *See India with Me* is a typical American book of travel. It is the story of a journey through India—beginning at Bombay and ending at Colombo, covering a distance of 10,000 miles and five months of time—with constant sight-seeing. It is claimed for it that it is the only complete contemporary guide-book of India extant—a statement which we are not prepared to dispute. The journey through India, described in this book, was taken by a party of four. With the guide who conducted the party, the author made out the itinerary, and the plan was never deviated from. Nightly during the trip the author put down any experiences she may have had that day, anything unusual that she had heard, and her impressions of places and people she had seen. This data was drawn from in writing *See India with Me*, making it of especial value to the prospective traveller and of interest to all readers. Readers who desire to learn how present-day India strikes an American may do worse than read this book, which is bright and sympathetic—quite un-Mayo-like. So all American women are not Miss Mayos.

Mr. Claude Brown was for many years in Calcutta, editing a defunct picture paper. His India is mainly Calcutta and its neighbourhood. Viewed from that standpoint, the book may be said to be almost encyclopaedic in depicting Anglo-Indian life in the

capital of Bengal. But that is very far from painting life of even the European in other parts of the vast sub-continent of India—to say nothing of Indian India, which is practically ignored. However, it will serve its purpose, for written primarily for the new comers from Europe, it is replete with useful advice which will be found serviceable. If a second edition be called for, much of the petty gossip should be pruned out.

II. RECENT TOURIST LITERATURE AND GUIDES.

"So You're Going to": (A) England, (B) France, (C) Paris, (D) Italy and (E) Rome. By Clara Laughlin (Methuen & Co., Ltd., 36, Essex Street, London, W. C.), 1925-8.

Miss Clara R. Laughlin is an American lady given to travelling in Europe and recording her experiences, of the cities or the countries visited, in the shape of useful handbooks to them. Her first venture was called *So You're Going to Paris* and it was a successful attempt to enable the visitor to enjoy his or her visit to the gay city with a minimum expenditure of time and money. She followed it up by *So You're Going to Italy* in which all the places of particular interest to tourists in that country are dealt with thoroughly, and withal so charmingly that the visitor to Italy may learn from the book not only the chief points of each district but also the necessary details concerning its history, art and culture, and also about its shops, theatres and restaurants, etc. Later arrivals in "So You're Going to....!" series, are *So You're Going to England* and *So You're Going to France*. Modelled on the same lines as her two previous books, which have been highly popular and successful, these new hand-books to England and France respectively will enable the tourist to enjoy his stay and to plan his tour to his advantage in either or both the countries. The books contain not only practical information on all matters of interest and importance conducive to comfort and convenience when travelling in a foreign country, but also descriptive notes on the various scenes and sights, a visit to which is calculated to add to the pleasure of the sight-seer. A vast amount of information is contained in these volumes most fascinatingly told. They open out many new routes for exploration, include all the places most worth a visit, and give one a great insight into the extent and variety of the country in which a life time of travel would still leave much unseen. Apart from that necessary guidance is given as to the best

hotels and restaurants to visit in each town. Written by an expert, the tours are admirably planned, and the books give one precisely the kind of information which one wants but is apt to find missing from the stereotyped guide. The latest addition to the series—*So You're Going to Rome* contains a long preface dealing in general with travel conditions in Italy, which have so tremendously improved of recent years. It contains the chapters originally published on Naples and vicinity, but revised to keep pace with the phenomenal changes there. The original chapters on Rome are virtually unaltered. There are new chapters on Sicily and the hill towns between Rome and Florence, and an appendix giving names and addresses of hotels, pensions and shops, with descriptions of each. This new series of travel-books—for they can scarcely be called with justice or propriety "guide-books"—should appeal to a large circle of cultured travellers as they are repositories of useful information about France, Italy and England. We shall watch with interest the progress of the series and hope to find on our table, in due course, similar useful and interesting books, from the pen of the cultured author, dealing with other European countries.

"How To Be Happy" (1) *In Paris*. By John Chancellor, (2) *In London*, by Victor MacClure, (3) *On the Riviera*, by R. Elson and (4) *In France* by G. Bosworth. (J. W. Arrowsmith Ltd., 6, Upper Bedford Place, Russell Square, London, W. C. 1), 1926-8.

Messrs. Arrowsmith deserve credit on their enterprise in inaugurating a new series (not of guide-books but of tourist literature of great excellence) called *How To Be Happy* in the various cities or countries of the world. The earliest batch comprises Mr. John Chancellor's *Paris* (now in its second edition), Mr. Victor MacClure's *London*, Mr. R. Elson's *On the Riviera* and Mr. Bosworth's *France*. Each of these delightful little volumes tells things never told so well before. With it, the visitor to Paris or London or the Riviera or the seaside resorts of France will no longer look at curtained doors and wonder whether, with his wife or sister, he dare enter: he will know where to go and where not to go, what he can afford and what he cannot, what is worth seeing and what is not. The books are intended for the visitors who go to enjoy themselves and tell where they will profit and where taken advantage of. They guide you to all that is worth seeing and warn you about the cost, they recommend hotels, quote prices at the various

restaurants, point out the dangers of the city each of them deals with, lift the veils from the doings and goings-on at the places of amusement, give you an insight into the romance of the Paris and the London underworld, and above all, put in the way of having full value for money spent. The series, when completed, will be a notable addition to tourist literature and will form valuable supplements to guide-books and hand-books for travellers. The two volumes dealing with the Riviera and the seaside resorts of France are naturally to some extent differently planned from those concerned with Paris or London. But they also give full particulars about the various places dealt with. For instance, in Mr. Bosworth's book on France is described every resort of any importance on the French coast from Dunkerque to Biarritz. Would you enjoy a holiday at La Baule, at Lorient, at Cayeux? When is the Tennis tournament at Dinard? Can you get golf at Deauville or at Dieppe? Could children be taken to Wimereux, and is the bathing good there? And is Calais as dull as its pictures suggest? These and hundreds of other similar questions are answered candidly and without prejudice by one who knows what is wanted for a holiday. But apart from it, it is the furnishing of practical information, that is the distinctive feature of these books. Prices are given, hotels are listed and every possible help is given to those who seek new ground for a happy holiday. We have much pleasure in commending to tourists in Europe this excellent series of travel-manuals, which should be kept handy by all desirous of enjoying a well-earned holiday.

A Satchel Guide to Europe. By W. J. Rolfe, 48th (annual) edition. Revised and enlarged by W. D. Crockett. (Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston, U.S.A. and Messrs. Gay and Hancock, Henrietta Street, London), 1928.

The Complete Pocket Guide to Europe. By H. C. Stedman. Edited by T. L. Stedman. (Robert M. McBride & Co., New York, U.S.A.), 1928.

We welcome once again the new editions of the two highly useful and excellent American guides to Europe which have passed through many editions. The late Dr. Rolfe's book is a very useful, reliable and readable travelling companion for the tourist in Europe. Clear, compact and comprehensive, it gives in its revised and enlarged edition by Dr. Crockett, wonderfully detailed and clear maps and town-plans and the freshest information on all matters relating to European travel. This guide has now reached its

forty-eighth annual edition. The experienced traveller who may have made its acquaintance before will find in this year's revision some entirely new features—suggestions for motoring and travel by airplane and an important section on the three Scandinavian countries—Norway, Sweden and Denmark. It has been revised and enlarged by Dr. William R. Crockett, of the Pennsylvania State College, in a very careful and highly judicious manner. The select bibliographies are a very useful feature of the *Satchel Guide*, which is the indispensable travelling companion for the tourist in Europe, giving as it does the latest information on all kinds of travel, including motor and airplane. It will save time and money, as every important route is described, the war zones are fully treated, and all information essential for an easy, economical and delightful tour is clearly given in the fullest detail. In spite of its nearly six hundred pages of small but clear print, it is handy enough for a satchel or handbag and is easily portable. Interspersed liberally with the latest maps and plans, the comprehensiveness of its scope supplies a veritable cyclopædia of European travel.

Its competitor, compiled by Mr. Stedman, is also a meritorious work in its sphere. For more than twenty-five years it has been thoroughly tested by wide use among travellers. Its logical arrangement and compactness of information make it of inestimable value throughout those portions of Europe generally covered in a single tour. The present edition has been carefully revised to date, with entirely new maps especially prepared for the purpose. Further, its scope is more comprehensive and it traverses a larger ground than the *Satchel Guide*. Its convenient size for the pocket—which is its distinctive feature—and its lucid arrangement render it highly useful to travellers in Europe. It were much to be wished that there was available to the tourists in India a pocket-guide modelled upon these two excellent American hand-books to Europe.

"The Queen" Travel Book, 1928-29. (The Field Press, Ltd., Windsor House, Bream's Buildings, London, E. C. 4), 1928.

The travel editor of that well-known lady's journal, *The Queen*—is responsible for an excellent reference annual, *The Queen Travel Book*, which has now appeared in its twenty-first edition. It is a dictionary of important tourist centres in Europe and other parts of the world, giving brief but accurate information about the scenes and sights, climate and accommodation, as also notes on the traveller's library—which

is a comprehensive bibliography—and a lot of miscellaneous data of great utility to tourists. It is astonishingly comprehensive, for a great deal is packed within the compass of 550 odd pages of small, though clear, type. There is a liberal sprinkling of maps and photographs throughout, the book is divided into countries, the various resorts under each country being shown alphabetically, so that reference is a quick and easy matter. A highly useful feature is the synopsis of air routes at the end of the volume. The value of the letter-press is materially enhanced by the book being furnished with twenty well-drawn maps and numerous excellent illustrations. It deals with about three thousand spas, health resorts and sport centres and gives their climatic conditions and social attractions, as also detailed practical information about accommodation. Altogether, it is a valuable compendium of geographical and topographical information and a handy companion, which should find a place in the kit-bag of all travellers. Though not intended to be a systematic guide to world-travel, it will serve a useful purpose as an almost indispensable supplement to hand-books for travellers. Comprehensive, compact and in limp binding, in a format convenient for carrying in a great coat pocket, the *Queen Travel Book* deserves wide appreciation. We heartily congratulate the editor on his *Travel Book* having in the current edition come of age.

Baedeker's Switzerland. Twenty-seventh edition. (Karl Baedeker, Publisher, Leipzig, Germany), 1928.

Locarno and its Valleys. By T. R. Jessop. (Orell Füssli, Publishers, Zurich, Switzerland), 1928.

The 27th edition of *Baedeker's Switzerland* is the second of the post-war series. The post-war editions of Baedeker's guides were *Canada and Switzerland* in 1922, *London and Berlin* in 1923, *Paris* in 1924, *Northern Germany* in 1925, *The Rhine* in 1926, *Great Britain and Tyrol* in 1927 and *Italy* in 1928. The new hand-book to *Switzerland* (including the Italian Lakes) is thus the first of the post-war series to come to hand again and it is in every sense worthy of the very high reputation of the great publishing firm of Germany which, in the name of its founder, has endowed English with a word synonymous with super-excellence in the making of guide-books. As usual with a Baedeker, it is not only enriched with numerous maps, plans, and panoramas but is handy, systematic, compact, informative, meticulously up-to-date, scrupulously abreast of the latest changes till the time of its appearance (June last), and above all

highly trustworthy for its accuracy—in fact an ideal tourist's manual.

Mr. Jessop's *Locarno and its Valleys*—apart from its many merits—is notable for its having been issued by another continental publisher. It is exceedingly well put together. The text is well-written, the illustrations are numerous and excellent, the maps are well-drawn, the practical information is carefully compiled, and the requirements of the visitor are constantly kept in view. Locarno is one of the most picturesque places in Switzerland on the Italian Lakes and is also famous in international politics. We are glad, therefore, that its charms have now found suitable acknowledgment in Mr. Jessop's book.

Cooks' Traveller's Hand-book to the Riviéras of France and Italy. By Roy Kilton. (Thos. Cook & Son, Ltd., Berkley Street, Piccadilly, London, W. 1), 1928.

In noticing earlier volumes in Messrs. Cook's series of guide-books, we have expressed our appreciation of them, especially of those compiled in recent years by Mr. Roy Kilton, whose latest addition deals with the French and Italian Riviéras, as also with the Rhine Valley of Southern France, the Basses-Alps, the Maritime-Alps and Corsica—the Italian province of France and the home of Napoleon. The literature of the Riviéras is enormous, but for the average tourist to this earthly paradise Mr. Kilton's volume will prove a very helpful *cicerone*—being accurate, up-to-date, compact and handy. It is furnished with a number of well-drawn maps and plans—which enhance the value of the letter-press—while the practical information is abreast of the latest events and incidents. Altogether, it is a highly useful addition to Cook's series of excellent guides.

The Tube-Bus Guide to London. By J. C. Willis. (W. Heffer & Sons, Ltd., 4, Petty Cury, Cambridge), 1928.

Dr. J. C. Willis's *Tube-Bus Guide to London* is a marvellous little production and the best solution available for the traffic problem for the resident in that hub of universe. Based on the Ordnance-Survey map of London, this waistcoat Pocket Guide is truly a notable piece of work, which must have involved immense labour in its preparation. By reference to it one sees at a glance the correct and shortest route as also the mode of reaching his destination. It is an ideal guide to London traffic by bus and train.

Glimpses of Greece. Edited by B. P. Salmon. (Anglo-Hellenic League, London), 1928.

Glimpses of Greece, edited by Mr. B. P. Salmon, is—we are informed in the introduction—not a "guide-book or a technical treatise of any kind," but "a collection of sketches by a few of those who have—visited the country and found fascination and pleasure in so doing." This is a very apt description of the book under notice. The Greece of to-day is a compact territory inhabited by a homogeneous population of 7 millions and entering on an era of progress, while the last edition of Bruckner was issued in 1909—some twenty years back. Hence the need for a book like *Glimpses of Greece* in which are furnished excellent descriptive sketches with practical information, rendering the work both interesting and informative; while the numerous illustrations embellishing it add materially to the usefulness and attractions of the letter press. It may be commended as a readable and very instructive supplement to the ordinary guide-book.

The Waistcoat-Pocket Guide to Paris. By Leonard Williams. (The Richards Press, Ltd., 99, Newman Street, London, W. 1), 1928.

Hitherto the best-known guides for travellers—the Baedekers and the Muirheads—have been planned for the overcoat pocket. But one does not go about always in an overcoat even in Europe—especially during the summer. Hence the happy idea of Mr. Leonard Williams and his publishers to prepare a guide for the waistcoat pocket. We welcome it and earnestly hope that it will be followed by many others. It is in its wide range of practical information that this guide stands supreme. How to get to Paris, French money, the journey and arrival, accommodation in the French capital and its general topography, places for eating, drinking, shopping, entertainment and amusement, environs and excursions, are all detailed and the latest information is provided; while all the prominent scenes and sights are graphically described. Thus this wonderful little guide attains almost ideal perfection, being concise yet sufficiently detailed, thoroughly abreast of the latest changes and, above all, pre-eminently practical. It is at present the most up-to-date guide to Paris and by reason of its format which enables one to carry it about in one's waistcoat pocket, it should be highly popular. Only one friendly criticism; it should have been bound not in cloth, but in limp leather covers.

III. RECENT WORKS OF REFERENCE

Official Year-Book of the Commonwealth of Australia: No. 20 for 1927. (The Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics, Melbourne, Australia), 1928.

The *Official Year-Book of the Commonwealth of Australia* has been compiled by the Commonwealth Statistician and Actuary under instructions from the Minister of State for Home and Territories. This official publication—which is now in its twentieth edition—has been regularly issued each year since 1908 and is a repository of highly useful information relating to Australia. Detailed chapters are devoted to the history, physiography, political and local government, land revenue and settlement, over-seas trade, transport and communication, finance, education, public health, labour, wages and prices, defence, etc., of the Commonwealth; in fact, all subjects of importance, enriched with statistics brought up-to-date, find place in the *Year-Book*. It is thus an authoritative book and in its pages every item connected with that country is carefully surveyed. As portions of the matter contained in the previous year-books have been reduced to synopsis in or deleted from the present issue, a special index is provided at the end of the volume to facilitate reference to subjects dealt with in those issues. In addition to the general chapters—enumerated above—each issue of this valuable reference work contains special articles dealing with some subject or subjects of both current and permanent interest—such, for instance, as is devoted in the edition under notice to the "topography of Australia." On going through this monumental work of reference, one realises how backward the Government of India still is in the matter of organizing statistical data and information and their dissemination in public interest, in annual publications similar to those issued by the Governments of Australia, Canada and South Africa. We commend with pleasure the *Official Year-Book of the Commonwealth of Australia* to the attention of Indian publicists and public men, who may be desirous of studying the system of responsible Government obtaining in the Australian Commonwealth.

The Constitutional Year-Book, 1928. (National Union of Conservative Unionist Associations, Palace Chambers, Westminster, London, S. W. 1) 1927.

The *Constitutional Year-Book*—which is now in its forty-second annual issue—is to the British Conservatives and also to all seekers after information about

that Party an excellent guide. For the object it desires to serve, the *Constitutional* is a work of great utility. Its scope is chiefly political and it offers a cheap and handy reference-book of facts and statistics bearing on topics of current interest. It is carefully revised and its pages may be trusted to supply useful and accurate information. A publicist who desires to be in touch with the movements and developments of the three leading political parties in Great Britain should keep on his book-shelf the annual editions of the *Labour Year-Book*, the *Liberal Year-Book* and the *Constitutional Year-Book*, each of which is highly useful. The current edition of the *Constitutional* is replete with up-to-date information regarding data about British political conditions from the Conservative standpoint. The statistical section has been remodelled and facts are now given which cannot but facilitate the task of the readers in the study of current economic problems. It is comprehensive in scope and range, and deserves to be kept handy as a useful political work of reference. It would be well if—like the *Liberal Year-Book*—it could be issued earlier in the year. The same friendly criticism applies to the publication of the *Labour Year-Book*, noticed below.

Soviet Union Year-Book, 1928. Compiled and edited by A. A. Santalov and Louis Segal, Ph.D., M.A. (George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 40, Museum Street, W. C. 1), 1928.

We welcome the fourth annual publication of the *Soviet Union Year-Book for 1928*. Of books of reference dealing with particular countries or states, it is beyond doubt one of the most useful. Its scope is co-extensive with the group of republics in alliance with that which has its capital at Moscow, and it offers a comprehensive account of the activities in various spheres of the several states constituting the Soviet Union. In effect it is a Russian *Whitaker*, both as a work of reference and of trustworthy information of Soviet republics as they are at present. The compilers are entitled to great credit for the care and industry with which they have brought together their material, which covers the whole range of Russia's political, economic and industrial organization, financial condition, natural resources, commercial activities, trade development, educational progress, and foreign relations. The book is thus a huge accumulation of accurate and sound information, carefully sifted and sedulously verified and it also embodies an invaluable repository of statistical data, not accessible to the average student of Russian affairs. We have,

therefore, much pleasure in commending this exceedingly valuable year-book to all businessmen, publicists, politicians and students of the Soviet affairs, in general. It is a remarkably successful attempt to present a compendious sketch—substantial and reliable—of Russian affairs and no serious student of Bolshevism can afford to neglect it. It deserves careful study as the one indispensable and thoroughly up-to-date book on the Soviet. The present edition contains much entirely new material and the chapters on Foreign Trade and Finance have been entirely re-written.

The Labour Year-Book, 1928. (Labour Publications Department, 33, Eccleston Square, London, S. W.) 1928.

In the course of reviews of the previous editions of the *Labour Year-Book* we have spoken of it in terms of appreciation as a very useful reference work. The current edition for 1928 is deserving of recognition as a highly meritorious work of reference. Judiciously compiled and well-printed, the volume will be highly useful to politicians, publicists and public men. The topics dealt with range over the whole field of British politics and include not only the principal political, social and economic problems but also the trend of international and inter-dominion affairs during the year. The directory of the principal Labour and Socialist organisations, native and foreign, is another useful feature of the work. Although the Labour Party is not in the ascendant at present, there can be no doubt of its coming into power again, and the *Labour Year-Book* which records, from year to year, not only the progress of that Party, but takes a critical survey of the whole field of its political activities, deserves careful study at the hands of Indian publicists and public men.

A Book About Sweden. By Gustav Asbrink. Third edition (C. E. Fritze, Bookellers, Stockholm, Sweden), 1928.

The third, revised and enlarged, edition of Mr. Gustav Asbrink's *A Book About Sweden* is very welcome. Its previous editions were noticed by us in terms of appreciation and it is, indeed, a successful and praiseworthy effort to supply a popular, short survey of the country, its people, history, culture, industrial life and tourist resorts. The text which is fully abreast of the latest events, incidents and changes, has had its value enhanced by being embel-

lished with over two hundred excellent illustrations, maps and diagrams, and its utility added to by having appended to it a select bibliography dealing with various phases of Swedish life, history, culture and literature. The book has been issued in English to popularise Sweden's industries and scenes and sights amongst the English-knowing world. It is such a pity that there is no work in English—equally compendious and attractive—dealing with India. Mr. Asbrink's book is an indispensable guide to students of Swedish affairs.

An Annotated Map-Book of the British Empire. By Keith Le Cheminant. (George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., 68-74, Carter Lane, London, E. C.), 1928.

Mr. Keith Le Cheminant's *Annotated Map-Book of the British Empire* is intended to emphasise the importance in geographical work of the use of sketch maps specially adapted for the particular question under review. Each unit of the Empire is treated under the headings of 'Physical Features,' 'Climate,' 'Natural Regions and Vegetation,' 'Pastoral and Agricultural Products,' 'Minerals,' 'Communications' and 'Any special feature or problem peculiar to the region.' A sketch map is given dealing with each aspect and on the opposite page in each case are notes to explain and amplify the map. It is suggested that this new method of treatment gives a greater vividness and clearness to a subject necessarily complex. The book should be found helpful treating as it does of the all-important question of map-work. There is also an Introduction dealing generally with the methods of map-drawing and giving hints on answering examination questions.

A Bibliography of Public Administration. By Sarah Greer. (National Institute of Public Administration, 261, Broadway, New York, U.S.A.), 1927.

Persian Literature: Section I Quranic. By C. A. Storey. (Harcourt & Co., 46, Great Russell Street, London), 1928.

Each of the two books enumerated above is an excellent piece of contribution to bibliography. Sarah Greer—who is Librarian of National Institute of Public Administration at New York—has compiled an excellent treatise dealing with the literature of general administration, political parties and elections, civil service and employment management, public finance, public works, public utilities, public health and sanitation, public welfare, public safety, administration

of justice and education. The scheme is comprehensive, and the book, as a whole is highly meritorious. The first section of Mr. Storey's bibliographical survey called *Persian Literature* is devoted to Quzanie literature. The plan is to cover the whole range of the subject by dealing in separate sections its many branches. The section under notice is very well done and the book when completed will be valuable and highly useful.

Indian Cyclopaedia. Edited by P. T. Chandra (International Publishing House, Hyderabad, Sindh), 1928.

Mr. P. T. Chandra is a Sindh, who has acquired considerable experience of journalism from Surma to the Punjab. The first edition of his *Indian Cyclopaedia* was issued in 1924 as a small, slim volume in paper covers. It now appears wholly rewritten, considerably enlarged, thoroughly overhauled, well-printed, neatly got-up, strongly bound and uniformly illustrated. In its present form, it is a capital historical and statistical hand-book of Indian events, data and problems—social, economic and political. There are many good features in it, which deserve appreciation. It would be easy to point out errors which are almost inevitable in a work of this kind, but we would rather commend its many useful features, which render it one of the most valuable works of reference. It deserves to secure for itself a large circulation.

School Libraries. By R. S. Fagan. (W. Heller & Sons, Ltd., Cambridge, England), 1928.

Miss Ethel Fagan is the librarian of Girton College, Cambridge and held the same post formerly at the Cheltenham Ladies' College. In her *School Libraries*, she offers very useful practical hints on the management of libraries in schools, covering the whole ground—rooms and equipment, books of reference, preparation of books for circulation, classification, cataloguing, binding and other external aids; as also a select bibliography of books on library work. *School Libraries* is a highly useful work and will be found of great utility.

Philip's New School Atlas of Universal History. Edited by Ramsay Muir and George Philip (George Philip & Son, 52, Fleet Street, London, E. C. 4), 1928.

Originally published in 1910, under the name of *Phillips' New School Atlas of Modern History*, this Atlas has passed through nine large editions, and its increasing popularity has induced the publishers, in this—the tenth and greatly enlarged edition—to expand the scheme by including a new series of plates devoted to *Ancient History*, so as to satisfy the needs of schools in which Ancient History forms a part of their historical work. Nine new plates have accordingly been added dealing with Ancient History from the dawn of the early civilizations of the Nile, Tigris-Euphrates and Mediterranean Basins, and down through classical times to the fall of the Roman Empire. Further, in the present edition, the whole plan of the sections dealing with the history from the break-up of the Roman Empire has been carefully reconsidered, and substantial changes have been made. Many plates have been rearranged and a few maps, not necessary for school use, have been omitted. On the other hand many useful new maps have been added the number of plates has been increased from the 48 pages of the original edition to 56, a new Introduction has been written, and a new complete Index compiled. In its new form, therefore, the Atlas can claim to be the most completely satisfactory aid to historical studies in schools hitherto published at a modest price, and the only book for English-speaking scholars which covers the whole ground in a thoroughly adequate manner.

The coloured maps are preceded by an Introduction of 25 pages, itself illustrated by 48 sketch-maps and battle plans in black and white, commenting upon and supplementing the information given on the plates. In its present form *Phillips' New School Atlas of Universal History* is the best and the cheapest work on the subject and deserves wide appreciation.

Guide to the Libraries of London. By R. A. Rye. Third edition (University of London Press, Ltd., 10 and 11, Warwick Lane, London, E. C. 4), 1928.

On its first appearance in 1908, Mr. R. A. Rye's *Guide to the Libraries of London* took its place as a standard work on the subject. A revised edition appeared in 1920. The long interval that has since elapsed has necessitated a thorough and careful revision and judicious enlargement, to make it an up-to-date and comprehensive guide to the largest and most important library centre in the world. The historical introduction is highly informative, the many illustrations of London Libraries and their treasures are very interesting, while the book as a whole offers a valuable conspectus of the library resources

of London which would be of great advantage alike to students of research and general readers.

IV. RECENT LEGAL LITERATURE.

The Penal Law of India. (Fourth Edition, 2 Vols.) By Sir Hari Singh Gour, Kt., M.A., D.Lit., D.C.L., LL.D., M.L.A. (Butterworth & Co. (India), Ltd., 6, Hastings Street, Calcutta), 1928.

We extend a hearty welcome to the fourth—revised and enlarged—edition of Sir Hari Singh Gour's monumental work—*The Penal Law of India*. It has justly been regarded, ever since its first appearance, in 1900, as the standard and most authoritative work on the substantive law of crimes in British India. The edition under notice has been carefully revised, judiciously enlarged and thoroughly overhauled. The following points may especially be noted in connection with the fourth edition:—It incorporates over 700 new cases, while the text has been expanded by over 130 pages. The Index (150 pages) is analytical of the entire work which comprises about 3000 pages, and is by far and away the largest work on Criminal Law in the English language—larger than even the famous work—*Russell on Crime*. The work is exhaustive and deals with all cases whether published in authorized or unauthorized Reports. It is the only work which discloses numerous points yet uncovered by cases. No less than 250 of such points have since its last edition been the subject of reported cases; while several of the author's views have been translated into amending Acts of the Legislature. It is, therefore, both a text-book for the judges as well as for the legal practitioners and indeed for the general public who wish to become acquainted with the principles of the general Criminal Law of India. As a work of Comparative Criminal Jurisprudence the work has been frequently referred to in the Courts overseas, for it is the most scientific exposition of Criminal Law the principles of which are applicable to all civilised countries. Last but not least, it is the only up-to-date edition of the Penal Code, embodying as it does its latest amendments made up to this year. As the work of one who is himself a jurist and legislator, the high authority of his work has always been acknowledged. The book is, in fact, a classic in the literature of Anglo-Indian Law.

Women in Hindu Law. By K. T. Bhushyuni Aiyangar. (S. Ganesh & Co., Triplicane, Madras), 1928.

Mr. K. T. Bhushyuni Aiyangar's Mysore University Extension Lecture on *Women in Hindu Law* fully deserved publication and publicity, for it is alike thoughtful and thought provoking. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar contributes a Foreword and the book is dedicated to Mr. Mirza Ismail, the progressive and broad-minded Dewan of Mysore. Sir Kameswami commends the book as valuable to the lawyer, legislator and social reformer. The author, he adds, takes the view in which he has been supported by many thoughtful students of Hindu Law that "a partial study of Hindu law-books and scriptures and the natural reluctance of the European translators, lawyers and judges to trespass on private and sacred territory have contributed to fossilise the law and depress the women's cause." He quotes with approval the author's observation that law in the old days was an organic growth, "but now the laws are not of the existing society but of several centuries ago applied with little or no regard to changing conditions." The same view—as pointed out by the *Indian Social Reformer* of Bombay—was expressed by the late Mr. Justice Telang in his paper, *Gleanings from Maratha Chronicles*, in which after giving several instances of social changes, great and small, freely introduced under the pressure of military and political necessity by the then rulers, he observed:—"speaking broadly it would appear that the general effect of British administration has been to render feeble the various forces which were, in old days, working from within the community itself as a community. The old rules would, by common, if tacit, consent, have been gradually relaxed, and in process of time custom would have sanctified everything. But such a process hardly takes place at our present stage of progress, as at all events is incomparably more slow and tedious in its operation, wherever British influence is in other respects powerful." This aspect of the question is very important and should be kept in mind by our social reformers. Mr. Aiyangar has done a distinct service by giving prominence to it in his stimulating address.

The Law of Torts. Tenth edition. By Ratanlal Kanchhoda and Dhiralal Thakare. (The Bombay Law Reporter Office, 217, Charni Road, Bombay), 1928.

For a book to be in its tenth edition is a conclusive proof of its success and popularity. Nor is it surprising that it should be so in the case of Meers, Ratanlal and Thakare's *Law of Torts* for it is admitted by the only Indian book which elucidates the prin-

ciples of English common law and the Indian case-law. English cases up to May, 1928, and Indian cases, reported in all official and non-official series of reports, up to May, 1928, are referred to in the new edition under notice. The book is meant to present a clear and concise statement of the law, the development of principles from their origin to the present-day growth, and apposite illustrations culled out from the facts of decided cases, and in all these respects it will be found pre-eminently satisfactory. The book, though small, is a compact and systematic exposition of the subject it deals with and it will be found highly useful both by the student and the legal practitioner and the judge. We have much pleasure in commending the tenth and judiciously revised edition of this standard work.

Law Applicable to Christians. By Paul Appasamy. (The Christian Literature Society for India, Madras), 1928.

Mr. Paul Appasamy's *Law Applicable to Christians* (in India) is the first work of its kind, but it is nonetheless fairly comprehensive and well put together. It deals with Indian law—personal and territorial, as also Hindu and Mussalman; and matters pertaining to marriage, parentage, guardianship, divorce and conversion are adequately dealt with and the relevant case-law is duly noticed. At the same time we feel that it was a mistake on the part of the author to have attempted to load down such general laws as for instance, the law of crimes. Statements of general laws—which apply equally to all residents in British India, irrespective of communal considerations—should, therefore, be excised in the next edition of the book, when called for, and effort should be concentrated on producing a compendium mainly of the personal laws relating to Indian Christians, which apply to them exclusively. Such an attempt will materially enhance the value of the book. But while it suffers necessarily from some of the limitations incidental to a pioneer work, it is, even as it is, a creditable performance and will be found highly useful.

Criminal Procedure and Law of Evidence in Scotland. By John Morren, O.B.E. (William Hodge & Co., Ltd., Edinburgh), 1928.

Mr. John Morren's *Criminal Procedure and Law of Evidence in Scotland* is a very useful little book and should appeal to all students of *Comparative Jurisprudence*. The Rt. Hon'ble Lord Almon, commends the book, in his foreword, for "the

industry and ingenuity displayed in its compilation and the utility of the treatise to those for whom benefit it has been written." Coming from the Lord Justice Clerk of Scotland, it is, indeed, high praise, but it is well-deserved; for within the short compass of less than 200 pages, the author presents in his book a succinct but fairly comprehensive survey of the substantive and adjective criminal law of Scotland, as also of the law of evidence as administered in that country, with much other valuable information. We commend Mr. Morren's excellent compendium of Scottish criminal law to all students of the subject.

A New Guide to the Bar. Sixth edition. By M. Grasia, Barr-at-Law, and **Guide to the Legal Profession.** (Sweet and Maxwell, Ltd., 3-3, Chancery Lane, London, W. C. 2), 1928.

Both the above publications—of the well-known legal publishing firm of Messrs Sweet and Maxwell—usefully supplement each other. Mr. Marston Grasia's *New Guide to the Bar*—now in its sixth edition—is the most up-to-date manual of the latest rules and regulations issued by the Council of Legal Education and should be carefully studied by all aspirants to being called to the English Bar. The usefulness of the work is materially enhanced by the inclusion in it of lists of books suitable for students, as also specimen examination papers. *The Guide to the Legal Profession* deals with matters about being called to the Bar as also being enrolled as solicitors and it also gives detailed lists of books—with proper characterisations of them—for law students. Thus it is that the two books usefully supplement each other.

V. RECENT BIOGRAPHICAL LITERATURE.

The India We Served. By Sir Walter Lawrence, Bart, G. C. I. E., etc. (Cassell & Co., La Belle Sauvage, London, E. C. 4), 1928.

The India We Served by Sir Walter Lawrence is a delightful book of reminiscences which has been written at the suggestion of Mr. Rudyard Kipling, and gives details of curious customs, reminiscences of camp, the council, and Indian Princes' courts, told with an abundance of amusing anecdotes. The author, after 16 years' continuous service in British India and in Indian States, became Private Secretary to Lord Curzon, 1898—1903, and later Chief of the Staff of the Prince of Wales' Tour, 1905—1906 and was intimately associated with the inner circles of Government. Life in India from the period of reconstruction after the

Mutiny to the coming of the new age is here described with exactness of knowledge, sympathy and charm. The author was closely associated with many famous men, and has much to say of such viceroys as Lords Dufferin and Curzon; of soldiers such as Lords Roberts and Kitchener; and of administrators such as Sir Charles Alcock and Sir Edward Buck. The book—as a whole—is written with a sympathetic understanding of Indian character, and a real love for the country and its people. It will be found a most fascinating record and at this time when the future of India is in the anxious thoughts of many, it may be studied with advantage by those who hold with Macaulay that: "that is the best government which desires to make the people happy, and knows how to make them happy." There can be no two opinions that of the dozen and scores of books of Indian reminiscences issued during the last quarter of a century, Sir Walter Lawrence's *The India We Served* is out-and-out the most interesting as displaying a keen, sympathetic insight into Indian affairs and problems.

The Ruler of Baroda. By Philip W. Sergeant. (John Murray, Albemarle Street, London, W. 1), 1928.

Amongst contemporary Indian rulers, His Highness Sir Sayajirao Garkwar III deservedly occupies a very prominent position and it was time that a survey of his career appeared at a time like the present, when he has recently celebrated the jubilee of his reign. Mr. Philip W. Sergeant has written such an account of the life and work of the Maharaja Garkwar, and called his book "The Ruler of Baroda." The author feels that Baroda and its ruler have, during this century, reached considerable prominence in the public eye. It is evidently felt that a true account should now be given of the outstanding work which has been done, under the guidance of the present Maharaja in the development of the State and its resources and the improvement of the condition of its inhabitants. This necessarily includes many important questions of present-day Indian politics. Mr. Sergeant during the long stay at Baroda was given every facility by the Maharaja for gathering information and examining the work of the State in all its branches, and the result will be found to be a very interesting account of a progressive State and the varied life of its very remarkable ruler, who, incidentally, is well-known and deservedly popular in England. There is much in this book which is not only interesting but instructive. Baroda under its present ruler has been justly regarded as a progressive and enlightened State and there is,

therefore, much in this excellent appreciation of the Maharaja's career which may be studied with advantage by the rulers of many of the other Indian States.

Asoka. By Dr. Radhakumud Mookerji. (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., St. Martin's Street, London), 1928.

Dr. Radhakumud Mookerji has added fresh laurels to his brow by the publication of his Garkwad Lectures called *Asoka*. Now that the Asokan text and interpretation have practically reached a final form and stage, Professor Mookerji felt that the time had come for the preparation of a convenient text-book on the subject. His volume takes account of all the important discoveries in Asokan scholarship from the middle of the eighteenth century to the year 1925, when Mr. C. Beaman found the Maski Rock Inscription. It will be found that new interpretations have been suggested in the matter of some points of Asokan chronology and of certain passages in the Edicts, notorious for controversy regarding their meanings; and that Prof. Mookerji's general interpretation of Asoka's career does not always follow the usual or accepted lines. A further element of interest has been introduced in bringing together in the work illustrations of important Asokan monuments. There are three other text-books on the subject—those by (the late) Mr. Vincent Smith, the Revd. Dr. Macphail and Professor Bhattacharya. But it may safely be said that Dr. Mookerji's exposition is now the latest in every sense.

The Life of Chitta Ranjan Das. By (the late) P. C. Ray. (Oxford University Press, Bombay), 1928.

The late Mr. C. R. Das was a distinguished Indian leader who gained a high reputation in various spheres of public activities—as a lawyer, publicist, journalist, nationalist leader and a poet in his mother-tongue, Bengalee. It was, therefore, but fitting that a biography should have been written by some one qualified to do so. The late Mr. Prithwis Chandra Ray—the author of the book under notice—was a very old friend of Mr. Das's. He was also a journalist of considerable experience and had edited for some years *The Bengalee*. His biography has, therefore, many merits. It is on the whole, remarkably free from inaccuracies, displays a wide outlook and a keen grasp of the realities of life. But for all that the reader of the book—especially if like the present writer he was privileged to know the subject of the biography—is likely to feel that the picture presented

by Mr. Ray is very different from what he expected it to be. This for the reason that the author is not in full sympathy with the ideals of his subject, does not share his enthusiasm, nor possess the same outlook on Indian problems. He has however made an honest effort to enter into the spirit of Mr. Das and has produced a notable contribution to Indian biographical literature. But Mr. Ray was a "Moderate," and we should wait for a "Nationalist" biographer to do full justice to the memory of the late Mr. Das.

Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni, and Harat Amir Khusrav of Delhi. By Mohammad Habib. (Taraporevala Sons & Co., Hornby Road, Bombay), 1927-8.

Professor Mohammad Habib of the Muslim University, Aligarh, has contributed two excellent biographical text-books to Indian historical literature, in the studies he has presented of the careers of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni and Amir Khusrav of Delhi. The Sultan is a well-known figure on the stage of Indian history and it was not an easy task for a twentieth century writer to eliminate traces of all religious bias in studying the career of Mahmud who was a great iconoclast and adventurer. But the author has written a scientific treatise which is free from the defects of prejudice. His statement, therefore, of the Sultan's achievements, is well-balanced. Similar is the appreciation of Amir Khusrav, which is a sound piece of literary criticism of perhaps the greatest literary personality produced by Muslim India. Amir Khusrav is admittedly the greatest Indian scholar, statesman, poet and musician produced by Indian Muslims and a book like this was a great desideratum. We hope Professor Habib will continue to publish other works in his series, which is likely to prove so valuable.

VI. RECENT LITERATURE OF INDIAN POLITICS.

India and the West. By P. S. Marvin. (Longmans, Green & Co., Ltd., 39, Paternoster Row, London, E. C. 4 and Bombay) 1928.

British Connection with India. By K. T. Paul. (Student Christian Movement, 32, Russell Square, London, W. C. 1 and 5, Russell Street, Calcutta) 1928.

Both the above books—one by a cultured Englishman and the other by an enlightened and patriotic Indian of Christian persuasion—deal with political conditions in India, but they do so rather remotely and are not concerned with current affairs and problems. They both derive their inspiration more from the historic

background of the past and their outlook is influenced by considerations that do not seem to be very vital just at present. Mr. P. S. Marvin is a well-known author and publicist. His *India and the West* is an attempt to treat the relations between India and Great Britain as an example—the greatest and most important according to him—of the relations between the East and the West as a whole. It offers no new views on any aspect of Indian philosophy or history but discusses—for the first time it is said—what "westernization" really implies in such a case. It is assumed that the British-Indian contact is necessary, and, on the whole, beneficial for both the countries and inquires into its nature, limits and incidental dangers. The author—without introducing travel-incidents for their own sake—is able to add personal impressions, where they seem illustrative, from an extensive journey in the winter of 1925-6. But apart from these references, many analogies between the China of to-day and the India of two centuries ago will suggest themselves throughout, and the impending revision of the Indian Reforms of 1919 makes the consideration of the fundamental principles involved especially opportune. The book does not so much propound Indian political problems or attempt solutions of them as create the right mental atmosphere as a preliminary equipment which is so essential to a right understanding of them. Assuming his premises to be correct—that of co-operation between Britain and India—the author is throughout the discussion of the various points and aspects equally stimulating and helpful. His perspective is accurate and his judgment is not warped by passion or prejudice. The result is a book which, in these days of Miss Mayoism in Anglo-Indian literature, is sane, sound and sober and can be read with pleasure and profit by all interested in the welfare of India.

Mr. K. T. Paul's *British Connection with India*—which is introduced and commended by the Earl of Ronaldshay—is a book which (though cast in a different mould from Mr. Marvin's treatise) proceeds on the same basic assumption of co-operation between Britain and India. As the work of a truly enlightened man, it is cultured and patriotic. Lord Ronaldshay says in a Foreword: "This book should do much to make clear to the English reader the Indian point of view. It is no reflection upon the Indian politician to say that it will carry all the more weight with Englishmen because it is written by one who happens to be engaged in social and philanthropic, rather than political, activities. But the book should prove of value also to Indians, who, while vaguely conscious, perhaps, of the comprehensive nature of the connection between the two countries, have nevertheless failed,

in the political ferment of recent years to view it in the broad and dispassionate perspective in which Mr. Paul presents it." We agree whole-heartedly with this commendation. Mr. Paul has essayed the delicate task of assessing, without prejudice, the values for good and ill of the British connection with India. Beginning with a frank acknowledgment of benefits received—economic, administrative, cultural, Christian—he goes on to consider the significance of the national renaissance in its various phases—religious, social, cultural and economic—and to show how the political movement, through all its stages, is to be understood as part of this larger process. The volume concludes with a study of the present situation and of the outlook for the future. The book is an unimpeachable statement of facts and data and its inferences are reasonable and justified. The author is not a professional politician or an agitator—a fact emphasised by Lord Ronaldsday—and yet he shares in full the enthusiasm of his non-Christian fellow-countrymen for Indian nationalism and their aspiration for freedom—political and economic—for their country as a member of the British Commonwealth. The book should be carefully studied by all students of Indian problems.

The Commission and After. By "A Liberal"; and **The Working of Dyarchy in India.** By "Kerala Putra." (D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., 100, Hornby Road, Bombay) 1928.

Both the above books have been issued anonymously by the same publishers—one of the most enterprising in the country. "A Liberal's" *The Commission and After* is but of current interest and possesses no permanent value, since it is concerned mainly with the Simon Commission. The gist of his booklet in his own words is that "Indians should co-operate.... only on a basis of perfect equality. Until this.... is accorded.... Indians should maintain the boycott." That is, indeed, an absolutely sound view which "A Liberal" has propounded.

The other book—"Kerala Putra's" *Working of Dyarchy*—is a work of much greater interest, dealing as it does with the results of what constituted the core (so to say) of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms of 1919. In spite of the publishers enjoining on the press to maintain the author's anonymity, the injunction has been violated and we have been informed that the book is from the pen of Mr. K. M. Panikkar, B.A. (Oxon.), who is the author of some excellent historical works. After all it is for the best—when studying the working of Dyarchy—that the reader should know who

the author is, what personal experience, if any, he possesses of the working of the system he has brought under survey and what special qualifications he may claim to speak with authority on the subject. We know Mr. Panikkar's qualifications and credentials. As the *Hindustan Review* said in noticing one of his earlier works "he is a thoughtful writer and brings much study to bear upon the subject which he discusses" that "his work deserves appreciation for scholarship and research." All these qualities characterize his present work in which he gives a succinct account of the Government of India, before the Reforms, the Act of 1919 and the political conditions. He then discusses the causes of the failure of the Montagu-Chelmsford constitution in its different aspects relating to the Governor, the Executive, the Ministers and the Legislature. He analyses the relations of the Councils to the people. The Central Legislature is also severely criticised. In the chapter entitled "The Conditions of Inquiry" he has fully treated the idea which one often meets with in the writings of eminent men, that what India wants is a constitution suited to her own genius. He proves with great success that all speculation about a constitution "indigenously developed and suited to the particular genius of India" is futile. He maintains that "what India wants and what England has undertaken to give her is nothing less than Responsible Government." His remarks about the future of the Central Government, provincial autonomy, the services and the franchise are extremely interesting. Altogether Mr. Panikkar's very opportune little book is a highly useful and suggestive survey of the subject it deals with.

Modern India. By R. Palme Dutt. (Communist Party of Great Britain, 10, King Street, London, W. C. 2) 1928.

Mr. R. Palme Dutt's *Modern India* is a revised edition, (presumably for the benefit of British readers) of a book originally issued in this country, in 1926. It is a survey of India's economic and political problems from the communist standpoint. The first of the writer's argument is that British imperialism is synonymous with capitalism. To quote his own words which bring out in relief his point of view:—"Imperialism is the most advanced form of capitalism. Capitalism begins with the exploitation of the workers in the capitalists' own country. But expansion rapidly brings the need for new and wider markets and new sources of raw material. So come the first colonial wars of conquest. Later, capitalism reaches a point

at which the most intense industrial development has been reached in the home-country, to the stage of large scale monopolist enterprises; and the further expansion of capitalist enterprise, rendered inevitable by the annual accumulation of profits, can only take place by overflowing to other countries and subjecting them also to industrial exploitation. Railways, machinery and capital are exported to the new countries; industrial enterprises are established on the basis of the cheap and defenceless workers of the new country, over which political power is maintained by the imperialist state; and interest and profits are drawn to the shareholders of the imperialist country. This is the modern form of imperialism, the imperialism of finance capital" (pp. 24-25). Holding these views the author naturally believes in the total abolition of British rule in India and its being replaced by an organization of the peasantry and the labouring classes of the country—coalesced into one political party and assisted by the Communist Party in Britain and perhaps even other European countries. These propositions seem at present so hopelessly remote from the realities of Indian conditions—economic and political—that a discussion of them is hardly called for; nor can it be suitably attempted in the course of a short review. But Mr. Dutt's *Modern India* is none-the-less a thought-compelling and thought-provoking book and it may be commended as deserving of careful consideration at the hands of all serious students of Indian problems. Though the author's views may not receive ready acceptance, there is much in them to merit attention and we trust his book will be widely read.

What are the Rights of the Muslim Minority in India? By Dr. Shafiat Ahmad Khan, M.L.C. (The Indian Press, Ltd., Allahabad) 1928.

Dr. Shafiat Ahmad Khan is much too good a scholar to be a successful politician. At any rate, his politics are not "approved" of by his colleagues in the Legislative Council Mr. C. Y. Chintamani and the latter's paper, *The Leader*, professes not to see much appreciable in Dr. Khan's excursions in the field of politics. The *Pioneer* has recently gone one better—it has had the temerity to attack even the scholarship of Dr. Khan, characterizing him as "rather an amusing person... who can unblushingly claim to be compared with world-known figures in the realm of historical scholarship." For all that Dr. Khan's seems to be a virile personality, which finds expression in various ways in print. One of these is the book under notice, in which the author

attempts to formulate what he regards as the necessary safeguards for the protection of the interests of the Indian Muslims before they would agree (according to him) to any scheme of self-government. There is much useful information in this book—culled from the constitutions of various western states for the protection of the rights of minorities in them—which would be highly useful to our constitution-matters. But we desire to express no opinion as to their application to Indian conditions, for that is a task not for us but perhaps for the Simon Commission for whose special behalf the book has been prepared.

VII. RECENT LITERATURE OF INDIAN HISTORY.

A Pageant of India. By Adolf Waley. (Constable & Co., Ltd., London) 1927.

Mr. Adolf Waley's large book deserves its title. He has indeed contrived that the personalities and events of Indian History, from the shadowy beginnings to the death of Aurangzeb, should pass before the reader with all the pomp of pageantry, and he has been highly successful in his effort. And the figures who file by in slow procession bear their own testimony. As the author says "It has been my desire that the actors in this Pageant should, wherever possible, speak for themselves in their own words as handed down by tradition or as revealed by the historians of those days." Thus in *A Pageant of India* it is through the mouths of her ancient heroes that India tells her tale, and the story, from the shadowy beginnings to the death of Aurangzeb, is of poignantly-contrasted light and shade, of heroic loves and fierce hatreds, of almost quixotic chivalry and even sometimes of barbarous cruelty. As a whole the book makes fascinating reading and should command appreciation and a large circulation.

Rigvedic India and Rigvedic Culture. By Abinav Chandra Das, M.A., Ph.D. (R. Cambay & Co., Hastings Street, Calcutta), 1925-27.

Dr. Abinav Chandra Das is one of our best-known scholars and expositors of ancient Indian thought and culture, who made his mark, some years back, by his *Rigvedic India*, which has already appeared in a second revised edition. His *Rigvedic Culture* is, so to say, a supplement or complement to the former book and the two together present a full

conspectus of the Vedic Age. Being the oldest work extant of the Aryans, the Rigveda offers a fascinating field to historical and literary savants. The question of questions for them is, that of the first home of the great Aryan race. Was it Central Asia, Western Europe, or the Arctic Regions? Dr. Das brings his great scholarship and critical acumen to bear on his task and comparing notes with geological discoveries, he states that Sapta-Sindhu (the ancient Panjab) was the home of the Vedic Aryans. Of course, this view is not accepted by western scholars. In the second edition, he has answered various criticisms of his theory and, relying on the results of the latest geological and archaeological investigations, has estimated that the Rigvedic civilisation began to flourish in Sapta-Sindhu at about 2500 B. C. This view also is not likely to find acceptance at present. Everyone interested in the ancient history of our land will find these books, however, interesting and will find in them much food for thought. They are valuable contributions to ancient Indian history.

History of Medieval Hindu India, Vol. III. By C. V. Vaidya, M.A., LL.B. (Oriental Book Supplying Agency, Badliwar Peth, Poona), 1927.

The completion of Mr. C. V. Vaidya's *History of Medieval Hindu India* by the publication of the third and concluding volume is a matter of genuine gratification, for with all its limitations and deficiencies, it is a work of great merit. This is the third volume of a work on medieval India which commenced in volume I with the story of Harsha and the later kings, and was continued in volume II with the early history of the Rajputs. The third volume deals with the downfall of the Hindus and covers the period from 1000 to 1200 A. D. It opens with an analysis of Alberuni's description of the political geography of India and describes the foundation of the kingdom of Ghazni and the invasions of Mahmud. The writer then deals fairly exhaustively with what he describes as "the third set of Hindu Kingdoms." These include the Rajput clans of Sambar and Ajmer, the Chandellas of Bundelkhand, the Palas of Bengal, and the feudatory kingdoms of Southern India. In dealing with the Senas of Lakhanuti the author vigorously attacks the views propounded by Dr. D. R. Bhanuvarkar of Calcutta University as to the origin of these Senas. The Hindu Kingdoms of Northern India and of the Himalayas also come under survey and a couple of chapters are devoted to the collapse of these northern Hindu kingdoms.

The book concludes with a general disquisition on the ramifications of caste. As regards its merits, they are many, notwithstanding the writer's occasional partisanship and the book is a great repository of useful research and scholarship.

Ancient Indian Colonies in the Far East, Vol. I Champa. By Dr. R. C. Majumdar, M.A., Ph.D. (The Punjab Sanskrit Book Depot, Syed Mitha Street, Lahore), 1927.

Indian Cultural Influence in Cambodia. by Dr. B. R. Chatterjee. (University of Calcutta Publications Department, Senate House, Calcutta) 1928.

Both the above works display scholarship of a very high order and reflect great credit on the younger generation of the students of history, who are being encouraged by the premier Indian University—that of Calcutta—to embark on research in connection with the history of countries whose fortunes were influenced by the culture and civilization of India. Dr. Majumdar is a scholar who has already made his mark for historical research and his *Ancient Indian Colonies in the Far East* is erudite and a masterly treatment of the subject it deals with. We hope his work under survey will be completed before long by the publication of the remaining volumes. Dr. Chatterjee's *Indian Cultural Influence in Cambodia* is a work of very great merit as it breaks new ground. Both these volumes deal with the history and civilisation of Indian Colony in Annam and Cambodia respectively—a most fascinating story of Indian activities outside India, in far off lands during the first fifteen hundred years of the Christian Era. They tell us in graphic language how the sons of India braved the perils of the sea more than two thousand years ago and created a new and greater India in the Far East. They publish inscriptions, which have been discovered and give a detailed account of the development of Indian religion—particularly Saivism and Vaishnavism,—myths and legends, sculpture and architecture, social and political systems in a new land. It is a glorious, but a forgotten chapter of Indian history and knowledge of that history would remain incomplete without it. Thus both these volumes—though dealing with two different but neighbouring countries—present graphic portraiture of the rise and growth of their civilization under the influence of Hindu culture and Art. They are such valuable additions to Indian historical literature that no student of ancient Indian history can afford to ignore them. Dr. Chatterjee's book secured for the

author the Ph.D. degree of the London University. The history of Indian culture in Cambodia has been written so far mainly in French and is generally not accessible to Indian scholars. Prof. Chatterjee not only studied the writings of French scholars but collected ample material from the inscriptions in Cambodia itself. He has very carefully traced the gradual expansion of Indian culture and his conclusions are reasonable. The book gives a connected history of ancient Cambodia and is a scholarly work.

The Aravida Dynasty of Vijayanagara. By the Rev. Henry Heras. Volume I. (B. G. Paul & Co., 2, Francis Joseph Street, Madras) 1928.

It is a notable work and an almost monumental addition to the literature of South Indian History that the Rev. Father Heras—Professor of Indian History, St. Xavier's College, Bombay—has accomplished in his book under consideration, which is the first of three volumes in which it is to be completed.

The History of the Aravida Dynasty of Vijayanagar could properly be entitled 'The Forgotten Dynasty of the old Forgotten Empire.' Mr. Robert Sewell—in his pioneer work justly called *A Forgotten Empire*—devoted three chapters to the history of this dynasty and Fr. Heras promises three big volumes of which this is the first. From the time of Mr. Sewell's publication it has often been repeated that the Empire of Vijayanagar met its end on the field of Talikota, in 1565. The present work discloses that the Empire continued in its splendour for several years after. The author shows moreover that this period marked the climax of the Telugu domination over the most southern part of the peninsula of India. "This great task," says Sir Richard Temple in the Preface, "Father Heras has undertaken to my mind in the manner in which it should be undertaken. He goes into the causes which led to the conditions that brought the last Vijayanagara dynasty—the Aravida—into existence, and then writes up the history of it from original unpublished documents as well as from the books on the subject, and in a long appendix their original languages. History cannot be more fairly presented." We agree. The result is an exceedingly valuable contribution to the Hindu history of Southern India.

Messrs. Hoyland and Banerjee's translation of De Laet's *Empire of the Great Mogol* is a notable acquisition to the historical literature of Moghul India. The late Mr. Vincent Smith—*par excellence* the historian of India—wrote about the author and his work in his famous treatise called *Akbar, the Great Mogol* as follows:—"Jouannes De Laet (1595-1649), an industrious and voluminous Dutch author, did much good service in his day, by compiling from the best authorities well-digested accounts of various foreign lands. His scarce little book, *De Imperio Magni Mogolis, sive India Vera, commentarius e variis auctoribus congestus*, long ranked as the best general account of India was utilized by many authors. The book is still a valuable authority for the history of Akbar's reign. It deals with events to 1626. It consists of two parts, viz., *Descriptio Indiae* (Geography and Administration of the Mogol Empire) and the *Fragmentum Historiae Indiae* (A Fragment of the History of India). The *Descriptio* is a good compilation from the works of Sir Thomas Roe, Purchas, Peter Teixeira and other authors. The *Fragmentum* is based on a genuine chronicle of the Empire. It contains certain statements of considerable importance, and deserves to be used critically as one of the early authorities for the history of Akbar." Such being the value and importance of De Laet's book, it is all for the best that an excellent, fully annotated rendering into English is now made available to the student of Indian history, through the publishers' enterprise.

A Postscript to the Records of the Indian Mutiny. By Lieut.-Col. G. H. D. Gimlette, C.I.E. (H. F. & C. Witherby, 126, High Holborn, London, W. C. 1) 1927.

Lieut.-Col. Gimlette's *Postscript to the Records of the Indian Mutiny* is a highly useful compendium, which traces the activities and the subsequent fate, so far as can be discovered, of the rebellious Bengal regiments. A monument of laborious patience, its appeal will be not to the general reader, but to the investigator of points hitherto obscure in the military history of the Sepoy Mutiny. It is not a popular sketch but a work of research. Among its most valuable features are the preservation of the old vernacular name of each regiment, the list of the officers killed in the rising; and the location of the unit in the summer of 1857. Such a book is not, of course, intended to be read from cover to cover; although the brief summaries of the circumstances attending the revolt of each regiment are as a rule

De Laet's Empire of the Great Mogol. By J. S. Hoyland, M.A. and S. N. Banerjee (D. B. Tarapore-Vale Sons & Co., 190, Hornby Road, Bombay) 1928.

interesting enough; but is designed as a work of reference, from which the student can obtain details nowhere else accessible save perhaps on the original master-rolls.

VIII. RECENT HISTORICAL LITERATURE.

Democracy in the Ancient World. By T. R. Glover, and **A Short History of Western Civilisation:** By A. D. Nattersley, M.A. (The Cambridge University Press, Fetter Lane, London, E. C.) 1927.

Mr. T. R. Glover's *Democracy in the Ancient World* is a study of the popular system of Government in Athens and Rome. In it Mr. Glover traces the course of democracy in the ancient world from its prelude in Homeric times, through its zenith in the age of Pericles, down to its end with the beginning of the Roman Empire. Modern democratic conditions are not so widely apart from those that obtained in Greece and Rome, that one can not derive benefit from a study of the records of the ancient system, and to the student of the history of democratic institutions, Mr. Glover's book would be invaluable.

Mr. Nattersley's *Short History of Western Civilisation* covers a larger ground. The purpose of this little book is to trace the origin and growth, in its essential features, of that European civilisation which constitutes the atmosphere, intellectual and moral, in which the European citizen of to-day has to live his life. The author has sought to give an impression of the unity of history, and of the growth of humanity, and to display the processes by which civilisation has been fashioned. The standard of civilisation, the economic growth of communities, the development of governmental institutions and the religious beliefs of the masses have been selected as the truly significant factors in human history. In a little over two hundred pages he weaves the age-links one period with another, and enables the reader to see history as a whole and not as a series of disconnected episodes. It will interest the general reader as much as the student, and though planned for the latter, it will be found no less useful by the serious student of the subject.

Twelve Centuries of Jewish Persecution. By Gustav Pearlson. (V. A. Kair & Son, 9, Chapel Lane, Hull) 1927.

Mr. Gustav Pearlson's *Twelve Centuries of Jewish Persecution*—originally issued in 1898, when the author was but 19—is a work of great interest and deserves careful consideration. It is—as its title implies—a record in outline of the sufferings of the Hebrews in Christian lands, together with an account of the regulations under which specific restrictions have been, at various times, placed over them. The author has taken as the motto for his text the following passage from Professor Homer's well-known work, *The Jews*, in the "Story of Nations" series:—"Not a single Christian people has kept itself clear from the reproach of inhumanity to the Jews; to afflict them has been held a merit. Yet how great is the debt of civilization to these men so cruelly wounded." The statements in the book are based on historical data, the author's deductions are correct and his inferences warranted. The result is a work of great value to students of world culture. It is also of considerable bearing on the claims of Christianity of which it is a terrible indictment.

Greece. By M. A. Hamilton. (The Oxford University Press, Amen Corner, London) 1927.

The Story of Greece and Rome. By J. C. Robertson and H. G. Robertson (J. St. Dent & Sons, Ltd., London) 1927.

Sources of Greek History. By M. Cary. (Routledge, Oxford), 1927.

A Rapid Review of the World History. By C. R. Andrew. (Kegan Paul and Gray, Ltd., London) 1927.

The Oxford University text-book of the history of Greece, from the beginnings to Alexander the Great, is an excellent and exceedingly well illustrated compendium of Greek history—the rise of Athens, the war between Athens and Sparta, Athens under the Peloponnesian war, the ascendancy of Persia and Thebes respectively, the rise of Macedonia and the conquests of Alexander the Great are all vividly portrayed. It is one of the very best hand-books of Greek history.

Messrs. Robertson's *Story of Greece and Rome* is unique as showing the legacy of these two great nations of the western world. The legacy of Greece and Rome is not a new subject; but the books dealing with it are rather for readers of considerable maturity and scholarship, and do not aim at presenting at the same time a connected history of the Greco-Roman world. There are also many excellent

manuscripts which tend to give disproportionate space to political and military affairs, and they often leave serious gaps. Instead of offering a "reduced photograph" of the vast scene revealed by larger histories, the authors of *The Story of Greece and Rome* have sought to assume the selective attitude of an artist. This has secured for some other topics more space than is usually given to them, but not more than they deserve, such as, for instance, our enormous debt to the Greeks for science and mathematics, the personality and influence of Socrates; the distinctive qualities of Greek art; and the way in which conditions in the ancient world furthered the spread of Christianity and brought into being the kingdoms of Western Europe which grew up out of the Roman Empire. This book may be recommended with confidence to the laic reader and to the student alike. The authors have the true secret of exposition and they manage to confine within reasonable space a comprehensive and astonishing amount of information regarding the history and culture of the classical world of Europe.

The Documentary Sources of Greek History is, indeed, a very valuable and highly useful compendium for the student. This book is intended for students of Greek history who wish to obtain a first-hand acquaintance with the documents, especially those contained in inscriptions and papyri. It provides hints where to find and how to use the documents, and illustrates their historical value by means of a large selection of specimens arranged according to subject-matter. It also contains chapters on coins and on other archaeological material. A most useful feature is the section devoted to Bibliography (in chapter 12) which gives detailed lists of standard works on Greek inscriptions, texts, collections of materials, coins, sculpture, pottery, unwritten documents like architectural remains and other data for historical purposes. Altogether it is a meritorious work and would be found indispensable by the student specializing in research in the sources of ancient Greek history.

Mr. C. R. Andrew's *Rapid Review of History* is a stimulating piece of work—although the title justly describes it as "a book of hints and sketches". Within the short compass of 135 pages, the author has managed to cover a very large ground—the 'desert civilizations' of Egypt, Iraq, Persia, Mexico and Peru; the 'monsoon cultures' of India, China and Japan, besides (of course) European countries. Like many others, he has his own theory of history and historical data and research, which we need not unreservedly accept. But, however that be, we must express our appreciation of the

author's labours which have resulted in an extremely thought-provoking book.

Political and Social History of England. By Dr. F. C. Dietz (The Macmillan Company, New York, U.S.A.) 1927.

English Life in the Middle Ages. By L. F. Salzman. (Oxford University Press, Amen Corner, London) 1927.

Nineteenth Century England 1815—1914. By R. S. Rayner (Longmans, Green & Co., 39, Paternoster Row, London, E. C. 4) 1927.

Dr. Dietz's *Political and Social History of England* though not an original work is none-the-less welcome as an excellent compendium of authentic information carefully culled and systematized with critical acumen. During recent years there has been very great progress in America in text-book making and the best of American hand-books successfully compete with German manuals of their class and kind. Dr. Dietz's *History of England* is lucid, compact, comprehensive, up-to-date, informative and wittily interesting. It is almost an ideal text-book.

English Life in the Middle Ages by Mr. L. F. Salzman is an intensely interesting sketch. Dealing as it does with social life at home, in town and country, also with religion, education, literature, Art and Science, warfare, justice, industries and trade and finance, also wayfaring and the position of women, it is a fascinating study of English mediæval life. The book, which is plentifully illustrated, is highly stimulating and the carefully selected bibliographic appended will enable the student to follow up his studies with great advantage.

Mr. R. M. Rayner's *Nineteenth Century England* is a well-pat-together history of Great Britain and Ireland from 1815 to 1914. Its distinctive features are that it deals with all sides of the development of the Commonwealth—Imperial, Economic, Political and Social; that it aims at familiarising the future citizen with the historical causes of existing conditions; and that each chapter deals with a specific topic rather than with a specific period. The necessary basis of chronology is obtained by means of marginal dates and cross-references, and by date-charts which refer each event to the section of the book in which it is dealt with. It will be found of great service by the student of the subject and is pre-eminently adapted for use as a text-book.

IX. RECENT COLLECTIONS, ESSAYS AND LETTERS.

Outside the Law. By the Right Hon'ble Sir Frederick Pollock, Bart. (The Cayne Press, Kensington, London), 1927.

Sir Frederick Pollock is a veteran writer on law and literature. His present collection called *Outside the Law* has the subtitle "Diversions Partly Serious." These "diversions" cover a very wide range, both in prose and verse, from the very solid "Mystic Experience and Philosophy" to the rather light-touched "War and Diplomacy in Shakespeare." The collection is an attractive medley of philosophy and humour, the essays in which will suit readers of various tastes, each of whom is likely to find in it something to his liking. To us the first essay—originally contributed to the *Hibbert Journal* and designated "Mystic Experience and Philosophy"—appeals most as indicating a sound knowledge on the part of the author of oriental—or rather Persian—mysticism, in which he quotes with facility from the poems of that great mystic—Maulana Rumi. We are not, however, satisfied of the correctness of his statement that "the Sufis were thorough-going monists." Though it may sound like it, Sufism is in our view clearly distinguishable from monism. Sankara's *Vedantism* is strictly monistic. But the subject can not be pursued here.

Opinions and Argument. By the Earl of Balfour. (Hodder & Stoughton, Warwick Square, London, E. C.), 1928.

Advice to a Young Reviewer. By Edward Copleston. (Basil Blackwell, Oxford), 1927.

Hazlitt's Characteristics. By R. H. Horne. (Elkin Mathews & Marrot, Ltd., 54, Bloomsbury Street, London, W. C. 1), 1927.

Opinions and Argument is a collection of extracts called from Lord Balfour's speeches and addresses and grouped under various headings—Personal, Political, Modern State, Imperial Affairs, Zionism and Golf. They thus range from grave to gay and from light to severe. Lord Balfour is a philosopher-statesman and has left the impress of his individuality on the fortunes of his country, but he has not been remarkable for felicity of expression and there is therefore much that is commonplace in the extracts brought together in this collection. But the student of politics will find some of them instructive for more than the virtues of Lord Balfour's style. For instance in a speech of 1913 he uses an almost exact description of

the final settlement with Ireland as a *reductio ad absurdum* of the policy which he condemns. And the more recent speeches on labour unrest, Socialism, and international peace might well supply arguments for Conservative canvassers at the next election, at which Conservatism is expected to lose ground.

Edward Copleston's *Advice to a Young Reviewer* appeared in 1907 and was at once successful as a satire. It is full of sound and sensible advice on the art of reviewing, in spite of its form as a satire and we are glad to find it so well and so carefully reprinted. The "Specimen of the Art" (of reviewing)—an "appreciation" of Milton's *L'Allegre*—is not only interesting but instructive. The little book, as a whole, deserves careful attention even now. The first edition of Horne's *Hazlitt's Characteristics*, appeared in 1823 and the second in 1837—seven years after Hazlitt's death. It is now beautifully reprinted and is full of wit and wisdom extracted from the writings of one of the greatest essayists. The extracts are quotable as maxims and sayings.

English Letter-Writers. By R. Brimley Johnson. (Gerald Howe, Ltd., 23, Soho Square, London, W.1), 1928.

The Letters of Richard Steele. Edited by R. Brimley Johnson. (John Lane the Bodley Head, Ltd., London), 1928.

These collections edited by Mr. R. Brimley Johnson are excellent contributions to the literature of English letters. The aim of the editor in the first book—*English Letter Writers*—is to compile an anthology not so much to present single letters of peculiar charms, as by a representative selection to demonstrate the function of letter-writing as a mirror of contemporary life and thought, from the Pastons to the end of the nineteenth century. Here we are always in good company, meeting again the men and women who have brought us so much delight and an education. This is a short compass a mass of knowledge and interesting reading and no epistolary literature can afford to neglect it.

Mr. Brimley Johnson's *Letters of Richard Steele* is the latest volume in "The Quill Library" in which the editor has already placed before the reader selections from the letters of Lawrence Sterne, Mr. Thrale, George Eliot, Lady Louisa Stuart, Jane Austen, Mary Mitford and Hannah Moore. It was but natural that a selection from Steele's letters should find a place in "The Quill Library." 'Dear Dick Steele' was one of the great lovers of literature. His 'ill-spelt, unconsidered' letters to True, 'the lovely charmer,' are

among the most intimate and charming love-letters in English. In an age when women were little respected, Stöckle was ever the chivalrous boy, revealing a loyal and unselfish devotion to his lady and, through her, to 'the beautiful sex.' His letters stand side by side with the immortal 'Journal to Stella' in the supreme merits of simplicity and sincerity. The letters in this volume have been now for the first time collated with the original MSS. in the British Museum, and form a notable addition to "The Quill Library."

X. RECENT HAND AND POCKET ATLASES.

The *Multum in Parvo Atlas of the World.* (W. & A. K. Johnston, Ltd., Edinburgh), 1921.

The *Handy Reference Atlas.* (John Bartholomew & Son, Ltd., The Geographical Institute, Edinburgh), 1926.

The *Universal Hand-Atlas.* (Thomas Nelson & Sons, Ltd., 35, 36, Paternoster Row, London, E. C.), 1926.

The *Pocket Atlas of the World.* (Collins' Clear-Type Press, 48, Pall Mall, London, S. W. 1), 1928.

Handy Pocket Atlas of the World. (George Newnes, Ltd., 8-11, Southampton Street, London, W. C. 2), 1927.

Handy Volume Atlas of the World, 1926.

Pictorial Pocket Atlas of the World, 1927.

New Pocket Atlas of the World, 1928. (The last three published by George Philip & Son, Ltd., 33, Fleet Street, London, E. C. 4).

An Atlas is at present as indispensable a work of reference as a time table. The great war brought about numerous changes in the boundaries of States and countries and the pre-war atlases are now obsolete, out of date and

atlases enumerated above are now dating from 1921 to the current year. The publishers are represented the famous Scotch cartographers—Bartholomew and Johnson, while the other Scotch and English firms are also well-known. The first group of four are all hand-atlases and, as such, are handy and easily portable. Messrs. Collins' publication—edited by Mr. R. A. Manchester—is designated a *Pocket Atlas*. But the title is a misnomer as it will require a very big over-coat pocket to carry it about in conveniently. It is really a hand-atlas and we have grouped it as such. It should be so called in a second edition.

Of the four hand-atlases Messrs. Johnson's *Multum in Parvo* was about the first to appear after the post-war changes. It contains the post-war boundaries, more than one hundred maps and plans and a complete geographical index to 6,000 place names. Cheaply priced, its publication redounds to the credit of the old Edinburgh firm, which was founded in 1825. Bartholomews are cartographers to His Majesty the King and their reputation for the production of maps and the making of atlases admittedly stands deservedly very high. Their *Handy Reference Atlas* has been the most popular of its class and kind for a long series of years and the post-war edition is the eleventh. Its distinctive features are tables of general information and notes on the countries of the world, extending over nearly 70 pages. It comprises 124 pages of fully coloured maps, 60 pages of gazetteer and statistical tables, with 172 pages of index. Clearness, accuracy and comprehensiveness have long made this atlas famous. The maps are exceedingly well-drawn and the index is exhaustive. Nelson's *Universal Hand Atlas* is small enough to be slipped into an overcoat pocket—a great consideration in travelling. It is a marvel of compactness, offering as it does no less than 260 excellent maps not only of the countries, but also of many of the chief cities of the world, with useful statistical tables and a good general index. Messrs. Collins' so-called *Pocket Atlas* is not only thoroughly abreast of the latest changes, but is a useful compendium of geographical knowledge, offering as it does not only 200 pages of coloured maps but also 80 pages of skillfully-drawn diagrams bearing on a vast range of geographical lore, accompanied by a complete index. The diagrams are its distinctive feature.

Of the four pocket atlases—constituting the second group at the top of this notice—Messrs. Newnes' *Pocket Atlas* is very useful, equipped as it is with a world gazetteer—the latter in an ordinary index—which will be very handy. The other three pocket atlases—the *Handy*, the *Pictorial Pocket* and the *New Pocket*—are all publications of the leading London firm in map and atlas production, Messrs. George Philip, and fully sustain their high reputation. Of the three the *Handy Volume* is the fullest as it offers, besides the index, nearly a hundred pages of very informative, descriptive and statistical notes. The *Pictorial Pocket* has excellent physical-relief maps printed on art paper; the other maps are fully up-to-date. But we like the *New Pocket* the best—a bright and brilliant little atlas of 128 pages of maps, with an index of 6000 names. Besides, it is the simplest and the handiest.

XI. OUR LIBRARY TABLE:—MISCELLANEOUS LITERATURE.

We are grateful to the Managing Director of the Federation of Swedish Industries (Stockholm) for a copy of an excellent work in English called **Industry in Sweden**. Its object is to popularize a more detailed and accurate knowledge of Swedish industries, their basic conditions, organisation and products. It is not a technical work but is intended for popular reading, giving as it does a general view of the subject. It is an abridged edition of a book originally issued in Swedish in 1926. It is a pity that the figures have not been revised and brought down to date. In spite of this limitation, it is a highly useful and meritorious work and deserves warm acknowledgment and wide appreciation.

Our Inheritance is the designation of a collection of the addresses and speeches of the Rt. Hon'ble Stanley Baldwin, M.P. and the book (which is issued by Messrs. Hodder and Stoughton, Warwick Square, London, E. C.) is a comprehensive collection dealing with many of the current problems. In fact, the addresses cover a very wide range of subjects—cultural, political, personal and general. Mr. Baldwin is not a scholar in the sense in which we apply that term to Gladstone or the late Mr. Asquith; nevertheless his clear thinking and strong common sense are stamped upon his literary efforts and the book makes highly instructive reading.

The **Collected Poems of Thomas Hardy**, issued with a portrait by Messrs. Macmillan & Co. (St. Martin's Street, London) was first published in 1919 and the volume before us is its third edition. It is a big book covering more than 800 pages and is, in every sense, complete. Hardy does not rank with the greatest English poets of the nineteenth century—say with Keats, Shelley, Browning or Tennyson—admittedly one of the greatest in the second half of the century. Those who love his lyrics, satires and sonnets will welcome this fine collection, which is neatly bound and well got up.

The **English Literature Library**—edited by Mr. Brinley Johnson for Messrs. John Lane the Bodley Head, Ltd. (London) is a series of group selections illustrating the rise and development of certain phases of English literature by means of carefully selected and judiciously edited extracts. The **English Literature Library** has been devised with the idea of giving in a small compass representative selections from English literature which will be interesting and

entertaining to the general reader while giving the student a bird's-eye view of particular phases of English letters. The first of six volumes dealing chronologically with the English novel, contains extracts from Lyly's "Raphes," Sidney's "Arcadia," and other early Romances and Pastorals out of which arose the English novel as we know it now. The second, which deals chronologically with the English novel, contains extracts from Steele's and Addison's essays in the *Tatler* and *Spectator*, Congreve's *Incongruities*, Dr. Johnson's *Rasselas*, and some examples of the work of the Duchess of Newcastle, George Farquhar and Thomas Brown. A list of the other volumes, in which other phases of the development of the novel are treated on the same lines, will be issued in due course. They will deal with *Rogues and Vagabonds*, *Comedy of Life*, *Balls and Assemblies* and *Romance in History*. Altogether it is likely to be when completed a very useful series.

The Talbot Press, Ltd. (Dublin, Ireland) have issued an excellent bi-centenary edition of the essays, poems, letters and plays of **Oliver Goldsmith**, arranged and selected by Mr. P. Colum, with an appreciation, calendar of events and a select bibliography. Oliver Goldsmith is one of the favourite classics of students of English literature and this compact and well-edited compendium from his best writings will naturally appeal to a large circle of readers, to whom we have great pleasure in commending this volume.

Mr. Shyam Sundar Lal Chordia is one of our rising poets. As he hails (we believe) from Rajputana, we are not surprised that his latest collection of verse is called **Chitor and Other Poems**. (Taraporevala Sons & Co., 190, Barmby Road, Bombay). Two years ago he published a ringer of sonnets which were highly commended by the late Sir Edmund Gosse. In the present volume he has chosen to enshrine his patriotism and hero-worship in various forms of the sonnet, and his subject-matter is partly that with which the

pages of Tod's "Rajasthan", personal topics. The result is a series of sonnets which reflect the splendour, glory and tragedy of the great times of the past. In these sonnets we find an increase of poetic power. There flowing language and rich Indian imagery are expressed with an accuracy and a felicity extremely remarkable in one not born to use the English language, and it is clear that in Mr. Chordia we have one of the most promising Indian writers of English verse.

Apart from the **English Literature Library**—noticed appreciatively above—Messrs. John Lane the Bodley Head (London) have recently inaugurated another literary series—**The Helicon**—the volumes of which

are beautifully got-up and are intended for the lovers of good literature. The *Idylls of Theocritus* (in Calverley's verse rendering), Shelley's *Adonais*, Milton's *L'Allegro and Il Penseroso*, Matthew Arnold's *Forsoaken Merman and Scholar Gypsy*, Spenser's *Epithalamion*, Keat's *The Eve of St. Agnes*, Wordsworth's *Ode on Intimations of Immortality* and the *Rubayt of Omar Khayyam* have been so far issued. They are gems of literature and deserve to command a large circulation.

Mr. J. Levonian's *Moslem Mentality* (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., Museum Street, London) is an interesting discussion on the presentation of Christianity to Muslims. This book is an independent study. The author has not merely gone to the works of European and American scholars. He has read the original Islamic sources and is well-acquainted with the literature and history of Islam. An Armenian Christian, well read in Turkish, Arabic, and Persian literature, he has had exceptional opportunities for studying the problem on which he writes. He was born in the Near East; he served as Professor of Turkish literature for fourteen years in one of the colleges in Asia Minor; he has taught in a Moslem Government High School where all the other tutors and pupils were Moslems, and he has been in close contact throughout with the indigenous Christians, the Moslems, and the missionary organizations. So the book is the outcome of personal experience and observation. The chapters on the New Moslem mentality are packed with material drawn from present-day Turkish writers which is otherwise inaccessible to Western readers. No one who is interested in the problems raised by the clash of Christianity and Islam in the Near East can afford to overlook this book.

The desire of mankind—and even more so of womankind—to keep young, has found expression in Mr. Edwin Weston's interesting little book called *How To Keep Young* (William Heinemann Books, Ltd., 25, Bedford Street, Strand). It is a scientific treatise, cast in a popular form for the benefit of the general reader, and it offers considerable advantage from its study. When we find ways of prolonging life should first manifest themselves in the known facts of human physiology, and the known laws operative in death from old age. This book, written by a physiologist, fulfils these conditions, and is of interest to everyone who cares to live a healthy old age. It is full of wise suggestions which all would do well to adopt.

Dr. Edward Thompson's *Suttee* (George Allen & Unwin, Museum Street, London) is unique in the sense that it is beyond doubt the first book in any language that is a full historical or philosophical study of a rite

that is of many-sided interest—to the anthropologist, the historian, and the student of social customs or of religion. Among other things, the book contains the first account of the gradual suppression of Suttee in independent India and it points out misconceptions and misstatements that are found in histories of India and in the articles on Suttee in encyclopaedias. It was fully time that an exhaustive inquiry should be directed to the subject, and now Dr. Thompson has done it in his valuable book. He adduces evidence that the rite existed in India before the Aryan invasion, traces its history and the various forms it took. He finds that the origins of Suttee go deeper than the insurance of the wife's devotion to her husband, and deeper than the selfish aggrandizement of the male. The roots lay in the Hindu theology, in the doctrine of retribution, widowhood being considered the punishment of a sinful life which could only be redeemed on the altar fire. The uprooting of this iniquitous practice in British India, the author points out, was the work not of the Government but of two men, Bentinck and Dalhousie. Dr. Thompson's criticism is fearless and trenchant, his net has been cast wide so that no aspect of the problem escapes his review. This is a deeply interesting and at times moving book which will take its place as a standard authority on the subject. Naturally in a pioneer work of this kind, one does not expect conclusiveness and there is much in this book which will be justly regarded as polemical and controversial. But it is the chief and striking merit of Dr. Thompson's book that it is stimulating and thought-provoking. Though the author's data and conclusions may be challenged, his work will have served its primary object if it led to searching of heart.

The History of Education in Bihar by Rai Bahadur Bhagwati Sahay (The United Press, Ltd., Bhagalpur)

This book is a creditable and meritorious performance. It is a work which has been lying dormant for some years back from the shelves of the State after having served the duties of an Inspector of Schools with great distinction. It is well to utilize his hands in writing the preparation of which he is pre-eminently qualified by reason of not only knowledge but his life-long experience. The result is a treatise which will be highly useful to educationists, educational reformers, Education Ministers, educational officers and all other students of the subject of educational progress in this country. The book is an excellent record of the origin and development of the educational system in Bihar during British administration and is not only historical but critical, and it offers valuable suggestions for sound development of

education in the province in future. Its statement of facts is accurate, its data unimpeachable, and its conclusions, on the whole, not untenable. The book is a notable addition to Indian educational literature and deserves wide appreciation.

The late Mr. Syamacharan Ganguli—who died recently at the very advanced age of ninety—was a distinguished educationist and a ripe scholar. Throughout his life, he was a frequent contributor to leading Indian periodicals. Some of his articles have been brought together in a collection designated *Essays and Reviews* (Luzac & Co., 46, Great Russell Street, London). They make not only interesting but instructive reading and they fully deserved being given a permanent form.

Selected Addresses and Essays by the late Viscount Haldane (John Murray Albemarle Street, London) is a notable collection of essays. Some desire has been expressed for the publication in a conveniently accessible form of the particular addresses and essays which this little volume contains. They have all appeared before, some in *The Conduct of Life*, others in *Universities and National Life*, and our to the *Empire Review*, but they have not been arranged collectively. This has now been done, and the contents of the book are now assembled as containing an expression of faith in knowledge, in higher education, and in a special phase of the unwritten constitution of the Empire. The late Viscount Haldane—whose passing away is an irreparable loss to the world—was not only a distinguished statesman, but a great thinker, and we are glad that his essays and addresses will now be easily accessible in a permanent form.

Mr. J. W. T. Mason's *The Creative East* is the latest addition to "The Wisdom of the East" series (John Murray, Albemarle Street, London). In this contribution, the author maintains that life only through aesthetic and spiritual in balance. The West is specialized in utilitarianism, while in Japan there has been a national effort to unite the three factors into a co-operative whole. *The Creative East* shows how an interchange of ideas between the Occident and the Orient is necessary if a world civilization is to be attained. The book is meant for thoughtful readers to whom we have much pleasure in commending Mr. Mason's highly stimulating essays, the doctrines propounded in which seem to us to be sound and based on unimpeachable data.

The editor of the *Studio*—the well-known Art Journal—has followed up *Modern Gardens: British and Foreign* with *The Gardens of Japan* written by Mr. J. Harada, a Japanese expert (Studio Ltd., 34, Leicester Square, London, W. C. 2). It is a companion and complement to that highly successful work—*Modern Gardens*, which is confined to those of Europe and contains nearly 200 illustrations in colour and monochrome. *The Gardens of Japan* has six coloured plates—from the work of old and modern Japanese artists—and a hundred illustrations in photogravure and a hundred in half-tone together with diagrams in the text. A perusal of the work will satisfy the reader that beautiful effects can be produced by the Western garden lover who applies the principles contained in the profuse illustrations and in the study of theory and practice which has been especially contributed by Mr. Jiro Harada of the Imperial Household Museum, Tokyo. The two volumes together constitute an encyclopaedia of gardening in the East and the West.

XII. THE MODERN PICTORIAL LIBRARY

We extend a hearty welcome to "The Modern Pictorial Library," edited by Mr. S. P. B. Main, M.A. (The Richards Press, Ltd., 97, Newman Street, London, W. 1). The new series is based on the conception that we live to-day in an age of photographs and pictures, as evidenced by the fact that in the newspapers, on the hoardings and everywhere else it is the picture which makes the first appeal to the eye. With the aid of photographs we are able to accompany big-game hunters on their travels, to climb Mount Everest, to penetrate to the Arctic and Antarctic Zones. By means of pictures the events of the day, the discoveries, the novelties of art and of commerce are brought before our glance. To read of heroic exploits, of scientific achievement, of architectural design, of the imagination that rules before the picture. No description of Salisbury's Cathedral, of Cleopatra's face can possibly do justice to either; poets may ransack the music of the spheres to convey the glory of a yacht in full sail or a spring morning on the Downs; historians may exercise their vocabulary to unveil to us the intricacies of a modern battle in the air or on the sea, but pictures, with the speed and clarity of a flash of lightning can reconstruct for us precisely what we want to see, static or in motion, beautiful or ugly. We have no exercise of thought and waste no time. We have but to look. Based upon

his conception of our present-day life "The Modern Pictorial Library" aims at an ideal and novel combination of the finest procurable series of pictures with an entertaining and informative text by way of commentary. It will be impossible to turn over the pages of any volume of the Modern Pictorial Library without interest or profit, and at a glance its pictures will lead to a general desire to read the text. The first titles, of which half the number are published are: 1. *London* by E. Heretford Chancellor. 2. *Flying* by Lt.-Col. W. Lockwood March. 3. *Shakespeare* by S. P. B. Maie. 4. *Cathedrals* by George Sinclair. 5. *History of Art* by Louis Hourticq. 6. *Animals of the World* by L. Jouhn. 7. *Dawn of British Literature* by S. P. B. Maie. 8. *French Revolution* by A. Allm. 9. *History of England* by Norman Sykes. 10. *Rembrandt* by J. Laron. 11. *Mythology* by Ernest Granger. 12. *Electricity* by S. E. Clowworthy.

11. *Polar Exploration* by J. Gordon Hayes. 12. *Paris* by Lizzie Hartwig. 13. *Wonderful Discoveries of Science* by S. R. Chotovsky. 14. *Birds* by M. Bumbier. 15. *Dickens and His Times* by H. Beverford Chancellor. 16. *Races of Man* by Ernest Granger. Though cheaply priced at but one shilling each, the volumes before us are beautiful to look at and it is a pleasure to dip into them. The pictures are splendid and the books are profusely illustrated. The texts are written by specialists. Altogether "The Modern Pictorial Library" is a harmonious blending of highly readable texts with highly attractive pictures. We have great pleasure in commending this new publishing enterprise which deserves well of the reading public. We shall watch its career and progress with a sympathetic interest and hope it will succeed in commanding that large circulation which it so richly merits.

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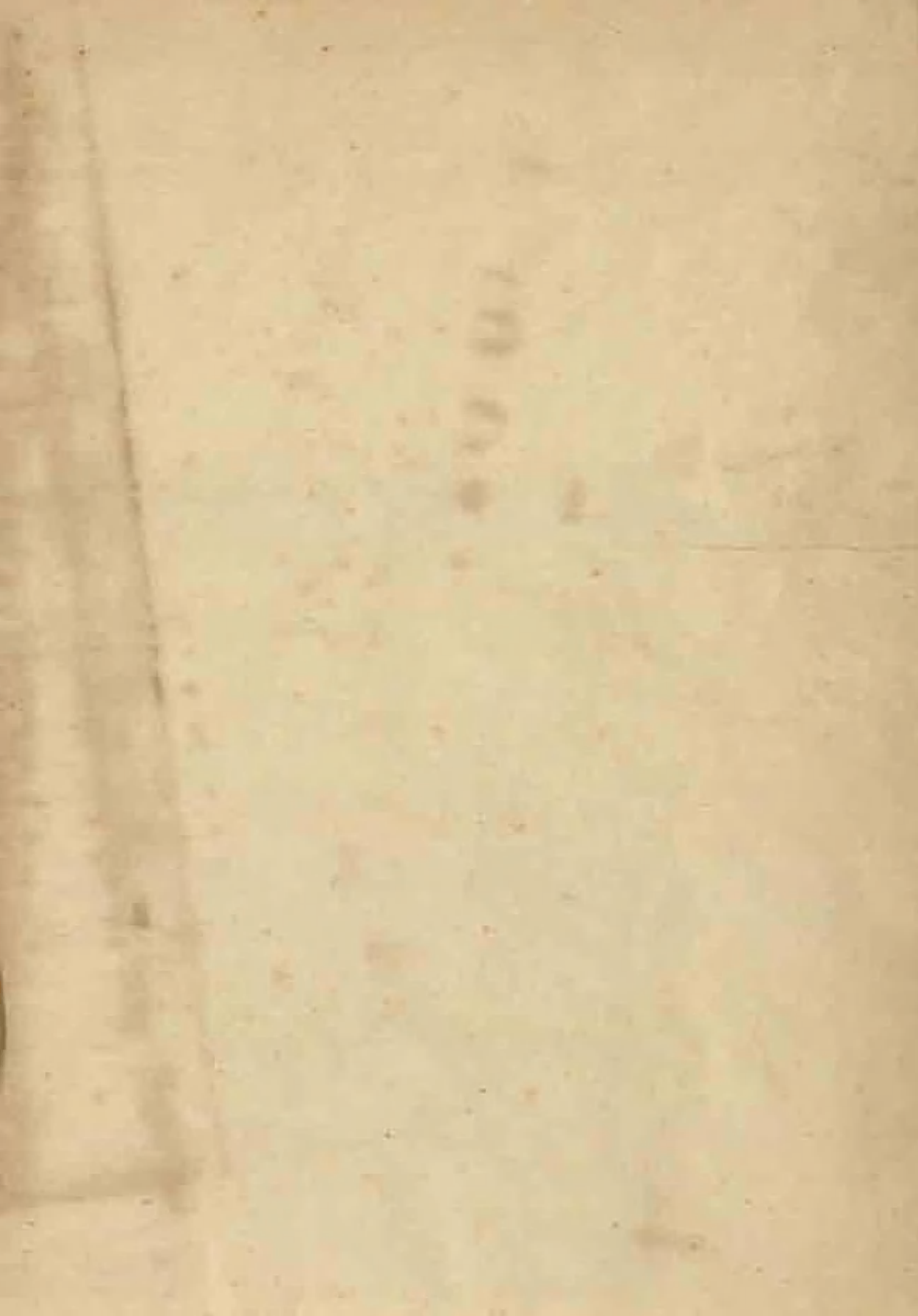
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